Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* was completed in 731 and still ranks among the most popular of history books. By the end of the eighth century copies of it were to be found in many parts of England and on the Continent, some of these being still extant. If it were not for Bede's history we should know little about the Anglo-Saxon invasion and the beginnings of Christianity in England, and such familiar names as Edwin and Oswald, Cuthbert and Chad, Hilda and Caedmon would be almost forgotten. The present edition makes use for the first time of the mid-eighth century manuscript now in Leningrad, provides a survey of the extant manuscripts, and a new translation; it also attempts to bring up to date Plummer's invaluable edition published seventy years ago.

OXFORD MEDIEVAL TEXTS

General Editors

V. H. GALBRAITH R. A. B. MYNORS

C. N. L. BROOKE

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

EDITED BY

BERTRAM COLGRAVE

AND

R. A. B. MYNORS

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1969

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

© OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1969

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN SMITH
(1659–1715)

CHARLES PLUMMER
(1851–1927)

WILHELM LEVISON
(1876–1947)

EDITOR'S PREFACE

IT is certainly not too much to say that Plummer's great edition of the *History* which was published in 1896 marked a new era of Bedan studies. Even now another edition seems to require an explanation, if not an excuse. The most potent of these is probably the fact that Plummer was unacquainted with the very important Leningrad MS. of the *History* which has recently been made available in facsimile; and full use has of course been made of it in this edition. A good deal of fresh light has been thrown by modern scholars, among whom it would not be invidious to mention Wilhelm Levison, on Bede's methods of work and upon the times in which he lived. Archaeologists, place-name experts, historians, and philologists have all had their contribution to make and, although the notes supplied by Plummer are still and will continue to be a constant help to students, yet it is hoped that the notes to the present edition will supply some guidance to the new material.

Bede has not been altogether fortunate in his translators, even though Stapleton's translation of 1565 set a splendid example. The present translator has attempted to produce something which is as near to the original as modern usage permits and at the same time does not altogether miss the nuances of thought and turns of speech in which Bede delighted. In this edition the reader will, at any rate, have the Latin original constantly before him. The whole edition is intended for the average student, to provide the best possible text, an adequate translation, notes which will explain some of the difficulties met by the modern reader, and guidance as to where to find further information on points in which he is interested. Each of the two editors is responsible for his own portion of the edition, Sir Roger Mynors for the Latin text and the relevant part of the Introduction, myself for the rest of the Introduction, the translation, and the notes on subject-matter; but we have of course worked in close collaboration throughout.

I am indebted to a number of scholars and institutions for much valuable help, and particularly to the following: Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Miss Kathleen Hughes of Newnham College, Cambridge;

Professor Bruce Dickins of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Miss Rosemary Cramp and Mr. R. P. Wright of Durham University; Mr. D. H. Farmer; Mr. Paul Meyvaert; Miss Rosalind Hill of Westfield College, London; and the Revd. Canon W. Telfer. I should also like to offer my special thanks to Professor Dorothy Whitelock, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, for reading through my translation and notes and making many very valuable suggestions. But none of these must take any of the blame for errors and shortcomings. For these I alone am responsible.

My thanks are also due to the staffs of Cambridge University Library, Durham University Library, and the Library of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, U.S.A. Much of the work on this edition was done in Lawrence and I am grateful to the University for making available to me a grant towards the cost of typing.

I also gladly acknowledge the help and encouragement so generously given by Professor Christopher Brooke, a general Editor of the series.

My co-editor and I both feel it only right that these volumes should be associated with the names of Charles Plummer and Wilhelm Levison, to whom they owe much, and also with the name of another Bedan scholar, John Smith, not forgetting his son George, who on John's death brought to a successful conclusion the work that his father had left unfinished. Both were closely connected with Durham Cathedral, Bede's last resting-place and George, like Wilhelm Levison, found within its shadow a refuge from the stormy times in which he lived.

B. C.

CONTENTS

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY xi

ABBREVIATIONS xv

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION (by B. C.)

I. Bede and the *History* xvii
II. Bede's Life xix
III. Bede's Monasticism xxiii
IV. Bede's Library xxv
V. Northumbria and the West xxvii
VI. The *History*: its models and sources xxx
VII. The Miracles xxxiv
VIII. Bede's Style xxxvi

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION (by R. A. B. M.)

I. The state of our text xxxix
II. Our authorities for the text xlii
III. The text in England xlvi
IV. The text in France lxi
V. The text in Germany lxv
VI. Copies containing the *Continuation* lxvii
VII. The text in Italy lxix
VIII. The printed editions lxx
Appendix of Obituary verses lxxiii
Index of Manuscripts lxxv

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE 1

CUTHBERT'S LETTER ON THE DEATH OF BEDE 579

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS 589

GENERAL INDEX 595

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECTION I

ANDERSON, A. O. and M. O., ed. *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (London, 1961).

ARNGART, O., *The Leningrad Bede, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, II (Copenhagen, 1952).

BATTISCOMBE, C. F., ed. *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Durham, 1956).

BLAIR, P. HUNTER, *The Moore Bede, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, IX (Copenhagen, 1959), with a contribution by R. A. B. Mynors.

—— *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1956).

BOLTON, W. F., 'A Bede Bibliography: 1935–60', *Traditio*, XVIII (1962), pp. 436–45.

BRECHTER, S., *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Großen, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, XXII (Münster, 1941).

BRIGHT, W., *Chapters of Early English Church History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1897).

BROWN, G. BALDWIN, *The Arts in Early England*, 6 vols. (London, 1903–37).

CHADWICK, H. M., *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949).

—— *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907).

CHADWICK, N. K., ed. *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963).

—— ed. *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1954).

—— ed. *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958).

CHAMBERS, R. W., *Bede*. Annual lecture on a master mind, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXII (1936), 129–56.

CHARLESWORTH, M. P., ed. *The Heritage of Early Britain* (London, 1952).

CLAPHAM, A. W., *English Romanesque Architecture before the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1930).

COLGRAVE, B., ed. *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956).

—— ed. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927).

—— ed. *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940).

—— *The Earliest Saints' Lives written in England*, Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLIV (1959), pp. 35–60.

COLLINGWOOD, R. G., and MYRES, J. N. L., *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1937).

DELEHAYE, H., *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, 4th ed. (Brussels, 1955).

—— 'St. Martin et Sulpice Sévère', *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII (1920), pp. 5–136.

DUCKETT, E. S., *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (New York, 1957).

—— *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947).

—— *The Gateway to the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938).

DÜMMLER, E., ed. *Epistolae Alcuini, MGH. Epp.* IV (Berlin, 1895).
EHWALD, R., ed. *Aldhelmi Opera; MGH. Auct. Ant.* XV (Berlin, 1919).
GILES, J. A., ed. *Venerabilis Bedae opera quae supersunt*, 12 vols. (London, 1843–4).
GODFREY, E. J., *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962).
GOUGAUD, L., *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932).
HADDAN, A. W., and STUBBS, W., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, III (Oxford, 1871).
HODGKIN, R. H., *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1952).
JAAGER, W., ed. *Bedas metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti, Palaestra 198* (Leipzig, 1935).
JONES, C. W., ed. *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).
—— *Saints' Lives and Chronicles* (Ithaca, New York, 1947).
JONES, P. F., *A Concordance to the* Historia Ecclesiastica *of Bede* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).
KENNEY, J. F., *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* I, *Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929).
KENDRICK, T. D., *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (London, 1938).
KYLIE, E., *The English Correspondence of St. Boniface* (London, 1911).
LAISTNER, M. L. W., and KING, H. H., *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, New York, 1943).
LAISTNER, M. L. W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500–900*, revised ed. (London, 1957).
LEVISON, W., *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946).
LOWE, E. A., *Codices Latini Antiquiores, a palaeographical guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the ninth century* (Oxford, 1934–69).
LOYN, H. R., *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1962).
MEYVAERT, P., *Bede and Gregory the Great: Jarrow Lecture 1964* (Jarrow, 1964).
OGILVY, J. D. A., *Books known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).
PLUMMER, C., ed. *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum: Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896).
—— ed. *Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1922).
—— ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910).
POWICKE, F. M., and FRYDE, E. B., *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd ed. (London, 1961).
QUENTIN, H., *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1908).
RYAN, J., *Irish Monasticism* (London, 1931).
STENTON, F. M., *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947).
The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial (British Museum, London, 1951).
TANGL, M., ed. *S. Bonifatii et Lullii Epistolae, MGH. Epp. selectae*, I (Berlin, 1916).
TAYLOR, H. M., and J., *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1965).

THOMPSON, A. HAMILTON, ed. *Bede, his Life, Times, and Writings* (Oxford, 1935).

WHITELOCK, D., *The Beginnings of English Society, Penguin History of England*, II (London, 1952).

—— *English Historical Documents* I, *c. 500–1042* (London, 1955).

—— ed. (with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1961).

WILSON, D., *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1960).

WRIGHT, C. E., *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (Edinburgh, 1939).

SECTION II

Translations

1*a* *The History of the Church of Englande* . . . . By Thomas Stapleton. (Antwerp, 1565.)

1*b* Another edition. (St. Omer, 1622.)

1*c* Another edition. (St. Omer, 1626.)

1*d* Another edition ed. by Philip Hereford. (Oxford, 1930.)

1*e* Another edition ed. by Philip Hereford. (London, 1935.)

1*f* *Baedae opera historica with English translation based on T. Stapleton.* By J. E. King. 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library, London, 1930.)

2*a* *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.* Translated from Mr. Smith's edition. By Capt. John Stevens. (London, 1723.)

2*b* *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.* Revised and corrected from the translation of Mr. Stevens. By J. A. Giles. (London, 1840.)

2*c* Another issue. (Bohn, London, 1840.)

2*d* *The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History.* Reprint of 2*b* (Bohn's Antiquarian Library, London, 1847.)

2*e* *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.* Translated by J. A. Giles. (Temple Classics, London, 1903.) Reprint of 2*b*.

2*f* *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.* (Everyman Library, London, 1910.) Reprint of 2*b* but no translator's name given.

2*g* *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England.* A revised translation by A. M. Sellar. (Bohn, London, 1907). A revision of the Stevens–Giles translation.

3 *The History of the Primitive Church of England from its origin to the year 731* . . . . By William Hurst. (London, 1814.)

4 *The Historical Works of Beda translated from the original Latin.* By Joseph Stevenson. (The Church Historians of England, Vol. I, ii, London, 1853.)

5 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.* By L. Gidley. (Oxford, 1870.)

6 *A History of the English Church and People.* By Leo Sherley-Price. (The Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1955.)

The above list includes only translations of the whole work. Editions of the Old English version are not included.

SECTION III

A list of editions of sources used by Bede which are mentioned in the footnotes.

Adamnan. 'De locis sanctis', *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi iv–viii*, ed. P. Geyer, *CSEL*, XXXIX (Vienna, 1898), pp. 219–97.
Also ed. D. Meehan, *Scriptores latini Hiberniae*, III (Dublin, 1958).

Basil. *Hexaemeron*, *PL*, LIII. 867–966.

Eddius. *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH*, *SRM*, VI. 163–263.
Also ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).

Eucherius Lugdunensis. Opera, ed. C. Wotke, *CSEL*, XXXI (Vienna, 1894).

Eutropius. *Breviarium*, ed. H. Droysen, *MGH*, *Auct. Ant.* II. 3–182.

Gildas. *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH*, *Auct. Ant.* XIII. 1–85.

Gregory the Great. *Dialogues*, ed. U. Moricca, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1924).
Homilies on the Gospels. *PL*, LXXVI. 1075–1312.
Epistle to Leander and *Moralia*, *PL*, LXXV. 510-LXXVI. 782.
Letters, ed. P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, *MGH*, *Epp.* I, II.

Hegesippus. *Historiae Libri v*, ed. V. Ussani, *CSEL*, LXVI (Vienna, 1960).

Lactantius. *Opera*, ed. S. Brandt, *CSEL*, XXVII (Vienna, 1893).

Liber Pontificalis, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH*, *Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum* I.

Marcellinus Comes. *Chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH*, *Auct. Ant.* XI. 39–108.

Orosius. *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii*, ed. C. Zangemeister, Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1889).

Passio Albani, ed. W. Meyer, 'Die Legende des Protomartyr Angliae in Texten vor Beda'. *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philol.-hist. Klasse* N.F., VIII, no. 1 (Göttingen, 1904).

Pliny. *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii*, ed. C. Mayhoff, Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1875–1906).

Prosper of Aquitaine. *Epitoma Chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH*, *Auct. Ant.* IX, 385–485.

Solinus. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium sive Polyhistor*, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1895).

Vegetius. *Epitoma rei militaris*, ed. C. Lang, Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1885).

Venantius Fortunatus. *Opera Poetica*, ed. F. Leo, *MGH. Auct. Ant.* IV. i. 1–270.

Vita Cuthberti auctore anonymo et *Vita Cuthberti prosaica auctore Beda*, ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940).

Vita Fursei, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH*, *SRM*, IV. 423–40.

Vita Germani auctore Constantio, ed. W. Levison, *MGH*, *SRM*, VII. 225–83.

Vita Lupi Trecensis, ed. W. Levison, *MGH*, *SRM*, VII. 284–302.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*
BLTW	*Bede, his Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935).
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–).
Clapham	Clapham, A. W., *English Romanesque Architecture before the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1930).
DCB	*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols. (London, 1877–87).
EHD	*English Historical Documents*, ed. D. Whitelock.
EHR	*English Historical Review.*
EPNS	*English Place-Name Society*
HAA	*Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, ed. C. Plummer. *See below under* Plummer.
HAB	*Historia abbatum auctore Beda*, ed. C. Plummer. *See below under* Plummer.
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica.* *Auct. Ant.* Auctores antiquissimi. *Epp.* Epistolae. *Poet. Lat.* Poetae Latini. *SRM.* Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum.
Opp.	*Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles. 12 vols. (London, 1843–4).
OE	Old English.
OED	*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. H. Murray *et al.* (Oxford, 1888–1935).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Patrologia latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
Plummer	*Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum: Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896).
RS	Rolls Series.
s.a.	sub anno.
s.v.	sub verbo.
Tangl	Tangl, M., ed. *S. Bonifatii et Lullii Epistolae. MGH, Epp. selectae*, I (Berlin, 1916).
Taylor	H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1965).
VA	*Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo.*
VP	*Vita sancti Cuthberti prosaica auctore Beda.*

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

1. *Bede and the History*

The History of the English Church and Nation, written by the Venerable Bede and finished in the year 731, is probably one of the most popular history books in any language and has certainly retained its popularity longer than any rival. The enthusiasm shown for his writings in the eighth century by English missionaries on the Continent, such as Boniface, Lul, and others, led to the spread of the knowledge of his works not only in England but also in western Europe. It is true that in 736 Boniface had not yet heard of it[1] but, some ten years later, he is inquiring for manuscripts of Bede's works though we do not know definitely if the *History* was amongst those he obtained;[2] Lul, writing from Mainz, some little time before 786, clearly has a copy of the *History* for he quotes from the list of Bede's works which he found at the end of it.[3] From then on, as the spread of his manuscripts shows, the *History* became popular all over western Europe and 160 of them survive to this day in spite of all the wars and other dangers to which manuscripts are always subject, as for instance after the dissolution of the monasteries or during the eighteenth century when vandalism and ignorance played havoc with our ancient libraries.

The reputation of the *History* rapidly grew in England. In 793 King Offa of Mercia owned a copy,[4] while Alfred, less than a hundred years afterwards, apparently had it translated into English as being, in his opinion, one of the books 'most necessary for all men to know'.[5] The earlier sections of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* made

[1] Tangl, *No. 33* (*EHD*, I. 746). Boniface asks Nothhelm for the date of the arrival of the Gregory mission which he would have known if he had had a copy of the *History*.

[2] Tangl, *No. 76* (*EHD*, I. 759).

[3] Tangl, *No. 126*.

[4] As is shewn in a letter from Alcuin to Offa quoted by W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 245.

[5] Cf. King Alfred's prose preface to his translation of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (*EHD*, I. 819), though he does not actually mention the Old English Bede. Cf. D. Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLVIII (1962), 57–78.

use of it[1] and almost everyone writing about the history of the English people or interested in the lives of the saints borrowed from his work all through the Middle Ages. It is typical that, in the sixteenth century, Bede should be praised on the one hand by Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs* as a man of sincere and holy life and a diligent student of the scriptures, while on the other hand Thomas Stapleton, a keen supporter of the old religion, translated the *History* into English and dedicated his translation to Queen Elizabeth, hoping that the study of it would turn the queen back again to the old faith.

So deeply are we indebted to Bede for our knowledge of the history of England before the eighth century that it comes as something of a shock to us to realize that if Bede had not written, the names of Chad and Cedd, Hild and Æthelthryth, Edwin and Oswald, Cædmon and Benedict Biscop would be either completely unknown or names known only to scholars, around which to spin cobwebs of conjecture; and our knowledge of the greatest of his themes, St. Augustine's mission and the conversion of the English, would be fragmentary. One might contrast our knowledge of England in the seventh century with the history of Ireland and Wales for the same period. Here almost all that is known definitely, depends on chance references in Bede; for the rest, vague tradition written down centuries later gives us a very uncertain foundation on which to build anything like a comprehensive account. On the other hand, many of Bede's stories are familiar to almost every child: the sparrow flying through Edwin's hall, the attack by the assassin, the profaning of the temples by the high priest: the story of Wilfrid teaching the pagans of Sussex to fish, of Cædmon the poet cowherd of Whitby, or the other great Whitby scene when Oswiu at the Council of 664 made his famous remark about St. Peter as he chose the Roman way.[2]

When Bede came to write his *History* he found himself faced by a confusing number of alternatives in the matter of chronology. Was he to use the method of reckoning by indictions? These were a series of cycles of fifteen years reckoned from A.D. 312 of which there were three variants, the Greek indiction beginning on

[1] In the northern recension of the *ASC*, represented by MSS. D and E (F), a northern writer added a considerable amount of Bede's *History* (taken from an *m*-type version) probably about the second half of the tenth century. I owe this information to Professor Dorothy Whitelock. But see p. xli, n. 2.

[2] ii. 9, 13; iii. 25; iv. 13, 24.

1 September, the Caesarean or Imperial indiction beginning on 24 September, or the Roman or Pontifical indiction beginning on 25 December. Or was he to use the regnal years of the rulers of the various English kingdoms? And what was to happen when he was referring to an incident, as for instance the synod of Hatfield in 679, where because Northumbria, Mercia, Kent, and East Anglia were represented, the regnal years of each of the rulers of these kingdoms had to be added?[1] Bede soon came to the conclusion that the system introduced by Dionysius Exiguus of reckoning from the birth of our Lord, the Incarnation year or year of grace, was not only the simplest way but also the most appropriate for a book dealing with the history of the Christian Church.[2] He still uses the regnal years of the Roman emperors or of the various English kings where appropriate, but it is his system of dating by the year of grace which is his main contribution to historical writing; indeed it is not too much to say that it was to this *History* more than to any other source that Christendom and most of the world owes its present system of chronology. But it is not merely that Bede's work provided future historians with a method of dating; the book itself became a pattern and gave a new conception of history to western Europe.

II. *Bede's Life*

We know very little about the life of the Venerable Bede, in fact no more than he tells us himself at the end of his *History*[3] where, following perhaps the example of Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks*, he adds a short biography and a list of his works. He tells us that he was in his fifty-ninth year when the *History* was finished in 731. It follows then that he was born in 672 or 673. He describes his birthplace as being in the territory of the monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The Old English version translates 'territorio' as 'on sundorlonde' and Sunderland has consequently often been claimed as his birthplace. But it does not follow that it was that particular 'sundorlond' on which he was born.[4] In fact,

[1] iv. 17.

[2] W. Levison, 'Bede as a Historian', *BLTW*, pp. 111 ff. The whole of this chapter is of the utmost importance to all students of Bede and the present writer gladly acknowledges his heavy debt to it.

[3] v. 24.

[4] *Sundorland* means 'land in private possession', in this case monastery land or later on to become such.

at the time of his birth neither monastery was yet in existence. There is a tradition that he was born at Monkton, less than two miles from the church at Jarrow, and in this place there is an ancient wishing-well known as Bede's well. In 680, at the age of seven, the boy was given into the care of Benedict Biscop, the ex-soldier who had become a monk and had founded the new monastery at Wearmouth in 674. It was at the same age that Beowulf was given into the charge of his mother's father to be brought up as a warrior: in fact the system of fosterage, particularly for boys of noble birth, was popular among the Irish and probably also among the Germanic peoples including the English; so this would be equivalent to putting the boy in charge of foster-parents. About 681 Jarrow, the sister-house, was founded and though the two monasteries had separate rulers, they continued all through Bede's life to be considered as one monastery. Thither he was transferred under the care of Ceolfrith with twenty-two monks,[1] and soon after there happened the incident described in the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*; it was a visitation of the plague and none of the monks was left to sing the offices except Ceolfrith and one little boy. After singing the Psalms for a week without antiphons except at vespers and mattins, they disliked the imperfect offices so much that they decided to struggle through the full service as best they could until help was forthcoming.[2] There can be no doubt that the little boy was Bede himself. It is typical of Bede's modesty that, in his *History of the Abbots*, he omits the incident altogether. He remained at Jarrow engaged in his studies all through his youth. He would have his share of menial tasks to perform and may even have taken part in the building of the new church which still survives, and which, according to the original dedication stone still to be seen in the church, was dedicated on 23 April 685.

He must very soon have been outstanding, both as scholar and monk, for as he tells us himself, he was ordained deacon at the age of nineteen, six years before the canonical age. Exceptions were occasionally made in the case of men of outstanding learning and devotion, but the fact that the canonical age was anticipated by six years bears eloquent witness to the esteem in which he was held by Ceolfrith. It was the latter who was responsible for pre-

[1] *HAA*, Plummer, I. 391. Bede says 'about seventeen'. *HAB*, Plummer, I. 370.

[2] *HAA*, Plummer, I. 393.

senting him to Bishop John of Hexham, better known as St. John of Beverley, of whom Bede speaks lovingly in the early chapters of his fifth book. He was ordained priest in 703, and the rest of his life was that of a typical scholar-monk. First of all came his observance of monastic discipline and of the daily offices; but amid all these it was ever, he tells us, his 'delight to learn or teach or write'.[1] His pupils were indeed fortunate in their teacher, while the result of his writing is seen in the extraordinary list of books which he appends to his *History* and, not least among them, the *History* itself.

His life, so far as we know, was a very quiet one and almost devoid of incident, though with the political situation being what it was, it cannot have been without its anxieties. We learn that he paid a visit to Lindisfarne on one occasion and in 733 he went possibly to York to stay with his friend and disciple Egbert the bishop.[2] But the incident which seems to have affected him most was the departure of his friend and master Ceolfrith in June 716, to end his days in Rome, taking with him one of the three magnificent Pandects or copies of the Vulgate text of the Bible now known as the *Codex Amiatinus*[3] which had been written in the scriptorium of the Wearmouth–Jarrow monastery, a princely gift presumably for the Pope and worth a king's ransom.

But Ceolfrith and his gift never reached Rome; he died at Langres and was buried in the churchyard of the church of the Twin Martyrs two miles from the city. Bede was deeply moved by the loss of one who had been more than a father to him,[4] but he continued his quiet way of life until his death, finishing his *History* four years before he died. When he had written the last words of this his greatest work, he must have felt that his life's work was done; and so he added to it the brief account of his life and a list of his writings; but one or two other works certainly came from his pen during those last four years, the latest surviving one being the letter he wrote to Bishop Egbert. Unfortunately the translation of St. John's Gospel into English which he finished on his deathbed has not survived. Bede was particularly good at describing the passing of the saints; so it was only fitting that

[1] v. 24.

[2] Prologue of *VP* (*Two Lives*, p. 145) and *Letter to Egbert*, Plummer, I. 405. See also *EHD*, I. 735, n. 3.

[3] See p. xxvi.

[4] *HAB*, Plummer, I. 381 and *Opp.* VIII. 162.

his own death should have been most movingly described by his disciple Cuthbert who later became abbot of the monastery of Wearmouth–Jarrow.[1] The story is probably as widely known as any of the incidents from the master's own *History*. He died on the evening before Ascension Day 735, that is on 25 May according to the civil calendar, though ecclesiastically it counted as Ascension Day, 26 May. This was at first the date of his festival, but owing to the fact that 26 May was also the festival of St. Augustine of Canterbury, it was ultimately moved to 27 May.

Bede has from very early times been known as 'Venerabilis', a title which from the fourth century was applied to ecclesiastics generally and also sometimes to lay men and women. Bede uses the term frequently of a number of his characters such as Cuthbert, Daniel, Egbert, Hereberht, James the Deacon, Paulinus, Swithberht, and Willibrord, all of them clerics but of different grades; he also uses it of two women, Eorcengota and Æthelburh, though in each case it was after their death. There was no association of age with the use of the term any more than in the modern title given to an archdeacon. But later on it gave rise to the idea that he lived to a great age and later Lives of the saint assumed that he reached the age of ninety. The origin of the title has been the subject of a number of medieval legends intended no doubt to add more prestige to this very ordinary descriptive adjective. The best known is the story of the angelic insertion of the title when a clerk was writing Bede's epitaph and was unable to supply a fitting word.[2] The title 'sanctus' occurs in a number of calendars of the eleventh century and it is clear that a cult of Bede was established fairly early, at any rate by the ninth century. Alcuin in his poem on the bishops and saints of York claims that Bede's relics worked miraculous cures[3] and in 819 when the church of the Saviour was consecrated in Fulda, the bones of the martyr Boniface rested in the western apse while in the crypt below were relics of Cuthbert and Bede.[4] His bones must therefore have been elevated fairly soon from the north chapel or porch of the church at Jarrow in which they were placed after his death, and his festival was certainly kept there in the early eleventh century; for it is to the year 1020 that the well-known story belongs of their

[1] See p. 579.
[2] *BLTW*, p. 38 and notes.
[3] *MGH, Poet. Lat.* I. 198 (ll. 1315–17).
[4] *MGH, Poet. Lat.* II. 208 (*Hrabani Mauri Carmina* 41, 11).

surreptitious removal by a certain Alfred Westou to the new cathedral in Durham, still in process of completion, where they were first placed in the coffin of St. Cuthbert and then removed to the Galilee chapel where they have been ever since.[1] But the title 'venerable' has stuck to him all through the ages and it was as 'venerable' that his name was entered in the Prayer Book Calendar of 1559. This probably explains why in the Roman Catholic church he is generally given the title of 'Saint' while in Protestant churches he still remains the Venerable Bede.

III. *Bede's monasticism*

A fairly clear picture of the monastic life which Bede lived can be gathered from his writings and those of his contemporaries. The Rule observed at the Wearmouth–Jarrow monastery was not exactly that of St. Benedict, though Benedict Biscop the founder used it in composing the conflate rule which was observed there.[2] It is unlikely that, as in many Gaulish monasteries, they used the Columban rule in addition to that of St. Benedict. This was what probably happened at Lindisfarne, but that monastery was much more influenced by the Irish tradition than Wearmouth–Jarrow. Benedict Biscop, the founder of the latter, was one of the champions of the Roman cause[3] and Columban had been a notorious upholder of the Celtic Easter and tonsure against the Gaulish clergy. As the Benedictine rule was strongly opposed to anything in the nature of competition in ascetic feats, it is unlikely that the violent ascetic practices of the Irish and British monasteries would find favour there. Bede in his *History* and also in the *Life of St. Cuthbert* likes to picture some of the saints indulging in such feats as standing up to the neck in water, continued deprivation of sleep, and excessive fasting especially in Lent. Whatever Bede thought of these practices he describes them with much respect, and one might suspect from his later complaints about monastic laxity, especially in his *Letter to Egbert*, that he almost used the virtues of the Celtic saints as propaganda, feeling it a good thing for his readers and hearers to realize the lengths to which these saints were willing to go, to deepen their spiritual experience. But it is worthy of remark that Bede describes no excessive mortification in his *Lives of the Abbots*.

[1] *Symeon of Durham*, ed. T. Arnold, I. 87. [2] *HAB*, Plummer, I. 374–5.
[3] So too was Ceolfrith. See *HAA*, Plummer, I. 388–9.

Jarrow church had glass in its windows, which to some extent alleviated the rigours of the raw sea mists through which the monks had to make their way from their cells to sing mattins and lauds, but life was certainly not easy in Bede's time. Alcuin, writing to the monks of Jarrow some sixty years after Bede's death, describes his earnestness in performing the solemn duties of the service of the altar and the singing of the canonical hours. 'It is told', says Alcuin, 'that our master and your patron the blessed Bede said, "I know that angels visit the canonical hours and the assemblies of the brethren. What if they do not find me there among the brethren? Will they not say, Where is Bede? Why does he not come to the appointed prayers with the brethren?"'[1]

Of the actual buildings at Wearmouth and Jarrow we know little. Nothing now remains above ground except the original porch and west wall of the church dedicated to St. Peter at Wearmouth and the remarkably well-preserved old church at Jarrow, dedicated to St. Paul, which now forms the chancel of the present church.[2] Benedict Biscop took great trouble about the churches, constructing them of stone and getting Gaulish masons and glass-makers to help him, even putting glass into the windows at Jarrow, almost the first glass to be used for this purpose in the north, perhaps in England, in Anglo-Saxon times. He also put glass vessels in the church and, when he returned in 686 from his sixth and last visit to Rome, he brought with him painted panels to put in both churches. Those at Jarrow showed an Old Testament incident on one wall and opposite it, on the other wall, the incident from the New Testament of which the first was a type or symbol. For instance, one showed Isaac carrying the wood for his own sacrifice and, on the opposite wall, Christ carrying the cross; another showed Moses lifting up the brazen serpent in the wilderness and opposite it the Lord on the cross.[3] No wonder that Bede became one of the great exponents of that symbolic interpretation which was a feature of biblical exegesis all through the Middle Ages.

The churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow being of stone were

[1] *MGH, Epp.* IV. 443.

[2] For a good account of the Anglo-Saxon churches at Escomb, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth see Taylor, I. 234–8, 338–49, and 432–46. Miss Rosemary Cramp's recent excavations at Jarrow have clearly illustrated Benedict Biscop's love of the 'Roman manner' of building—large-scale stone buildings, Roman types of flooring, and contemporary coloured window-glass.

[3] *HAB*, Plummer, I. 373.

probably in every way much in advance of the simple wooden buildings of Melrose, Coldingham, Lindisfarne, and Whitby. But the other monastic buildings probably did not differ much. From the works of Bede and his contemporaries we get a picture of a series of separate buildings, the dormitories, the refectory, the kitchens, the novices' apartments well away from the rest, and the cells, perhaps beehive-shaped, for the older monks, similar to those which still survive in a number of Irish and Scottish islands such as Skellig Michel, Inishmurray, Eilean na Naoimh, and on the Broughs of Deerness and Birsay in the Orkneys.[1] Round the whole would run a rampart or cashel, though the habit of building monasteries within Roman sites such as Burgh Castle, Reculver, Bradwell and elsewhere provided some with outer ramparts ready made.

IV. *Bede's Library*

Next to the church itself the most important buildings so far as Bede was concerned would be the libraries and the scriptoria. Benedict Biscop was making journeys to Rome regularly and as soon as the monastery was founded he brought back books from Rome and probably from Gaul in large quantities. Ceolfrith did his share too and is said to have greatly enlarged the libraries at both Wearmouth and Jarrow, though the writer of the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* who tells us this does not explain how.[2] Probably it was partly by purchase and partly by the copying which would be going on constantly in the great scriptoria. But there are enough proofs in Bede's writings to show that he was familiar with a wide range of authors. His *Commentaries* consist largely of borrowings from the Fathers. So over and beyond the scriptures of which his knowledge was outstanding and all-embracing he was familiar with, and had at hand, the works of Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Jerome, Gregory, Cassiodorus, Isidore, and others.[3]

In addition to works on the scriptures he had of course a number of basic books. In his earlier works such as the *Art of Metre* and his work on the *Figures and Tropes of Holy Scripture*, obviously intended as school books, he uses the classical authors most and

[1] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 94 ff., and Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ed. Margaret Stokes (London, 1875), I. 27 ff.

[2] *HAA*, Plummer, I. 395.

[3] *BLTW*, pp. 263–6.

quotes many examples from Cicero, Plautus, Terence, and others; but these may well have been borrowed from Donatus or a number of other lesser-known Latin Grammars.[1] The only classical authors with whom we may be sure that Bede was familiar are, first and foremost Virgil, as all his works bear witness, and Pliny's *Natural History*. Apart from these two his quotations are mere tags. He did not use the other 'heathen' writers for their own sake any more than did Gregory the Great, who sternly rebuked Desiderius bishop of Vienne for teaching the art of grammar through the medium of 'heathen' writers.[2] His library was well stocked with treatises on chronology and especially the works of Dionysius Exiguus.

In the libraries too there was much to encourage him to turn to and make use of the Lives of the saints. Not only had he the Calendars which gave the dates of the passions of the saints and martyrs, but also such important works as Athanasius' *Life of Antony* in Evagrius' Latin translation, Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin*, Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit*, and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great. When at some time between 725 and 731 he determined to make what proved to be the first historical or narrative martyrology, he had the Lives of at least fifty saints and martyrs at his disposal. It was this fortunate accumulation which led him to produce the type of martyrology which was to be the pattern for all other martyrologies in the west.[3]

Of all this collection of books in the twin libraries only a small proportion escaped the savage Viking onslaughts of the ninth century. Of these the most striking is the Codex Amiatinus already mentioned, the leading authority for Jerome's translation of the Bible. It is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence and consists of 1029 leaves of costly and beautiful vellum, each measuring $19\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in., written in an elegant uncial script. It was one of three magnificent volumes produced in the scriptoria of the twin monastery. Of the other two, only a few odd pages remain in the British Museum. But the fact that three of these volumes, almost identical in form, were produced in the scriptoria throws some light on the surprising resources of the monastery in

[1] *BLTW*, p. 241.

[2] *MGH, Epp.* II. 303. For a defence of Gregory against the accusation of being 'anti-learning' see P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, p. 14 and notes.

[3] H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge*, pp. 17–119.

Bede's time.[1] Copies of Bede's works were made here too, and if it had not been for these extensive libraries and splendid scriptoria, there could never have been such a scholar as Bede who, in the words of Notker Balbulus, writing at St. Gall in the late ninth century, was 'a new sun in the west, ordained to illuminate the whole globe'.[2]

v. *Northumbria and the West*

When Bede was born about 673 King Ecgfrith had been reigning over Northumbria, consisting of the combined kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, for some three years. Oswiu, Ecgfrith's father and predecessor, had been stretching out his borders all through his reign and, when Ecgfrith came to the throne, the whole of eastern Scotland south of the Firth of Forth was in English hands. At the beginning of his reign the Picts rose against him, looking upon him as a dangerous potential enemy. But they were heavily defeated about 672. It is probable that Strathclyde came under his subjection at this time too. About 680 the monastery at Abercorn became the episcopal seat of a Northumbrian bishop called Trumwine. In 684 Ecgfrith sent an expedition against Ireland and devastated part of the kingdom of Meath, perhaps to intimidate the tribes who were attempting to support their kinsmen against his inroads in Dalriada. In 685 Ecgfrith was trapped in the mountains and killed with all his retainers by the Picts at Nechtansmere in Forfarshire.[3]

The task of protecting the northern border now lay with Aldfrith, Ecgfrith's half-brother and son of an Irish princess. But it was Bede's opinion that from this time the strength of the Northumbrian kingdom began to 'ebb and fall away'.[4] The Picts and Irish in Dalriada and the Britons, presumably of Strathclyde, all regained their territories so that Trumwine had to leave his see

[1] Some attempt is at last being made to study the special features of the surviving manuscripts from these scriptoria. See E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, VI, and *English Uncial Script* (Oxford, 1960): also T. J. Brown in *Codex Lindisfarnensis* (Olten and Lausanne, 1960), II. 89–106.

[2] Notkeri Balbuli, *De interpretationibus divinarum scripturarum*, *PL*, CXXXI. 996. Quoted by D. Whitelock, *After Bede*, Jarrow Lecture, 1960 (Jarrow, 1961). The lecture is an important study of the growth of Bede's reputation after his death.

[3] iv. 26; *VA*, iv. 8; *VP*, chapter 27.

[4] iv. 26. Bede is quoting Virgil, *Aeneid* ii. 169.

at Abercorn and many Englishmen were either killed or enslaved or forced to flee to their native land.

Yet in many ways it was a great relief to Northumbria to be freed from the troubles brought about by an ambitious king constantly on the look-out for means to increase his dominions. Aldfrith was a scholar who had been educated in Ireland and spoke Irish fluently. He was naturally interested in the new monasteries—or rather monastery—at Wearmouth and Jarrow and must have been delighted at the building up of the libraries there as well as those at York, Hexham, Ripon, and other places. In many parts of Northumbria the English and Irish, and possibly even Italian scholars and Eastern artists who had come in the train of Theodore of Tarsus, combined to produce works of art of many kinds. Perhaps the most important were the magnificent series of illuminated gospels which appeared around the turn of the century, the most famous being the Lindisfarne Gospels now in the British Museum. And after Aldfrith's death works of art continued to be produced and learning to flourish: for instance the remarkable free-standing crosses of stone of which many fragments remain all over the North of England. The best known are the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, the Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland and the splendid fragments to be seen at Croft, South Church, Great Ayton, Aycliffe, Escomb, and elsewhere. In addition to the churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow, there were also Wilfrid's two great churches at Hexham and Ripon, of which the crypts still survive almost intact. At Escomb there is a largely unspoilt church which pretty certainly belongs to the early eighth century as also do some parts of the church at Corbridge.[1] In fact the whole of the first half of the eighth century seems to have been a time of great cultural advance over all Northumbria including the country around Solway Firth and Carlisle and Galloway in spite of a succession of unsatisfactory kings.

On Aldfrith's death he was succeeded by a boy of eight, his son Osred, who grew up to be a vicious youth and met a violent death at the age of nineteen having called down upon himself the bitter condemnation of St. Boniface.[2] He was succeeded by Cenred and then Osric, both of whom reigned for only a short time; when

[1] For further information about the churches and sculpture see Clapham and Taylor, *passim*.

[2] Tangl, *No. 73* and *EHD*, I. 755.

their brief reigns had ended, Bede and his fellow monks must have looked forward with some relief to the reign of Ceolwulf, who came to the throne in 729 and to whom Bede dedicated his *History*. But even before the *History* was finished, Bede was looking anxiously to the future. He had to acknowledge that the beginning and the course of Ceolwulf's reign had been full of troubles so that he could not guess what would be the outcome of it all. He was probably thinking chiefly of the incident in 731 when Ceolwulf was taken and forcibly tonsured, presumably as a gesture of contempt.[1] For Bede the outlook was dark at home and abroad; the Moslems, or the 'Saracens' as he termed them, were pressing hard on Christian Europe. Furthermore the appearance of two comets in 729 portended 'dire disaster to east and west alike'.[2] At home Bede saw the rapid rise of a sham monasticism which he condemned in his last written work, the *Letter to Egbert*. He lived long enough to hear about the repulse of the Moslems at the battle of Tours by Charles Martel in 732, though he can hardly have recognized the significance of the victory. He even inserted a sentence after he had finished his *History* in which he mentions this battle.[3] He died in 735 and two years later Ceolwulf resigned his throne, ending his life in the monastery at Lindisfarne. Learning and the arts, however, continued to flourish in the twin monasteries for at least sixty years after Bede's death. Then began the Scandinavian raids and, a century after his death, the monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and York were shadows of their former selves.

It is often said that Bede's life was that of the typical peaceful scholar and that is no doubt true; but it was also a time of great political tension. Bede, living as he did in a monastery where visitors came probably in some numbers, could not fail to hear what was happening in the countries beyond the seas. As he wrote his *History* he saw around him anarchy and decay and, from across the seas, he had learned the news of how the whole of Christian Africa and most of Christian Spain had fallen victims to the Moslems. It was a time of anxiety for the whole of western Europe and the *History*, like many of the world's greatest books, was written at a time of political upheaval.

[1] *Baedae Continuatio*, *s.a.* 731, p. 572.
[2] v. 23. [3] v. 23 and note.

VI. *The* History*: its models and sources*

As Professor Levison has pointed out,[1] when Bede was writing his *History*, saints' Lives were being written everywhere, but other forms of historical writing were in decay. Bede was familiar with two histories, both of which may have served him as models, namely Rufinus' translation and adaptation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius and Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*. But though Bede may have gained hints from both of these and possibly other works, he had one great aim. It was to tell the story of the development of God's plan for the conversion of the English people and the building up of one united Church in the land. He began by painting a background, geographical and historical, picturing the British inhabitants as feeble in time of war and, though Christian in name, vicious in time of peace, easily falling into heresies; but, worst of all, refusing to co-operate in the conversion of the 'heathen Saxons'. Then he plunges straight into the story of the mission of St. Augustine and its arrival in England. From this basis the other books spring directly. Bede shows how the gospel passed the bounds of the petty kingdoms and united the whole land under the aegis of the great catholic Church over which the bishops of the 'apostolic see', as he loved to call Rome, exercised a paternal and benevolent rule. The Irish Church is led into the same fold but the Britons, who refused to help in God's great task of the conversion of the English, meet their due reward and in the last chapter of the Fifth Book we find them partly subject to their English masters and wholly powerless. All other minor aims are subservient to this one. He had at his disposal fairly complete lists of the bishops of each kingdom and thereby he was able to emphasize the continuity of the Church and its close contact with the Church universal. This is only one of the many methods he employed to throw into relief the unity of the whole English race; and it is not for nothing that he ends his first book with the final and utter defeat of the British and Irish people and the firm establishment of the English people in their new land. Bede was perhaps the first to lay stress on the unity of all the smaller kingdoms in the one great English nation.

But, as Bede explains in his Preface, his motive in writing is also didactic; history tells of good men and bad, and the thoughtful

[1] *BLTW*, p. 111.

listener is spurred on to follow the good and eschew the bad. Further he sees the deep spiritual significance which underlies the events of history and the lives of men and women. Nor is he unaware that what he has to say will also be welcome and give pleasure especially to the inhabitants of the various towns and districts he mentions; his desire to produce matter of special interest to some of the 'more important places' led him to insert some of the biographies and delightful stories with which his *History* is sprinkled. In fact there can be no doubt whatever that Bede was not only hoping to give pleasure to other people but was definitely giving himself the pleasure which every artist finds in producing a genuine work of art.

Let us consider briefly some of the historical sources on which Bede relies. His first book where he is preparing the scene for the coming of Augustine's mission is based largely upon older material and there is little that is original. His first chapter, for instance, is a mosaic of quotations from Pliny, Gildas, Solinus, and Orosius, together with a sentence from the *Hexaemeron* of St. Basil.[1] In the next few chapters he continues to use Orosius principally, with a few additions from Eutropius and Vegetius as well as from the *Liber Pontificalis*, the official collection of the lives of the popes which he was to use considerably in later books. When he reaches the Diocletian persecutions he is able to use the first saint's Life which had any reference to Britain, that of St. Alban. So he continues mostly from Orosius with occasional insertions from Eutropius, Gildas, and a poem of Prosper. But with the end of the Roman rule, Bede is dependent on Gildas, though with many additions and explanatory notes of his own and occasional facts drawn from other historians. The Gildas borrowings continue to the end of chapter 16 with his own important insertion about the origin of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in chapter 15. In chapter 17 he turns to another Life, that of St. Germanus written by Constantius, and this he follows almost verbally to the end of chapter 21 when the Gildas extracts begin again. Then, at the end of chapter 22, with something like a sigh of relief, he turns to his papal and other sources.

It is at this point that he begins to use the chief sources of his information concerning Augustine's mission, namely the material

[1] See also footnotes to the various chapters especially in Books i and ii, and Index of Quotations.

collected by Abbot Albinus gathered both from tradition and from the written records which at that time existed in Kent; besides this there were the letters of Gregory transcribed by Nothhelm from the papal registers and brought to him by the latter. He also had the copy of Gregory's *Responsiones*[1] which he had used ten years before when writing the *Life of St. Cuthbert*[2] and a copy of the second recension of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Of the twenty-nine letters which are still extant referring to the mission of Augustine he uses sixteen, eight from Gregory and eight from other popes, all those from Gregory appearing in the first book. These he quotes verbally, though not always in full, which makes the first book seem heavy and overweighted to the modern reader. But for Bede it is an assurance of accuracy; though he uses oral tradition freely in this and the other books, yet he likes to rely on written documents and his great reverence for Gregory made him choose, when possible, to use the words of the saint himself. The last chapter of the first book reminds us that he had some North-umbrian annals at his disposal which he was to use later on. In spite of all this mosaic the book serves its purpose and moves steadily on through the course of the early history, leaving the English nation firmly settled in their new land and the Christian mission well under way.

At the end of his *History* Bede describes how he 'put together this account of the church of Britain and of the English people in particular, gleaned either from ancient documents, or from tradition or from my own knowledge'.[3] This is an exact description of his sources for the rest of the *History*. The ancient documents are there in the form of more letters from the popes, from Boniface V to Vitalian, seven in book two and one in book three:[4] there are the proceedings of the first two synods of the English church, that of Hertford in 672 and Hatfield in 679.[5] He makes plenty of use of saints' Lives, some of which are still extant, like the Lives of Fursa, Wilfrid, and Cuthbert, while he also uses a lost Life of Æthelburh for the miracles of the nuns of Barking.[6] Other sources which come under the same heading are genealogies, regnal lists, annals and lists of bishops, and records which

[1] See notes on the *Libellus Responsionum* at i. 27.
[2] *BLTW*, p. 128 n. 2. [3] v. 24. [4] ii. 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19 (two); iii. 29.
[5] iv. 5; iv. 17. Cf. W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 275. [6] iii. 19; iv. 7–10, 27–33; v. 19.

he obtained from his various friends and helpers such as those referred to in the Preface—from Kent, Wessex, East Anglia, Lastingham, and Lindsey and perhaps some Celtic sources too, though these are uncertain. Then of course there was still much information to be gained from the floating traditions, preserved possibly in the form of a saga, such as Bede brings together in the differing accounts of Edwin's conversion, which he attempts to make, not altogether convincingly, into one whole.[1]

As Bede reaches his own times he is dependent to a much greater extent on what he calls in the Preface 'the faithful testimony of innumerable witnesses'; these he usually names and at the same time attempts to distinguish between first-hand and second-hand information.[2] Though Bede himself, so far as we know, travelled but little, yet he was living in a monastery which was very much in touch with the outside world, and much information from all parts of England, from Ireland, and the Continent would quickly reach them. Thus he is aware of the Moslem invasions; some Roman pilgrim has given him a copy of the epitaphs on Gregory the Great and on Cædwalla in Rome. It is the miscellaneous nature of his information which makes his last book less of an integrated whole than the other books.

The five books into which the *History* is divided differ slightly in length, the first two being slightly shorter than the other three. The first book, as we have already seen, builds up a background and sees the English people firmly planted in their own land and the mission begun. The second book begins with a brief biography of Gregory and an account of his works, emphasizing the important part played by Gregory in English tradition; it goes on to describe the conversion of the north and reaches up to the fall of Edwin and the temporary destruction of the Northumbrian Church. It covers a period of twenty-seven years. The third book deals very largely with the spread of the Celtic Church chiefly in Northumbria but in other parts of the country too. The book reaches a climax with the Council of Whitby after which there follows an uneasy period of reaction and decline in the Church all through the midlands and the south and ends up with the events which led to the appointment of Theodore. The fourth book describes the great revival of Church life which followed the coming of Theodore, all over the country. It finishes with the

[1] See ii. 13 and note.

[2] There is an important note on the subject at Plummer, I. xliv, n. 3.

death of Cuthbert in 687, a saint whom Bede regarded with special veneration. It may well have been that to Bede Cuthbert symbolized the union of the Celtic and Roman churches, the establishment of good relations with Rome again while all that was best of the Irish tradition remained. The two miracles of Cuthbert which form the last two chapters are no more than an appendix to his own earlier Life of the saint and were always so treated in the manuscripts of the Life which have survived. Finally the fifth book covers the rest of the period from 687 to 731. It is, as we have seen, the most miscellaneous of all the books and the weakest in construction. It contains the biographies of John of Beverley, Willibrord, Wilfrid, and Dryhthelm, while Bede's friend Egbert hovers vaguely in the background as a sort of champion of the Roman way of reckoning Easter in Ireland and Iona. It is possible that Bede felt some hesitation about going into the history of his own times and discussing his own contemporaries in quite the same way as he had dealt with the preceding period. But it is difficult to justify the section on the holy places on any count. The very long letter to the king of the Picts on the date of Easter seems tiresome and unnecessary to modern readers but for Bede it sums up the controversy which occupies much space in the *History* and forms one of its central themes: could the English Church accept her position as the true and loyal offspring of the Roman Church, free from any taint of heresy or particularist error? Or was she to slip back into insular withdrawal and cut herself off from all the spiritual inheritance and cultural influences which Rome stood for? The letter is, in fact, one of the clearest accounts of the Easter controversy to be found anywhere in writers ancient or modern and forms a fitting and final summary of this all-pervasive topic. If Ceolfrith actually wrote it, then he must have been a very able chronologer and master of a clear incisive style. But there are echoes of Bede's style in it so that it is likely that Bede edited the letter freely if he did not actually write it. At the end of the *History*, Bede, like Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks*, gives a brief epitome of his life and works.

VII. *The Miracles*

Bede's very considerable use of saints' Lives, of the sagas associated with them in tradition, together with the stories supplied by friends

and contemporaries, is responsible for one of the chief difficulties which faces a modern reader of the *History*. How is it that one who is supposed to be our greatest medieval historian can spend so much time telling wonder tales? It seems strange too when we remember that Bede, borrowing from Gregory the Great, declares that miracles are necessary at the beginning of the history of the Church, just as water is necessary for a plant until it has taken root: then it need be watered no longer.[1] It may be that they felt that the new Church in England needed this help. Yet, even so, Gregory and Bede both fill their writings with every kind of miracle story, some of them being little more than fairy tales. How can a historian expect to be taken seriously who tells a fantastic tale about a bishop being violently beaten by St. Peter at his shrine in Canterbury, so that the bishop when he leaves the saint's shrine is black and blue?[2] or in what sense are we to take the story of the Northumbrian captive whose fetters fall from him whenever his brother, who is a priest, says a mass on his behalf?[3]

The answer to this question seems to stem from the historic association in the Graeco-Roman culture of the second and third centuries between a belief in the marvellous and true devotion. The truly pious person naturally believed strongly in the miraculous element in his religion. Apostolic Christianity took its own line on this question and maintained that only such marvels as were done in Christ's name were true miracles; and that a belief in the miraculous did not necessarily imply true faith and devotion. But this was difficult for the ordinary man to accept and so, although the theologians, such as Bede, knew well the difference between true faith and mere faith in the marvellous, yet they seem to have felt that the latter might be a stepping-stone to the former. Not to have believed in miracles performed by the saints might well seem to the ordinary man to be equivalent to having no faith at all. And Bede, whatever his opinion of the importance of miracles, freely accepted the stories of the marvels wrought by the saints if related by credible witnesses. Yet to him as to Gregory this faith in the marvellous did not seem to be the highest form of faith nor was the gift of working miracles the only sign of sanctity. Indeed, Gregory in a letter which Bede preserves in his *History* warns Augustine against the dangers which may assail the worker of miracles. But Bede and Gregory and their contemporaries took it for granted

[1] *Opp.* x. 261. [2] ii. 6. [3] iv. 22.

that God could and did work miracles through and on behalf of those who were very near and devoted to Him. Those who heard these stories were both delighted and edified. They learned from them that God was still ruling in spite of the many troubles that harassed the lives of ordinary men, and that from time to time He could still intervene on their behalf. Nowadays we may not regard the miracle stories in precisely the same light as did Bede and his contemporaries; but we ought to treat them with reverent sympathy, for it was in such ways that they projected their own faith and hope upon the external world. Furthermore, even when the stories seem fantastic and incredible to the modern reader, there is often to be found in them a certain background of historical information which has its value; besides, many of these stories are delightful for their own sake as every reader of Bede's *History* knows.

In the *Lives of the Abbots*, which is mainly a portrait of Benedict Biscop, Bede is pure historian. He deals with the life of Benedict Biscop just as a modern biographer would, bringing in much material about the lives of other abbots of the monastery at Wearmouth and Jarrow. However much he was tempted to add stories of miracles, and there was already a saga growing up about Ceolfrith, who was dearest of all the abbots to him, yet Bede does nothing else but recite sober history as any modern biographer would do. In the *History*, however, Bede is both historian and relater of saints' Lives. We must remember that the *History* was appealing to a much wider audience and so Bede did not refrain from telling the sagas of the saints wherever they seemed appropriate; but in spite of all this his story is firmly based on historical materials, and when we read it in the light of contemporary literature we are not surprised that this miraculous element is present, for it is a true reflection of the mind of the people of his day; we are only surprised that there is not more of it. He was living in an age very different from our own in its attitude to the laws of nature. Yet compared with Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*, Bede seems to keep the miraculous element in check, possibly because he was modelling himself on Rufinus who also keeps the wonder element in the background.

VIII. *Bede's style*

Many scholars have praised Bede's Latin style for its straightforwardness and simplicity but it has more than that. Few writers,

before or since, have produced so many vivid incidents so dramatically told, in one single work. Many of these, as we have seen, are now part and parcel of our literature; but there are a few which have not received the praise they deserve. One such is the healing of the dumb youth by St. John of Beverley, which is not without its touch of humour: others are the pair of stories of the two men who, each in his own way, discovered the virtues of the soil where Oswald fell.[1] The experiences of Dryhthelm in the other world must surely be one of the most striking examples of a literary genre which was very popular in the Middle Ages.[2] Bede is in fact a master of dramatic effect and his incidents are built up with the skill of a practised writer. He was also familiar with the arts of the rhetoricians and had written a book on the subject himself. He frequently makes use of figures of speech, epigrammatic contrasts, plays upon the meanings of words with implied secondary allusions, all of which are extremely difficult to reproduce in translation. To make Bede's *History* read in translation like any modern history book is not impossible, but it is only done at the cost of losing most of his overtones and producing a result which may be highly readable but is emphatically not Bede.

Bede's respect for Irish scholarship was high,[3] but fortunately he never gave way to the popular *Hisperica Famina* type of Latin with its alliteration, periphrasis, and exotic vocabulary, consisting of a strange combination of new formations based on other Latin or Greek or Hebrew words and rare expressions borrowed from the glosses of grammarians. His contemporary Aldhelm used this form of writing largely and Bede refers to him politely as being 'sermone nitidus';[4] if Bede had followed in his footsteps he could certainly have been more 'nitidus' than Aldhelm, but the result would have been fatal and the *History* would have been something very different from what we know today. It is true that there are obscurities in the course of the work, but these are found mostly either in the documents which he inserts verbatim into his text or in passages where he borrows phrases from other sources. The occasional difficulties which arise elsewhere are generally due to a faulty text or to his habit of bringing in remote scriptural references which were familiar enough in his day but are less

[1] iii. 9, 10; v. 2.
[2] v. 12 and note; also *BLTW*, pp. 214–15.
[3] iii. 27.
[4] v. 18.

familiar nowadays; such for instance is his description of Cædmon ruminating over the scripturé stories 'like a clean beast';[1] but taken as a whole Bede's Latin was worthy of the story he had to tell and worthy of the simple, pious, learned scholar who wrote it; and that is perhaps the highest praise we can give it.

B. C.

[1] iv. 24.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION[1]

1. *The state of our text*

BEDE'S *History* is one of the very few works written in Latin before the Carolingian renaissance which have come down to us in copies virtually contemporary with their authors; the scribes of our two oldest manuscripts might well have been among the disciples who gathered round the master's deathbed. It is therefore not surprising if its state of preservation is almost impeccable, so that Bede's reader has little more need to trouble himself with the details of textual criticism than the reader of Gibbon or Macaulay. If we invite him to consider the state of our text and its circulation in the Middle Ages, it is that these things have an interest of their own. First, then, for the text.

We know from books like the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Stonyhurst St. John, or the Oxford copy of Bede on Proverbs, MS. Bodley 819, how high was the tradition of accuracy in the Northumbrian scriptoria; and the *History* is no exception. In the whole work, as it appears in the consensus of our oldest and best copies, there are perhaps thirty-two places (in nearly 300 printed pages) where some defect of sense or syntax suggests that correction is required. But even this small quantum of error is not what it seems. In twenty-six of these places, Bede is transcribing from an earlier source: there are four, for example, in i. 17 and 20 where he is drawing on the *Vita sancti Germani*, four in i. 27 the *Libellus Responsionum* of St. Gregory, fourteen in the various papal letters which he has incorporated. That 80 per cent. of these mistakes should occur in quoted documents can hardly be accidental. Perhaps these defects were there already in Bede's sources; perhaps, when he had a written source, he or his amanuensis transcribed it very accurately, including even its errors, and the

[1] This section of the Introduction is based on Plummer's work, and on the *Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, New York, 1943) of M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King. It owes much to Professor Bernhard Bischoff, Dr. R. W. Hunt, Mr. Neil Ker, Mr. Paul Meyvaert, and Dr. Michael Wallace-Hadrill; and let the kindness of the custodians of many libraries be gratefully recorded.

result was faithfully transmitted by the transcribers of the finished work. Three examples will make this almost certain:

In i. 7 (p. 30) there is a clause that makes no sense (*quod . . . diuidebatur*): he is following the *Passio sancti Albani*, and the same corruption appears in an independent ninth-century copy of the *Passio* now in Paris, so it was no doubt already in Bede's own copy.

In ii. 18 (pp. 196–8) the preposition *per* twice appears governing the ablative instead of the accusative. This is the error of someone to whom late Latin with its changes of syntax and form is still a living language, not of an Englishman who has been drilled in the grammar in his monastic school, and we are reading a letter of Pope Honorius I. The mistake is probably due to the clerk who made the copy of the letter which was supplied to Bede; and an exact parallel can be found elsewhere in unofficial copies of two letters of Gregory the Great.[1]

In iii. 19 (p. 272) *quartus* for *quartum* is unexplained, until we find that it is *quartus* in the *Vita sancti Fursei*: the source is not here in error, but it has been copied *literatim* and not adapted to the syntax of Bede's sentence.

There remain six examples of error in all our oldest manuscripts—and so presumably in their common original—where Bede does not seem to be copying an earlier document. One is the omission of *ut* in the heading of ii. 5 (p. 118), which seems just a slip. The others may be unprovoked scribal mistakes; but all could be explained if the author had changed his mind and not removed all traces of the change.

In iii. 11 (p. 246), if Bede had written *ossa* instead of *reliquiae*, *eadem* would have been correct: in iii. 14 (p. 256) *quam* for *quod* suggests that *secretario* may have replaced *ecclesia* or *porticu*: in iii. 22 (p. 282) *qui* follows *uilla regia* as though it had been (say) *loco*: in iv. 22 (20) (p. 402) *promittens se nihil ei mali futurum pro eo* looks like the fusion of two alternative phrases *se nihil ei mali facturum* and *nihil mali futurum pro eo*: in v. 13 (p. 500) perhaps Bede himself never decided whether the demons were to hold *cultra* or *uomeres* or something else.

Of course this is mere speculation on a very narrow base; but these early scribes are seen to be so faithful, that one well may wonder whether in the rare defects of the text they copied, they have preserved for us a glimpse of the author's draft.

The early manuscripts tell us another thing, as Plummer saw (I, pp. xciv–v). He established that they fall into two main classes,

[1] See D. Norberg, *In Registrum Gregorii studia critica* (Uppsala, 1937), 85 n.

called by him the 'C-type' and the 'M-type', by us *c* and *m*, which he distinguishes as follows:

(*a*) The prayer *Praeterea omnes . . . inueniam* (below, p. 6) is found after the preface in *m*, at the end of the whole work in *c*.
(*b*) A miracle of St. Oswald (iv. 14) is recounted in *m* and not in *c*.
(*c*) The words in iv. 18 *cuius supra meminimus*, referring to a previous mention of Benedict Biscop which is not in fact to be found in the text as we have it, are not in *c*.
(*d*) At the end of iv. 30, where *m* has *quaedam quae*, *c* has *unum quod*, as though only one miracle of St. Cuthbert were to follow (though *c*, like *m*, gives two, both iv. 31 and 32), and *c* in its list of chapters has the headings of iv. 31 and 32 in the reverse order.
(*e*) In the chronological summary (v. 24), *c* ends the annal for 731 with *archiepiscopus*, and then inserts annals for 733 and 734 which are not in *m*.
(*f*) In the list of Bede's works at the end of v. 24, *c* makes no mention of his *Capitula* on the Prophets (an omission which may of course be accidental).

What is the relation of these two types of text to one another? The addition in *m* of iv. 14, which is clearly authentic, and would never have been removed by a reviser, stamps *m* as the later form; and the appearance in *c* of annalistic entries for 733 and 734, while *m* stops at 731, does not (as Plummer thought) tell very strongly the other way, for nothing lends itself so easily to later addition, whether authentic or alien, as annals. But the question is of no great importance, for any hope that we might be able to trace two stages in the writing of the *History* is soon disappointed. In this edition, the readings of individual manuscripts are not recorded;[1] the *m*-text (as being the later) is printed, with all *c*'s variations in the notes (which can be given with certainty only in books iv and v, as will appear); and the reader will see that this amounts to very little beyond small changes in the order of words. Points (*c*) and (*d*) in our list give us again a momentary glimpse of Bede at work, changing his mind and forgetting to conceal the traces, and that seems to be all. The two types of text are important for a quite different reason: *c* held a monopoly in this country,[2] while Continental copies with very few exceptions all belong to *m*.

[1] A text with critical apparatus is planned for the series *Corpus Christianorum*.

[2] The compilers of the Northern version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are said (above, p. xviii, n. 1) to have used an *m*-text in the tenth century; this is no doubt possible, but I know no evidence for it.

II. *Our Authorities for the Text*[1]

Our *c*-text is established from the following copies:

K = *Kassel, Landesbibliothek 4° MS. theol. 2* (*CLA* VIII, no. 1140), written in small Northumbrian hands of the late eighth century, with early corrections; no ornament, and the rubrics and chapter-numbers never filled in; the limp wrapper bears a ninth-century title and the fifteenth-century pressmark of the famous abbey of Fulda in Hesse, founded by St. Boniface in 744. An unpretentious, easily portable book, with a most accurate text, except for the occasional omission of words; it is very greatly to be regretted that only books iv and v survive, the others having been lost—to judge by the rubbing and retracing of the present first leaf—long before the end of the Middle Ages.

C = *London, British Museum Cotton Tiberius C. II* (*CLA* II, no. 191), of the second half of the eighth century, well written with handsome initials, not in Northumbria but in Southern England. It was in the south that Old English glosses (Ker, no. 198) were added in the ninth century.

Plummer (I, p. xciii) says 'it is certainly a Durham book', and gives two reasons; (*a*) the odd mistake *meditaturum* for *meditandum* at the beginning of the preface, which is also found in the twelfth-century historian Symeon of Durham: (*b*) near the end of the preface, *nostro* is added in an early hand, so as to read *patre nostro et antistite Cuthberto*. The first argument can have little force as long as we know so little about Symeon's sources, and because *meditaturum* is found elsewhere—in a twelfth-century copy from Anchin (below, p. lxi) and as an alternative in a book written in Oxford or Salisbury (p. xlviii). The wording *patre nostro* is found also in our manuscript O: and unless the date of the addition in C rules this out, one would suppose it to come from their common parent, a Northern book, and to throw no light on their own place of writing or their later home.[2]

O = *Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 43* (*4106*), which is

[1] In what follows, *CLA* = E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934–69); Ker = N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of MSS. containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957).

[2] S. M. Kuhn, in *Speculum*, XXIII (1948), 613–19, and *Review of English Studies*, N.S. VIII (1957), 355–70, thought of Lichfield as the place of origin, with Worcester as a later home; but his criteria were impugned by K. Sisam in *RES*, N.S. VII (1956), 1–10, 113–31, and VIII, 370–4. David H. Wright, in *Anglia*, LXXXII (1964), 116, has re-emphasized the relation between C and other illuminated books connected with St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

Plummer's O_1 (I, p. cxiii), an accurate and handsome book of the early eleventh century, carefully corrected by several later hands, especially in the twelfth. Sir Thomas Hardy's suggestion, followed by Plummer, that it comes from Glastonbury, seems to be without foundation.

C and O are clearly independent, so that O although much later is valuable as a check on the accuracy of C; but their texts are so close that they must have had a common eighth-century ancestor, which is here called *c2*. This represents the form of the *History* current throughout the Middle Ages in these islands; and it is not quite so free from faults as K. In books iv and v, where we have both *c2* and K, we can reconstruct the text of *c* with confidence, for all three copies are very close to their common source. Elsewhere, when *c2* differs from *m*, we cannot always be certain whether we have the true text of *c* or a variant peculiar to *c2*. Fortunately, for one long chapter which is lost from K, we have another *c* witness, which is Continental and presumably independent of *c2*, on which it can therefore act as a check. This is i. 27, the *Libellus Responsionum*, copied by itself, in the form peculiar to the *History* and with most, but not all, of *c2*'s characteristic readings (and so perhaps from some manuscript like K), in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Rh. 95, of the tenth century, from Rheinau.[1] Even where *c* can be reconstructed, we have given the variants of *c2* in full, though often worth little, for they are characteristic of the text current in England in the eighth century.[2]

Our *m*-text is based on the following:

M = *Cambridge, University Library Kk. 5. 16* (*CLA* II, no. 139), known as the Moore MS. because, before King George I gave it to Cambridge in 1715, it had belonged to John Moore, bishop of Ely. It was written in Northumbria in or soon after the year 737, as can be inferred from the retrospective dating attached to certain historical events. The unusually full use made of the writing-space, the number of small mistakes, the absence of

[1] These facts were generously provided by Mr. P. Meyvaert; he is not responsible for any misinterpretation of them. See also his article 'Les "Responsiones" de S. Grégoire le Grand à S. Augustin de Cantorbéry' in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LIV (1959), 879–92.

[2] The Old English version, published by T. Miller for the Early English Text Society, vols. 95, 96, 110, 111 (1890–8), follows a good *c* (rather than *c2*) text; cf. Plummer, I, p. cxxix, and Professor D. Whitelock, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLVIII (1962), 57–90.

ornament, and other symptoms suggest that the scribe was obliged to be economical of time and material. (Perhaps he was on a visit to Wearmouth or Jarrow, or had the loan of a copy from there in his own monastery for a limited time.) Full details are given by P. Hunter Blair in the complete reproduction published in the Copenhagen *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, vol. IX (1959).[1] At the end are some chronological notes added not later than 737,[2] the Old English version of Cædmon's hymn (Ker, no. 25), and some other excerpts, best dealt with when we come to speak of M's numerous progeny (below, p. lxii).

L = *Leningrad, Public Library Lat. Q. v. I. 18* (*CLA* XI, no. 1621; Ker, no. 122), a very handsome volume with fine ornament, copied by four scribes, no doubt at Wearmouth or Jarrow, not later than the year 747.[3] A complete facsimile was published by O. Arngart in the same Copenhagen series, vol. II (1952), and the manuscript has been discussed in *Scriptorium*, XII (1958), 182–207, the hand by E. A. Lowe and the ornament by M. Schapiro.[4] The text is very close to that of M, but more accurate. There seems no reason why both should not have been taken from the author's copy—not to say 'autograph', because Bede's own copy may well have been in the hand of an amanuensis.[5]

U = *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek Weissenburg 34* (*CLA* IX, no. 1385) seems, with the two which follow, to represent the text of another, presumably Northumbrian, manuscript now lost, which passed to the Continent and was copied there in the early Carolingian period. This one is a good solid book, of the late eighth century, with illuminated initials in the insular taste, accurately written in an early Caroline minuscule 'attributed to north-eastern France' and 'related to that of the Ada-group'.[6] By

[1] Add the review by David H. Wright in *Anglia*, LXXXII (1964), 110–17.

[2] See P. Hunter Blair in *The Early Cultures of N.W. Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 245–57.

[3] As with M, this is an inference from the retrospective dating used in the margins, the interpretation of which is discussed by David H. Wright in the *Revue Bénédictine*, LXXI (1961), 266–73, and M. Bévenot, S.J., in *Scriptorium*, XVI (1962), 365–9.

[4] Mr. P. Meyvaert has shown that the head of a saint in the initial to Book ii on f. 26^{v} of L, identified in an early hand as St. Augustine, is really Gregory the Great: *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), pp. 3–4 and pl. 1.

[5] MS. Ricketts 177, now in the Lilley Library at Bloomington (Indiana), is half a leaf from an *m*-text (v. 13) in an eighth-century insular hand.

[6] D. H. Wright in *Anglia*, LXXXII (1964), 116.

the end of the Middle Ages, its home was at Weissenburg in Alsace; for an early copy of it now at St. Gall see below, p. lxv.

E = *Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. f. 118*, written in the second third of the ninth century in a Caroline minuscule of the type used in Würzburg under Bishop Hunbert (832–42), and perhaps copied from the *Historia Anglorum* recorded in a list of Würzburg cathedral books drawn up about the year 800.[1] Later it belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Ebrach, between Würzburg and Bamberg. This is very close in text to the Weissenburg MS.; the third stands a little apart, and now and then seems a more faithful witness than the other two. It is now

N = *Namur, Public Library, Fonds de la ville 11*, a ninth-century copy from St. Hubert in the Ardennes, the work of several scribes who differed in skill and sometimes were much puzzled by insular features in the script of their exemplar. Plummer (I, pp. lxxxvii f.) treats it with an asperity which is most unlike him, and is not warranted; he was not in a position to assess its place in the history of the text, speaks as though the least skilful of the scribes (who was clearly unequal to his task) had written the whole book, and judges it by the severest standards. It has its value, as an independent check on EU in the reconstruction of an early copy of the *History*, which must have crossed over to Germany in the early days, but unlike K has left numerous descendants, as we shall see.

In practice, our evidence for the *m*-text, based as it is on two Northumbrian copies written almost in the author's lifetime, has little need of corroboration even from so early a source as this. Nor need we so much, from the purely textual point of view, regret the loss of another early migrant to the Continent, whose existence we can dimly discern through its twelfth-century descendants (listed below, pp. lxviii–ix).

We have, then, a reliable text of the *History*, and can form a working hypothesis of its early circulation. Let us not think that we know the whole story; there are byways still unexplored.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 826 (*CLA* XI, no. 1662) is a single leaf (formerly Phillipps MS. 36275), containing part of iii. 29–30 in an English hand of the late eighth century. The writing is rather rough, the text inaccurate: its relation to our complete copies

[1] See B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri sancti Kyliani* (Würzburg, 1952), pp. 30, 123, 144.

is quite obscure. Mr. Philip Grierson has suggested that it may be a leaf from the 'Liber hystoriae aecclesiasticae gentis Anglie' given to St. Vaast at Arras by Seiwold, formerly abbot of Bath, about the time of the Norman Conquest. This was still at Arras in 1718, and perhaps fell a victim to the activities of an early nineteenth-century librarian, who is said to have cut up a third of the Arras manuscripts and sold them to bookbinders. If this should be so, it might have been a priceless witness to a kind of text current in pre-Conquest England.[1]

Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363, which contains the collections of a ninth-century continental scholar of insular background, has on ff. 188^{v}–94 great part of book i: the text is quite eccentric.[2]

In *Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. misc. 610* is a partial version of books i and ii into Old Irish, which has been described as 'very free and often abbreviated'.[3] One would gladly know what lies behind this.

Let us now see briefly what happened to the *History* in the later Middle Ages.

III. *The text in England*

Of our two earliest surviving copies, the Moore MS. (M) seems to have gone abroad early, leaving no trace here, and the Leningrad MS. (L) to have followed it; how soon, we do not know. Before doing so, it fathered a most handsome child:

British Museum, Cotton Tiberius A. xiv (*CLA* Suppl., no. 1703; Plummer's B), written in the mid-eighth century in Northumbria. Severe damage in the Cottonian fire of 1731 cannot conceal the high quality of both script and ornament. The text, the merits of which Plummer of course discerned, follows L closely. That it is actually a copy of L is hard to prove, with L so accurate and B so badly burnt: but it has features which, though in theory they could be due to chance, hardly admit any other explanation than direct copying.[4] (*a*) Three omissions in B (f. 22^{v} *filii*, f. 39 *Doruuernis ecclesiae*, f. 68^{v} *Anglorum sub rege*

[1] See the plate in E. G. Millar, *Library of A. Chester Beatty . . . Western MSS*, I (London, 1927), and Wright, p. 117; P. Grierson in *Revue Bénédictine*, LII (1940), 46–116, especially 110 n. 22.

[2] This is the famous 'Berne Horace', reproduced in facsimile by H. Hagen in the Leiden *Codices Graeci et Latini*, II (1897).

[3] Kuno Meyer, in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, II (1899), 321–2, thought the version perhaps ninth-century; for the manuscript see Myles Dillon in *Celtica*, V (1960), 64–76.

[4] Mr. Arngart denies this (p. 34, n. 3 of the facsimile of L); but he had been prevented by circumstances from examining B at first hand. In one place, B contains words not now in L, which would prove it not a copy; but the presence in L of a contemporary *signe de renvoi* indicates that the omitted words were added in the lower margin of L which is now lost.

Peada) seem quite uncalled-for, until we notice that they are 'run-overs' in L (ff. 15, 26^{v}, 48^{v})—words written above their proper line in order to fill space otherwise blank at the end of the line above—and in the facsimile of L one can see how easily a transcriber might overlook them: (*b*) three other omissions (f. 18^{v} *humana presumptio hinc pietas inde*, f. 108 *in loco oportuno coepit sedulus*, f. 116 *non hoc segniter fecit*) are exact lines in L (ff. 12^{v}, 74^{v}, 82): (*c*) from time to time B, which has fewer lines to the column than L, follows exactly L's division between lines (f. 39 = L f. 26^{v} seven lines identical, f. 48 = L f. 33 twelve lines, f. 116, 116^{v} = L f. 82, 82^{v} twenty-three lines out of twenty-nine). This line-division is not suggested by the sense (as it sometimes is, for instance, in Biblical texts), and the parallel seems too close to be accidental: the scribe must have had L itself in front of him. We shall find one other copy of L when we pass to the Continent; B stayed here, and was carefully corrected to agree with the *c*-text. Where it found a home, we do not know. Two additions made in early hands at the beginning of i. 7 are found in manuscripts of a Gloucester–Winchcomb group (below, pp. li–lii): the sentence *Remansit . . . certabant* added in the fourteenth century at the end of i. 20 could be picked up anywhere in southern England.

All other known English copies are of the *c*-type of text. How it came down, we do not know; such is our ignorance of the contents of English monastic libraries before the Norman Conquest. There is a tantalizing record in the Glastonbury catalogue of 1247 of a 'fine ancient copy.'[1] The British Museum has recently acquired from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum a beautiful early-eleventh-century fragment containing v. 19–20 *conualuit igitur . . . consecrata est aedificium* (now MS. Egerton 3278); but it is a single leaf (26 lines to the page), of which we can make nothing. How many copies were in existence in the England of St. Dunstan, and where were they?

The Cottonian MS. (C) is so much earlier than our other English copies, that it is not easy to be sure whether or not any of them are descended from it, as one would expect; scholarly activity in intervening centuries always tends to blur a pedigree. But there is one which seems so close in text to C, that I would gladly think it a direct descendant:

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 7. 5 (743), of the early eleventh century, with some leaves rewritten in the twelfth. At the end is

[1] *Iohannis Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne (1726), II. 428: 'Historiae Anglorum scriptae a Beda, bon. sed vetust.'

a short paragraph on Lindisfarne and the translation of the see from there to Durham; and this appears in another book, which may well prove to be descended in its turn from Trinity R. 7. 5:

Cambridge, St. John's College S. 6 (254), in which our *History* is preceded by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of Britain* and a sermon by St. Augustine on the Lord's Prayer. It is signed by the scribe, John Mablethorpe or Malberthorpe, who in the mid-fifteenth century was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and of Eton College (where other books of his are still to be found).[1]

There are other English manuscripts of what seems to be a pure *c*-type, whose relationships are yet to be established:

British Museum, Additional 38130 (formerly Phillipps 16250), of the twelfth century, without ornament, contains the *History*, and prefixed to it in another hand an account of the life and translation of St. Neot, and the beginning of the Life of St. Edmund, king and martyr, by Abbo of Fleury. The provenance is unknown; it was lot 140 in the Libri sale of 1859, where Sir Thomas Phillipps bought it. Perhaps related in some way to British Museum Stowe 104 (below, p. liii).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 712 (2619) is a handsome great book, well written and illuminated—not forgetting the fore-edges—to the order of Robert Wyvill, bishop of Salisbury 1330–75: the pencilled instructions to the painter of the initials can still be deciphered in the margins. Bede's *History* is followed by the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury, the Chronicle of Martinus Polonus, and a *Cronica Bede* which has been identified as an Oseney–Abingdon compilation.[2] Another volume of historical works made for Wyvill, now at Worcester College, Oxford, was written by the same scribe, and actually at Salisbury.[3] Late as it is, this copy preserves an early form of text, and, as we have seen, it offers C's peculiar reading *meditaturum* for *meditandum* as an alternative in the first sentence of the preface.

British Museum, Royal 13 C. vii, of the late fourteenth century, in a very unattractive hand with inferior gold in the initials, was given to the London house of Carmelites by their provincial Robert Ivory, who died after 1390, together with two other volumes of chronicles which also survive in the Museum.[4] The *History* is preceded by the first two books of the Chronicle of Freculf of Lisieux, and followed by the *Church History* of Eusebius–Rufinus.

[1] A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the Univ. of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II (1958), 1198.

[2] H. Rothwell, *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough* (Camden Series 89, 1957), XXI.

[3] R. W. Hunt in *Bodleian Library Record*, VII (1962–7), 23–27.

[4] Emden, *BRUO*, II (1958), 1009.

We now come to two well-marked groups of manuscripts, isolated by Plummer (I, pp. civ–v), which share the distinctive feature of some additions to the chronological summary in v. 24, betraying a special interest in St. Wilfrid, and seem to be derived from a common parent which 'had the divisions between the chapters marked very imperfectly'. The more faithful of these groups consists of a Durham book and its eight descendants:

Durham Cathedral Library B. ii. 35, of the late eleventh century, is a composite volume of some importance in the development of historical studies in the North of England, of which the nucleus (ff. 36–150) is a copy of Bede's *History* given to the Cathedral by its Norman builder, Bishop William of St. Carilef (who died in 1096). To this a *Life of Bede* and his *Historia Abbatum* were soon added, followed by Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* and other historical materials, listed in Thomas Rud's catalogue of the Durham MSS. (1825) and in *Durham Cathedral MSS. to the end of the twelfth century* (1937), no. 47. From this the following are derived:

British Museum, Harley 4124, twelfth century, is a well-written copy of the *History*, with the Life and the *Historia Abbatum*, of which the end is lost. It belonged in the fifteenth century, if not before, to the Augustinian priory of Worksop (Notts.), founded about the year 1120.

Cambridge, Pembroke College 82, twelfth century, contains also the Life and the *Historia Abbatum*, and has a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne at the beginning and a pedigree of Northumbrian kings at the end. It comes from Tynemouth Priory, a cell of St. Albans in Northumberland (but under twenty miles from Durham), founded in the eleventh century.

British Museum, Additional 25014, late twelfth century, bears the erased ex-libris of the Cistercian abbey of Newminster in Northumberland (not much over thirty miles north of Durham), the eldest daughter of Fountains, founded in 1138: at the foot of f. 3 is a contemporary record of damage done in the monastery by the Scots on 15 July 1333, a few days before their defeat at the battle of Halidon Hill. The *History* is followed by Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede, and then come two short pieces, one on the subjection of the bishops of Whithorn in Galloway to the see of York and the other on the reasons for the particular veneration accorded in Scotland to St. Andrew. The book contains a note in the hand of John Bale, bishop of Ossory (who died in 1563), and later belonged to the St. John family, earls of Gosford.

Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 694, of the thirteenth century, also has Cuthbert's letter after the *History*, and bears in a very large early hand the ex-libris of the abbey of Coupar in Angus, founded in 1164.

It is in a seventeenth-century English binding, with gilt centrepiece and spandrels.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279, fourteenth century, contains a copy of the *History* which has unfortunately been taken out of its context, and bound up in modern times with an eleventh-century copy of the Old English version (Ker, no. 354), perhaps by the Oxford antiquary Bryan Twyne (he died in 1644), who gave the volume to the College.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 5. 1, also fourteenth century, but written in a hand that shows documentary influence, contains only the *History*, with references for nine lessons for the feast of St. Oswald at the end, and comes from Exeter Cathedral, where it is recorded in the catalogue of 1506.[1] It later belonged to John, son of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who gave it in 1585 to Richard Cosen: and in 1629 it was acquired by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, Lord Lyon King-at-arms, whose manuscripts passed to the Edinburgh Faculty of Advocates.[2]

British Museum, Burney 310, is a collection of historical works, including the Life of Bede and his *Historia Abbatum*, copied from Durham B. ii. 35 in 1381 by a Breton scribe, Guillaume du Stiphel, for Uthred of Boldon, a well-known monk of Durham, sometime prior of its cell at Finchale.[3]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 302 (*2086*), ff. 72–137, is an early-fifteenth-century copy of the *History*, now bound up with other things; the quire that follows it contains pieces mostly relating to the affairs of Scotland. It bears the name of a sixteenth-century owner, George Hull, and was given to the Bodleian soon after its foundation by the Oxford antiquary Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall.

So much for the 'Durham group', as Plummer rightly calls it; his 'Winchester group' (I, pp. cix–xiii), which has the same additions to the chronological summary, seems to betray an origin ultimately northern by the presence in its two earliest representatives at the end of the *History* of Æthelwulf's long poem on the abbots of an unidentified monastery in the north of England, composed very early in the ninth century.[4] These are:

Winchester, Cathedral Library 1 (Plummer's W; Ker, no. 396), carelessly

[1] G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (1861), p. 369.

[2] J. D. Mackie, *The Denmilne MSS. in the Nat. Lib. of Scotland* (Historical Association of Scotland, 1928).

[3] Emden, *BRUO*, I (1957), 212–13.

[4] Printed in T. Arnold's *Symeon of Durham* (Rolls Series 75, 1882), I. 265–94, by E. Dümmler in *MGH, Poet. Lat.* I (1881), 582–604, and by Professor A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967).

written in the early eleventh century by several scribes, of whom the last gives his name as Ædelelmus, and adds some lines of gibberish, described by Plummer as 'very poor Irish'. Most of the Æthelwulf poem has gone astray, and is now in the British Museum as Cotton Tiberius D. iv part ii, ff. 158–66. A note on the translation of St. Birinus in a fourteenth-century hand suggests that the volume was then already in Winchester; but of its earlier history nothing is at present known.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163 (2016), also of the early eleventh century (Ker, no. 304) contains besides the *History* and Æthelwulf's poem a copy of Nennius, and other short pieces mainly of historical interest. At least as early as the twelfth century, when the first leaf was replaced with another bearing a coloured initial by the same hand as the initial in the Peterborough Chronicle, it was at the abbey of Peterborough. It carries the names of Humphrey Natures, who was a monk of Peterborough at the time of the Dissolution, and of an unidentified Henry Stowkes, and was given to the Bodleian by John Barneston in 1605. It appears, as Plummer thought, to be a transcript of the Winchester MS.;[1] but the original text has been carefully altered, e.g. by the addition of iv. 14, omitted in the pure *c*-text, which brings it into conformity with the vulgate copies of the twelfth century, as we shall see. Whether it was the actual source of those copies, or was merely altered to agree with them, is an open question.

Oxford, Balliol College 176, of the twelfth century (second half), in which the *History* is followed by Bede's commentary on St. Mark, was identified by Plummer as derived in the *History* from the Winchester MS. Its original monastic home is unknown: it came to Balliol with the library of William Gray, bishop of Ely, who died in 1478.

The absence from the *c*-text of the long account of a miracle of St. Oswald, which we know as iv. 14, did not remain undetected, and by the end of the eleventh century at latest it had been incorporated from some manuscript of the *m* family. All the *c*-type manuscripts of which we are now to treat contain it, and show other changes also, some of which were clearly intended to make portions of the text more suitable for public reading in choir or in refectory. Where these changes were made, is not known.

Let us start with a small group (Plummer, I, pp. cxiv–vii), which has at its head a manuscript from Gloucester, and shares one or two readings (above, p. xlvii) with Cotton Tiberius A. xiv:

British Museum, Royal 13 C. v, eleventh century (second half), is a copy of the *History* in several large bold hands, now wanting its last

[1] In the hand of the Bury Gospels at Pembroke Coll., Cambridge, according to T. A. M. Bishop in *Trans. Cambr. Bibliog. Soc.* I (1953), 441.

leaf. It bears the ex-libris of the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and also *per Richardum Hanley abbatem*; he was abbot from 1457 to 1472, but it does not follow that the volume did not belong to Gloucester before his time. Careful corrections have been made, and these are found in the text of other members of the group; it is thus not unlikely, though not yet proven, that they are all descended from it. On the fly-leaf, in an early-sixteenth-century hand, is a note of two reasons for Bede's name of Venerable; his preaching to the stones, which replied 'Amen, venerabilis pater', and the cutting of his epitaph by angelic hands.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 368, early twelfth century with handsome initials, comes from Winchcomb abbey, sixteen miles north-east of Gloucester, for which it was no doubt written, as the *History* is followed by a life of Winchcomb's patron St. Kenelm.[1] One would gladly think this admirable book to be a direct copy of the Royal MS.: but though the Bodleian authorities kindly sent it to London, so that the two could be laid side by side, I was unlucky in the search for proofs that this is so, and it remains only a probability.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 381 (formerly Hengwrt 102), twelfth century (first half), is another fine book, in its original binding, though badly damaged (I think, by rats). It contains only the *History*, and bears a large early pressmark not yet identified '¶ Quartum :A:', and the signatures of two post-Dissolution owners, John Canon of Blagdon and Clement Burdett, I suppose the Burdett of Sonning (Berks.), who secured many books from Reading abbey.[2]

Oxford, New College 308, late twelfth century, is a handsome book with wide margins, which attracts attention by the penwork animals and birds in its capital letters, unusually expert even for a period when it is easy to take good work for granted.

Oxford, Pembroke College 3, late twelfth century, was such another, but now it is only a ruin: for, though the original binding survives, five quires and one leaf are lost at the beginning and two more leaves after f. 38. Its history is unknown: scribbled in three places is an early-seventeenth-century name 'Anthonye Cole of Cadwych'.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 39 (*6462*), thirteenth century, contains the *History* followed by a life of Bede, wanting the first thirteen leaves and another after f. 39. Its original home is not on record: Plummer states that it is 'unquestionably a transcript' of the Winchcomb copy.

At this point it will be convenient to mention a few copies, whose

[1] Winchcomb was the home of that Prior Aldwin who was inspired by his reading of the *Historia Anglorum* to lead the mission of three men and a donkey that restored monastic life in Northumbria after the Conquest (Symeon of Durham, I. 108).

[2] J. R. Liddell in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, VIII (1938), 51–53.

relation to the more clearly marked groups has not yet been established:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 243 is written in several hands of the twelfth century (first half), and is not very far removed from the Gloucester tradition. Special changes have been made, as recorded by Plummer (I, p. cxviii), to provide an account of St. Oswald to be read in public, and on f. 42, where his name occurs in the text, it is twice written in capitals and rubricated. Oswald was a name held in honour in both Gloucester and Worcester, but also in the Fens.

British Museum, Stowe 104, of the end of the twelfth century, contains the *History*, followed by Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede, and by a set of verses on the Archbishops of Canterbury (beginning *Dux Augustinus precellit in ordine primus*, also found in Bodleian MS. Tanner 348), with some other pieces.

London, College of Arms possesses a copy of the second half of the twelfth century, in what are perhaps its original boards, with the letter on Bede's death at the end. It carries the medieval pressmark of Chichester Cathedral.

British Museum, Additional 14250 is a well-written late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century copy: it bears the ex-libris of Plympton, the Augustinian priory in Devonshire, and the *History* is followed by brief annals, which include early Plympton entries.

Next there is a group of copies which seems to have its home in Yorkshire—easily recognized because in the parent manuscript, which has not been identified, the *History* was unfinished or damaged at the end, and its last words were *martyrologium de nataliciis* in v. 24. Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede followed.[1]

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 27 (722), early twelfth century, with initials of some merit, has lost its first quire, and its origin is unknown, but the points picked out by marginal notes seem to be of northern interest. There seems no reason to suppose that, as has been suggested, it comes from Canterbury. On f. 90^{v} is a sixteenth-century scribble 'Robert Cherwell'.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 12 (3892), twelfth century, which contains the Life of St. Edmund, king and martyr, by Abbo of Fleury after the Cuthbert letter, bears the ex-libris of Selby abbey (Yorkshire, West Riding), which was founded soon after the Norman Conquest. The text has been altered in places to that of the 'Digby group', of which later.

[1] This is the 'Burney group' of Mr. E. van K. Dobbie (see p. 579, n.), and in what follows, his work on the classification of manuscripts containing the Cuthbert letter has been invaluable.

Oxford, Lincoln College lat. 31, mid-twelfth century, was given to the College by a Yorkshireman, the humanist Robert Flemmyng, dean of Lincoln cathedral, who died in 1483. The first quire is now lost, but two blank quires have been supplied to receive the missing text at the next opportunity, probably in the fifteenth century which is the date of the present binding: and it was perhaps then that Bede's commentary on the Catholic Epistles was joined with the *History*. Here too the text has been altered to make it agree with the following group (see Ker, no. 356).

Oxford, St. John's College 99, twelfth century (second half), bears the ex-libris of Jervaulx (Yorkshire, North Riding), the Cistercian abbey, founded in 1156. After the Cuthbert letter come St. Bernard's life of St. Malachy, who died in 1148, and the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius.

British Museum, Additional 38817 (formerly Phillipps 25402), twelfth century (second half), from the Augustinian priory of Kirkham (Yorkshire, East Riding), founded *circa* 1122, must be closely related to the St. John's MS., for though it now contains only the *History* and the Cuthbert letter (with a somewhat later note at the beginning on the discovery of the body of St. Ragner of Northampton), the list of contents shows that the life of St. Malachy and Nennius originally followed, and then came a collection of visions of the next world—Wettin, the Twelve Dancers, Barontus, and the boy Orm, who died in 1126.[1]

London, College of Arms, Arundel 16, early fourteenth century, contains now only ff. 37–84 out of a larger volume, written in two columns, with marginalia of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century.

British Museum, Burney 297, fourteenth century, in an ugly hand writing between lines ruled in pairs, looks like a copy of Additional 38817: at the end of the Cuthbert letter it has the same scribal verse 'Felix qui scripsit sit et qui talia fixit'—not, I think and hope, a common one.

The late *Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence* of Sharow End, Ripon, owned a fourteenth-century copy formerly at Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, which is classed with these by Mr. Dobbie (p. 89). It comes from the Cistercian abbey of Fountains (Yorkshire, West Riding).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 162, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, in which the *History* and the Cuthbert letter are preceded by the *Ymago Mundi* (normally ascribed to Henry of Huntingdon, but here to Bede), formerly made one volume with a copy of Alfred of Beverley (now MS. Rawlinson B 200) and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (now MS. Rawlinson B 199). The whole volume was bequeathed to York Minster by John Newton, treasurer of York,

[1] On him see D. H. Farmer in *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXV (1957), 72–82.

who made his will on 4 May 1414.[1] It belonged in the early eighteenth century to Bertram Stote of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 109 (formerly Phillipps 15601), fifteenth century, may perhaps be mentioned here, for I suspect it of being related to MS. Fairfax 12: it does not contain the Cuthbert letter, and now breaks off in v. 12. This is a horrid book, on paper, which once belonged to Lincoln Cathedral by bequest of William Dadyngton of Barton-on-Humber (in Lincolnshire, but with the East Riding just across the river). In the late seventeenth century it was in the libraries of Thomas, Lord Fairfax and John Thoresby of Leeds.

Other Yorkshire copies, perhaps cognate with these, are on record in the thirteenth-century library catalogues of Bridlington and Rievaulx; in the fourteenth century at the Austin Friars, York;[2] and in the list of *libri studiales* existing at York on the death in 1453 of William Duffield, canon of York, Southwell, and Beverley.[3]

And, while we are in Yorkshire, we may remember the former Phillipps MS. 9428, which passed through the London sale-room again in the autumn of 1964. In this book, prima facie a fifteenth-century epitome of no interest, the place near Catterick which was the home of James the heroic deacon (in the last paragraph of Book ii) is identified as 'Seynt Iemestret', which suggests, as Plummer says (II, p. 118), that 'the scribe probably had local knowledge'.

We now come to a considerable family, which it seems safe to describe as the common text of southern England in the later Middle Ages. This shows signs of deliberate editorial activity; for example, at the end of i. 20 is added the sentence *Remansit autem in insula gens utraque, hostes et ciues, Angli et Britones, quorum Angli pro regno, Britones pro uita certabant*; in i. 25 *huc* has become *in regnum meum* and *Dorobernensi* has been added after *ciuitati*, in i. 26 *et non pauci* after *plures*. Within this family two main groups present themselves, in both of which the *History* is followed by Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede.[4] One comprises the following:

[1] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I (Surtees Society 4, 1836), 366; this identification was made by Mr. N. R. Ker.

[2] *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IX (1892), 203; M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. of Jesus College, Cambridge* (1895), p. 48; *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 36, no. 164.

[3] *Test. Ebor.* III (Surtees Soc. 45, 1865), 132–3; Emden, *BRUO*, I. 601–2.

[4] This is the 'Digby group' of Mr. Dobbie; see his pp. 76–83.

Hereford Cathedral P. v. 1, with a detached fragment in Bodleian MS. e Museo 93 (3632) (Ker, no. 121), early twelfth century; which, as Mr. Ker says, 'belonged at the time of the Dissolution of monasteries to the cell of Battle Abbey at Brecon, and appears to have been previously at Battle itself'. It contains notes in the hand of Sir John Prise, purchaser of Brecon Priory, and later in the sixteenth century belonged to Walter Herbert. Mr. Dobbie (p. 82) has shown that the man who added on f. 116^{v} the Old English words of Cædmon's song, omitted by the original scribe, had Bodleian MS. Laud. misc. 243 before him.

Oxford, Magdalen College lat. 105 (Ker, no. 357), mid-twelfth century, a good book of its kind, the origin of which is not known. At the end, probably in the scribe's hand, are four lines on the author, and a dedicatory couplet inspired by the first sentence of Bede's preface (printed below, p. lxxiv).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 211 (*1812*) (Ker, no. 321), twelfth century (second half), a handsome book with the ex-libris of the Augustinian abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham (Essex), founded in 1177.[1]

Cambridge, St. John's College B. 5 (*27*), fourteenth century, and unusually well written for its date: it belonged to the secular college at Pleshey (Essex), founded in 1394, which is nineteen miles from Waltham.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 101 (*1702*), early fourteenth century, does not contain the letter on Bede's death; the *History* is followed by a copy of William of Newburgh in the same hand.

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 22 (*717*), part 1, fourteenth century, an unattractive copy in a somewhat unusual hand, of which the provenance is not known.

Oxford, Merton College 95 (*K. 3. 6*), fourteenth century; the *History* now breaks off in v. 20, but was originally followed by the Cuthbert letter, and by Bede's *de Naturis rerum* and *de Temporibus*. It was bequeathed to Merton by Robert Ketrynham, rector of St. Gregory's in the City of London, who died in 1374.[2]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 348 (*10,175*), fifteenth century, in a small current hand. After the letter on Bede's death follows the versified list of the archbishops of Canterbury, also found in British Museum MS. Stowe 104.

Oxford, All Souls College 31, fifteenth century, in a good current hand. The *History* is followed, not by the Cuthbert letter, but by the

[1] Part of the Cuthbert letter is reproduced by N. R. Ker in *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, N.S. XXIII (1942–5), opposite p. 310.

[2] F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931), no. 525; the 'unintelligible addition' to the preface (Plummer, I, p. cxxv) is *tempore pro Domino sanguinem fuderunt* from the title of i. 7.

Vastacio Troie of Dictys Cretensis and the historical work of Henry of Huntingdon.

Bury St. Edmunds, Cathedral Library owns a fifteenth-century copy of this kind in its original binding, which was given in 1490 by Robert Elyot, fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, to the Brigittine monastery of Syon in Middlesex, where it appears as no. K. 59 in the catalogue.[1] It was given to Bury (then) parish church library by Augustine Styward e in 1595. At the end are the same six lines of verse as in Oxford, Magdalen College lat. 105, and then seven couplets giving the name *Beda* in the different grammatical cases; *Sancte pater Beda, temptantis deprime feda; | Ne sibi sim preda, protectorem mihi te da*, and so forth, headed *Isti uersus extracti erant de quadam parua rotula doctoris Gastm̃* (?).

It is easy to suppose that the copy bequeathed to *Pembroke College, Cambridge* by Hugh Damlett, who died in 1476 as rector of St. Peter's Cornhill in the City of London,[2] may well have been another of the same class.

The copies forming the second group within this family show certain changes of text; for example, the author's request for the prayers of his readers appears at the end of the Preface (as in the *m*-text) as well as at the end of the whole work. These changes have been made by a later hand in Bodleian MS. Hatton 43 (our O), and hence Plummer (I, pp. xcv, cxxviii) infers that they are descended from it. If this were so, one would expect to find the same changes in the closely related group we have just passed in review; and I prefer to think that O was altered in order to bring it into conformity with the group we have now before us. This contains, after Bede's *History* and Cuthbert's letter on his death (which is here entitled *Epilogium de obitu eximii doctoris Bede*), a Latin version of the well-known anonymous Old English tract on the Resting-places of the English saints. This was translated, according to F. Liebermann the editor of the original,[3] at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, between 1033 and 1085; and perhaps the home of our group is to be sought in that part of the country. Two copies of the *History* are recorded in the medieval catalogue of St. Augustine's,[4] but the only survivor is a fragment reused as

[1] M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 87.

[2] A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the Univ. of Cambridge to A.D. 1500* (1963), p. 176.

[3] F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889), p. xvii.

[4] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), nos. 445 and 446 on p. 238.

fly-leaves in the Missal of St. Augustine's (now *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 270*); this consists of two leaves only, in a good eleventh-century hand, and gives no clue.

Surviving members of the group are these:

British Museum, Harley 3680, early twelfth century, from the cathedral priory of Rochester, where it was probably written; it appears in the Rochester catalogue of 1202. The tract on the Resting-places is added by a second, but I think contemporary, hand; and one might wonder whether this is in fact the common parent of all the volumes in which that tract follows the Cuthbert letter.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Museo 115 (*3537*), twelfth century, has lost its first leaf and now breaks off in v. 21: but the medieval list of contents shows that the *Epilogium* followed, and to this is added in the hand of Sir John Prise, the sixteenth-century antiquary who owned the Hereford MS., the words *De locis sepulturae nonnullorum sanctorum Anglie.*[1]

Dublin, Trinity College E. 2. 23 (*492*), twelfth century (second half), is a handsome book from the abbey of Bury, where it bore the press-mark *B 296*: the usual Bury foliation is missing, but it may have been cut off by the binder. There are a few glosses in the vernacular (Ker, no. 104).

Oxford, Christ Church 99, fourteenth century (first half), is a miscellaneous volume still in its medieval boards, of which six quires (ff. 51–114) contain the *History*, the *Epilogium*, and the Resting-places, in a fairly good hand. The name 'Thomas Spaine' (fifteenth century) is scribbled inside the lower cover.

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 7. 3 (*741*), early fourteenth century, is beautifully written, with ornament of high quality, evidently to the order of some wealthy man. On the fore-edge is an heraldic pattern, which should identify him; perhaps a coat of arms, *Gules three chevrons argent*, on a vine-leaf background, while the lower edge is half *Checky argent and sable*, half *Checky argent and gules*, the latter half crossed by what is perhaps *a fess argent charged with three ermine-spots.*[2]

British Museum, Arundel 74, late fourteenth century, is another handsome book in its kind; the initial on the first leaf incorporates the coat of arms of Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406, and that on f. 2^{v} was intended to contain Bede seated writing, but this was left unfinished and shows only the first pencil sketch.[3] After the tract

[1] The first page is reproduced by N. R. Ker in *The Library*, fifth series, x (1955), pl. 1.

[2] *Argent three chevrons gules* is attributed to John Langton, bishop of Chichester and sometime chancellor of England, who died in 1337; but on what authority, I do not know.

[3] We have seen above a copy written for a fourteenth-century bishop of Salisbury (p. xlviii). Another fourteenth-century prelate and chancellor, Simon

on the Resting-places of the Saints comes Bede's treatise on the last chapter of Proverbs, *De muliere forti.*

Oxford, Merton College once possessed a volume which may be placed here, for this reason; the tract on the Resting-places is stated by the antiquary John Leland (who died in 1552) to have existed in a Merton manuscript,[1] and this is likely to have been a copy of Bede's *History* like the six we have just seen which contain the tract. Of the two copies recorded in the medieval Merton documents, it was not Powicke's no. 525, which still exists and never contained the tract: it may well have been the lost no. 258, which would then belong to our Rochester group.

Close to these in text, but without the *Epilogium* and Resting-places, is *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham misc. 7* (formerly MS. 460 in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall in Norfolk), which stands a little apart, and light on its origin would be welcome. It is written on twelve-leaf quires of paper, watermarked with the Arms of France and the letter *t* (Briquet nos. 1742 ff.), in a late-fifteenth-century hand, which looks French.

In the same family falls a late copy like *Worcester Cathedral F. 148*, fourteenth century (second half), well written, but badly damaged by damp before it entered the Cathedral library at the end of the seventeenth century. The first twenty-two quires are lost, and it is not known what they contained: the *History* now begins at the end of i. 14, and there are gaps of one leaf and six leaves further on. Bede's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles follows.

Thus far it has proved possible to arrange the English copies, following Plummer's example, into groups; but of course the tendency to textual change as a result of error, or 'improvement', or cross-breeding between one strain of text and another, is always present. Especially as we approach the end of the Middle Ages it becomes with some texts increasingly difficult, without labour and uncertainty, to determine the heredity of any given copy. This must serve as an excuse for listing here a number of later English manuscripts, for no better reason than that their textual affinities are still undetermined.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 264, fourteenth century; the *History* is the last item in a volume of historical collections which belonged to Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich.

Langham, archbishop of Canterbury 1366–76 and cardinal, owned a copy, preceded by the Chronicle of Martinus Polonus and followed by a Life of St. Thomas, which he bequeathed to Westminster; J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James, *The MSS. of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 6.

[1] *Collectanea de rebus Britannicis*, III. 86 (IV. 80 in the edition of 1774).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 359, fourteenth century; the *History* is followed by the Life of Bede, Cuthbert's letter on his death, and his *De naturis rerum.*

Cambridge, Emmanuel College I. 1. 3 (3), dated A.D. 1481; it contains after the *History* the *Topographia Hiberniae* of Giraldus Cambrensis and belonged, as the ornament shows, to John Gunthorpe, the humanist dean of Wells.

Caubridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ. *2. 8 (30)* part ii, late fourteenth century; the *History* only, in a competent current hand. Belonged in 1592 to John Pilkington, canon of Durham.

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Δ. *5. 17 (102)*, fifteenth century; the *History*, with *B 295* on the first page, showing that it lay next to the Dublin manuscript in the library of Bury Abbey. Early in Bede's account of his own life (p. 566 below), at the word *digessi*, the text breaks off, and with no warning except a coloured capital continues with an extract from some work on chronology written in A.D. 1108: after which, with an initial letter, Bede's sentence is concluded, and the *History* ends normally.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 189, fifteenth century, contains an abbreviation of the *History* followed by the Cuthbert letter, and preceded by a fourteenth-century copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Bede portion was written for one William of Writtle, and the volume was given to Hatfield Peverel, a cell of St. Albans in Essex, by John Bebseth afterwards prior, while William Heyworth was abbot of the mother-house, that is, 1401–20. On the first leaf is a note that it was found in St. Albans in 1537, and a brief entry, partly in Welsh, in the hand of Sir John Prise is on f. 3.

A mere mention must suffice for:

British Museum, Cotton Vitellius E. i (with two leaves now in *E. vii*), twelfth century, which is thought to come from the Augustinian priory of Guisborough in Yorkshire (North Riding), and later belonged to Sir Henry Savile of Banke.[1] The *History* was followed by Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede, his *Historia Abbatum* and the Life of Bede, Nennius, Bede's prose Life of St. Cuthbert, a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham, a Durham relic-list, and other pieces. It suffered very badly in the Cottonian fire of 1731: but this at least seems to be clear, that it was not a member of our Durham group.

Other texts which have not been examined, and might be of English origin, are a copy formerly in the library of Lord Mostyn;

[1] No. 14 in the list of his library printed by J. P. Gilson for the Bibliographical Society in 1909; the contents are also listed in Thomas Smith's Cottonian catalogue of 1696.

Dijon 574, twelfth century, from Cîteaux; *Montpellier, École de Médecine 92*, twelfth century, in which our *History* follows Geoffrey of Monmouth; and *Valencia Cathedral* 59, a later copy belonging to a library which contains many manuscripts from England.[1]

Besides these, we know that the *c*-text spread a short distance across the Channel, as one might expect, for it is represented by:

Douai 335, twelfth century, from Anchin;

Rouen 1177, early thirteenth century, from Jumièges, in which Bede follows Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon;

Rouen 1343, early twelfth century, in the autograph of Ordericus Vitalis the historian, which seems to be a *c*-text, but has *Praeterea . . . inueniam* at the end of the preface.

Tournai, Bibl. de la Ville 134, twelfth century (Ker, no. 387), was another, to judge by the description in the Catalogue of P. Faider and P. Van Sint Jan (1950), but it was destroyed in the Second World War. It belonged to an early-seventeenth-century canon of Tournai, and might have been a refugee from some former English monastery.

The relation of these to the English *c*-text requires further study. So does the position of *Boulogne-sur-mer 103*, eleventh century, from St. Bertin, the text of which might geographically be of either French (*m*) or English (*c*) type.

IV. *The text in France*

The circulation of the *History* in what we now call France derives directly (with certain exceptions to be mentioned presently) from our two earliest manuscripts, L and M.

When L crossed the Channel, we do not know. The last trace of its presence in England seems to be the copying from it at the end of the eighth century (as we have seen above, p. xlvi) of Cotton MS. Tiberius A. xiv. Nine hundred years later, it reappears in the library of a famous French collector, Count Achille de Harlay, who died in 1712; and it was from France that Pierre Dubrowsky took it to St. Petersburg. One other of its descendants has been identified, a twelfth-century French book, now *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1154*, which in the seventeenth century belonged to the Benedictine Priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris. Unfortunately, this is incomplete at beginning and end, so that its earlier history is lost, and there are indications that it is not a direct

[1] E. Olmos y Canalda, *Códices de la Catedral de Valencia* (1943), p. 53.

copy. There may well be other evidence for the history of L which has escaped me.

The fortune of M was very different. The impatience of its scribe, if that is the reason for its many superficial errors, has proved unexpectedly to our advantage; for his mistakes have made it possible to identify as its progeny not less than seven copies in Carolingian minuscule of the ninth century, listed here in a provisional order of date:[1]

Bern, Burgerbibliothek 49, written perhaps in the Loire valley in the first quarter of the century: it bears the ninth-century ex-libris of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire).[2]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale latin 5227A, second quarter, much punctuated and corrected later in the century; early ex-libris of St. Julian's, Tours.

London, British Museum Harley 4978, third quarter, by several scribes working simultaneously, perhaps at Flavigny (Côte-d'Or).

Paris lat. 5226, third quarter, perhaps written in the Loire valley: provenance unknown.

Berlin Phillipps 1873, third or fourth quarter, perhaps written at Auxerre: ex-libris of St. Maximin's, Trier, and afterwards at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris, where it served as the basis of Chifflet's edition of 1681.

Brussels, Royal Library II 2295 (1353), fourth quarter, from Stavelot, south-east of Liège.

Paris lat. 5227, fourth quarter, in several French hands; from Montier-en-Der (Haute-Marne).

All these (except Paris lat. 5226, which is incomplete at the end) have a short piece *De consanguinitate*, on marriage within the prohibited degrees, at the end of Bede's text. This is put together from Isidore's *Etymologiae* ix. 6. 28–29, and from the canons of the Roman Council of 721, with at the end in some copies the first few words of a sermon which has been ascribed to St. Augustine of Canterbury. It has been printed, and its use in later canon-law collections has been examined, by Dom Lambert Machielsen[3].

[1] The evidence will be found (with some misdating of scripts due to my own ignorance) on pp. 34–36 of the facsimile of M (Copenhagen, 1959), and need not be repeated here. The provisional dating and placing of the ninth-century copies I owe (with much else) to Professor Bernhard Bischoff, *Karl der Grosse*, II. *Das geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf, 1965), p. 56.

[2] O. Homburger, *Die illustrierten HSS der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (1962), p. 56 and figs. 35 and 135.

[3] *Sacris Erudiri*, XII (1961), 496 ff.; *Revue Bénédictine*, LXXIII (1963), 33–47 and 314–16.

Now the same *De consanguinitate* stands at the end of M (the last leaf lost), in a Continental hand of around the year 800; and this hand has been recognized by Professor Bischoff as very close to the minuscule used in the 'Golden Gospels,' MS. Harley 2788, a product of the Court school of Charles the Great. He therefore describes M as 'perhaps the only surviving manuscript whose provenance from Charlemagne's court library is certain';[1] and if M found, however briefly, a home so distinguished and so central, it is not surprising that it should have generated a large and early progeny. Yet these are derived from it not directly, but through an intermediary, in which the *De consanguinitate* was first added. This is shown, first by the common errors of the transcripts which are not found in M or inevitably provoked by it; and also by the fact that in the Isidore-excerpt, the scribe who made the addition in M omitted by an easy jump of the eye a clause which is present in nearly all the other copies, so that they cannot be derived from M as it stands. When M arrived at the Court, we may suppose that it attracted attention, especially perhaps by its lives of saints (*passim*), by its *Responsiones* (i. 27) and other details connected with Gregory the Great, and by its visions of the next world (v. 12–14); but the close Northumbrian script was inconvenient, and so a copy was made for general use, and the *De consanguinitate* added thereto, for its relevance to no. 5 of the *Responsiones* From this the others are descended; while it was thought good to add the supplement to M as well.

As was to be expected, there are plenty of later copies whose descent from the Carolingian progeny of M is established by characteristic readings in the text. Let it suffice to list them here, and leave their filiation to be worked out by others.

Berlin, Hamilton 70, eleventh century.[2]

Milan, Ambrosiana C. 72 inf., late eleventh century, with the *De consanguinitate* at the end. From St. Martin's, Massay (dioc. Bourges): it forms a volume with Dictys, Eutropius, Paulus, and Jordanes, and appears in the twelfth-century catalogue as *Historia Anglorum Troianorum Romanorum Longobardorum Gothorum in uno codice*.[3]

[1] B. Bischoff, *Karl der Grosse*, II. 56–57.

[2] For information about this manuscript, I am much indebted to Dr. H. Boese and Professor Giles Constable.

[3] See E. Franceschini in *Atti del Istituto veneto di scienze*, etc. XCVII. 2. 158–62, and *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck*, I (Gembloux, 1951), 154–9.

Paris, Bibl. nat. latin 5230, eleventh century, from St. Martial's, Limoges.

Paris lat. 5230A, eleventh century, from St. Florent-le-Vieil (dioc. Angers).

Paris lat. 5232, late twelfth century, from Savigny, with Nennius and Henry of Huntingdon.

Paris lat. 5233, late twelfth century, a handsome book, with Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Paris lat. 5234, late twelfth century, from St. John's, Amiens.

Paris lat. 10184, twelfth century, written from f. 80 onwards over an erased text in insular minuscule.

Paris lat. 12942, late twelfth century, from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, signed by an English scribe called Radulfus.

Paris lat. 12943, also late twelfth century and from Saint-Germain, with the *De consanguinitate* still at the end: Bede's *De locis sanctis* and Geoffrey of Monmouth follow.

Paris lat. 16078, eleventh century, from the Sorbonne.

Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 989, twelfth century, from Fontenay (dioc. Autun).

Reims 1429, eleventh century, signed by a scribe Rainerus.

Trier, Stadtbibl. 1195/61, first half of twelfth century, from SS. Eucharius and Matthias, Trier.

Trier, Stadtbibl. 1993/647, fifteenth century, perhaps from Eberhardsklausen.

Vatican Library, Ottoboni lat. 877, eleventh century, with a twelfth-century ex-libris mark which should be legible.

Vatican Reginensis lat. 122, late twelfth century: formerly belonged to Alexander Petau (both these Vatican copies are no doubt French).

Vendôme, Bibl. municipale 53, eleventh century, from La Trinité at Vendôme.

It seems likely therefore that the circulation of the *History* in France will repay further study. That the family of M, except for outliers in Trier, spread so little to the eastward, is not surprising when we find another family in possession across the Rhine and as far west as Saint-Hubert in the Ardennes. But even in France it met with competition on two fronts. In the north, as we have seen, the *c*-type of text had a footing across the Channel. And to the south we shall find an invasion by the German family, to which we must now turn. In Avignon, the two copies traceable in the Papal library seem to belong respectively to German and Italian traditions. All this, be it remembered, is only a preliminary survey, and very likely over-simplifies.

v. *The text in Germany*

While Bede's *History* was spreading through the Loire valley and Northern France in a form derived from M, a separate family of copies was disseminated further east, of which the leading survivors are, as we have seen, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 34 of the late eighth century, and Würzburg M. p. th. f. 118 of the mid-ninth. Other copies on record in the ninth-century catalogues of important libraries should perhaps be classed with them: at Lorsch, at Murbach (where the catalogue-entry takes account of the whole of Bede's list of his own works in v. 24), at the Reichenau.[1] At Fulda, the position is not simple; the extant early Fulda copy is, as we have seen, of the *c*-family, but there survives also a single leaf of the early ninth century, now *Kassel Landesbibl. MS. Anhang 19. 5*, folio 1, in a hand identified by Professor Bischoff as that of the Fulda scribe Risalah.[2] This could be of the same family as the Weissenburg and Würzburg copies, but the fragment is not long enough for this to be determined. *St. Gall* still keeps the copy that was in its ninth-century catalogue, now *Stiftsbibliothek 247*;[3] but this follows so closely on the Weissenburg text with all its early corrections, that it is almost certainly derived from it. Characteristic readings of this family are to be seen in the following later copies:

Augsburg, Bischöfliche Ordinariatsbibl. 43, twelfth century, from Neunkirchen am Brand.[4]

Bamberg E. iii. 14 (*Hist. 3*), eleventh century, in a collection of historical pieces which has been studied by G. Waitz in *Archiv* ix (1847), 673–703. He considers it to be of Italian origin; and as its nearest relatives (so far as this very summary survey can be trusted) seem to be at Monte Cassino, it may provide the clue to an Italian subdivision of this family.

Brussels, Bibl. Royale 8245–57 (*3116*), signed and dated 15 Dec. 1489 by Anthony of Bergen-op-Zoom, a scribe from whose hand at least a dozen manuscripts survive; the volume contains a collection

[1] M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (67 Beiheft zum *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Leipzig, 1935), p. 345.

[2] David H. Wright in *Anglia*, LXXXII (1964), 117; Mr. Wright generously sent me a photograph.

[3] A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica*, III (1938), 86.

[4] B. Kraft, *Handschriften der Bischöfl. Ordinariatsbibl. in Augsburg* (1934), pp. 47–49.

of historical works on paper and parchment from Korssendonk near Turnhout, a house of Regular Canons of the Windesheim congregation.

British Museum, Additional 18150, eleventh century, from Sankt Georgenberg, near Schwatz in the Tyrol; this looks like a descendant of the St. Gall MS.

British Museum, Additional 33371, twelfth century (second half); it was once a fine book, but only twenty-four leaves survive out of 96. These two are Plummer's A_1 and A_4 (I, pp. c–ciii).

British Museum, Royal 13 B. xviii, fourteenth century, copied from a text of which the quires had been badly dislocated (Plummer, I, p. ci).

Monte Cassino 177, twelfth century.

Monte Cassino 181, eleventh century; both these are written in Beneventan hands, and Plummer suggests, plausibly enough, that the later will prove to be a copy of the earlier. A collation of book i in MS. 181[1] shows that it belongs to this family, and is closer in text to the Bamberg MS. than to any other I have seen.

Paris lat. 5228, written for La Chaise Dieu (Haute-Loire) in the Auvergne, in 1093, the year that Pontius was made abbot, as we learn from verses at the beginning:[2] a fine great book.

Paris lat. 5229, eleventh century, from Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne); on the flyleaf, the epitaph of St. Gregory's six disciples from Augustine to Deusdedit.

Paris lat. 5231, late eleventh century, from La Grasse (Aude), in the diocese of Carcassonne.

Paris lat. 5235, fourteenth century, in an expert university hand of Italian type (at the foot of f. 113 in minute letters 'tradantur magistro Laurentio'). It belonged to the Papal library in Avignon,[3] and has marginalia in a fourteenth-century English hand. Removed thence to Peñiscola in 1409 by the anti-pope Benedict XIII (Petrus de Luna), it passed to the Collège de Foix at Toulouse, and so to Colbert and the Bibliothèque royale.[4]

Paris lat. 5237, about 1400, on paper: to judge by other contents, it should come from Cologne.

Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl. min. 66, twelfth century, with a full-page picture of Bede writing under an arched and turreted canopy.[5]

[1] Mr. P. Meyvaert most kindly lent me a microfilm.

[2] See the hexameter poem printed by L. Delisle in *Le Cabinet des MSS de la Bibl. nat.* II (1874), 350.

[3] It is no. 329 in the inventory of the library in 1369, no. 344 in 1375 (F. Ehrle, *Historia Bibl. Rom. Pont.*, 1890, pp. 311, 481); no. 454 in the Peñiscola list (below, p. lxx, n. 2). See also the *Catalogus codd. hagiographicorum lat. Paris*, I (1889), 391.

[4] Paris lat. 5236 seems not to belong here, nor in the M family.

[5] Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, VI (1952), 110–11 and pl. xlvi.

Vienna lat. 429, twelfth century, from Salzburg.
Vienna lat. 532, ff. 32–47^{v}, twelfth century: book iii only.
Vienna lat. 3157, late fifteenth century, a very ugly copy on paper, written by a scribe called Wolfgang of Enzesdorf.

Others of which no details are yet available are *Breslau, Rehdigeranus 43*, A.D. 1449; *Gotha memb. I 63*, twelfth century, from St. Vincent at Metz;[1] *St. Florian xi. 247*, twelfth century, from Waldhausen; *St. Gall 547*, twelfth/thirteenth century;[2] *Vienna lat. 443*, twelfth century, from Frankenthal, between Speyer and Worms. The copy recorded at Colmar in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Manuscrits*, I (Paris, 1853), col. 362 is not there now; the two copies recorded at Strasbourg were presumably both burnt in 1870, and one of the copies at Dresden, MS. J44, thirteenth century from Altzelle, was destroyed without trace in 1945. In particular, a group of copies in south Germany or Austria may well prove to be closely related, like the south-German family of the Latin Josephus:[3] Admont 326 and 552, Heiligenkreuz 145, Klosterneuburg 685, Munich lat. 18198 of A.D. 1479 from Tegernsee, Prague Domkap. G. xxvii (1020), Reun 59, Vienna lat. 13707 of the fifteenth century, Zwettl 106. The copy recorded in the catalogue of Melk in 1483 followed Eusebius, and was perhaps printed, like that at the Vienna Dominicans (below, p. lxx, n. 5).

The existence of these two textual provinces (so to say), which we have called for convenience French and German, lends a special interest to a very handsome twelfth-century copy now or lately in the hands of Messrs. Quaritch in London, which bears the ex-libris of Spanheim in the diocese of Mainz.[4] This belongs, as far as some indeterminate point perhaps in book iii, to our 'German' family; the text then changes to the 'French' family, and at the end is the piece *De consanguinitate*, added to the M tradition, as we have seen, in the ninth century and perhaps in the Palace School, making what is probably its last appearance.

VI. *Copies containing the Continuation*

We have briefly referred (p. xlv) to another family of manuscripts, in which at the end of the *History* the annals of Book v,

[1] R. Ehwald in *J. B. Maugérard* (Traube's *Palaeographische Forschungen*, III, Munich, 1904), p. 359. [2] Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, III. 107.
[3] F. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*, I (Copenhagen, 1958), 56–60.
[4] For permission to inspect this book, I am much indebted to Mr. E. M. Dring of Quaritch, *librorum amicis amicus ipse*.

c. 23 were continued, by someone interested in Northumbria, from A.D. 731 to 766. This *Bedae Continuatio* was first printed by Johannes Gravius in his Antwerp edition of 1550; H. Petrie in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* of 1848, p. 288, added the evidence of two Phillipps MSS., believed to be those now in Manchester and Princeton; and Plummer (1, pp. 361–3) reprinted the text, having seen only one manuscript, that now in the British Museum. This Continuation, printed below on pp. 572–6, is known to survive in the following copies:

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek J 45, a twelfth-century volume with the ex-libris of Pegau, not far to the south of Leipzig. This suffered severely from fire in 1945, but is still mainly legible, and has at the end the Northumbrian annals, with the proper names somewhat less fully latinized than in the others.

Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek I 58a, twelfth century (first half), with handsome initials, and in what seems to be its original binding. Inside the lower cover is clearly to be seen the set-off of a page of canon-tables from an eighth-century Insular gospel-book, either the fragment recorded by Lowe (VIII, no. 1229) or another leaf from the same book. The names in the annals are fully latinized, and at the end are eight *Versus super sepulchrum Bede presbiteri*, printed below on p. lxxiv.

Manchester, John Rylands Library, latin 182 (formerly Phillipps 1089), also of the twelfth century, from München-Gladbach, the Benedictine abbey eighteen miles west of Düsseldorf and about the same distance from the border of what is now the Netherlands.[1] This has the same epitaph at the end, and then follows the *Visio Wettini.*

Princeton (N.J.), University Library possesses in the Kane Collection a copy of the *History* (formerly Phillipps 256), which is said to be fourteenth-century, and to contain the *Continuatio.*[2]

British Museum, Additional 10949 is a paper book written in 1420 by the Poor Clares of St. Anne's convent at Kampen on the Ijssel, not a hundred miles as the crow flies north of Gladbach. The *History* is followed by the *Continuatio* with Bede's epitaph, and by his *De sex aetatibus mundi.*

Leiden, University Library, Vossianus lat. Q. 57 is a handsome volume in its original binding, with the title-label under horn still

[1] M. R. James, *Catalogue of Latin MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, 1 (1921), 308.

[2] When listed by S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of MSS. in the U.S.A.* II (1937), 1891, it was in the library of Mr. Grenville Kane of Tuxedo Park (New York).

on the upper cover. It is written in a good mid-fifteenth-century Dutch hand, and bears the contemporary ex-libris of Eensteyn near Dordrecht. Later it belonged to the Brethren of the Common Life ('Domus fratrum collationis s. Pauli') in Gouda, and to the eighteenth-century classical scholar Pieter Burman the younger. The *History* and *Continuatio* are followed by Bede's *De natura rerum*.

Utrecht, University Library 735 (4. F. 12), in a bold fifteenth-century Dutch hand, which comes (as the binding shows) from the Canons Regular of Utrecht, has the *Continuatio* and two epitaphs at the end.

Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian T. 4. 3, written on paper in 1515 by Johannes Embriceus for the Brethren of the Common Life in Gouda, from whom like the Leiden MS. it passed later to the younger Burman, may very well prove to belong here too.[1]

The origin of this small group is a problem that has not yet been attacked. The *Continuatio* must come ultimately from eighth-century Northumbria, and it is easy to suppose that a volume containing it attached to the *History* crossed over to the Continent not long after the last event which it records. If so, what happened then? The mere presence or absence of the *Continuatio* does not suffice to identify the offspring of that volume, for any continental copyist not interested in Northumbria might omit it; and, in theory at least, the common ancestor of what we have for convenience called the 'German family' might have contained it, though it survives only in one small group. Or does this group represent an independent migrant from Northumbria? Further study, handicapped though it will be by work on such very late material, may throw some light on all this; and if it replaces these tentative suggestions by something more definite and nearer the truth, so much the better.

VII. *The text in Italy*

When this brief chapter of the story comes to be written, the central piece will no doubt prove to be an early ninth-century copy from Nonantola, which appears in the catalogues of that library from 1166 to the end of the fifteenth century.[2] This passed about 1660 to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, whence like other *codices Sessoriani* it was abstracted early in the nineteenth century

[1] J. Young and P. H. Aitken, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Hunterian Museum* (Glasgow, 1908), no. 86.

[2] G. Gullotta in *Studi e testi*, 182 (1955), 369 and 447.

and came into private hands. After a long sojourn in England as MS. Phillipps 2701, it was sold in London in 1948,[1] and is now in Dr. Martin Bodmer's library at Cologny near Geneva. In this Nonantola copy, the *History* is followed by Jerome's letter no. 73 to Evangelus (Euagrius) about Melchizedek, and the same is true of two others probably descended from it: (*a*) a fine Italian copy from the second half of the fourteenth century, which formerly belonged to the Collège de Navarre and is now in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 982; (*b*) one of the copies removed by the anti-pope Benedict XIII from the Papal library at Avignon to Peñiscola in 1409.[2] If there is a copy in the public library of Bologna, it would not be surprising if this too had Nonantola in its pedigree.[3]

Two copies at Monte Cassino have been already mentioned.

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Ashburnham 991 is an abbreviation.

At the revival of learning in Italy, the *History* was not wholly neglected. In the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples is a text with the Piccolomini arms, whose history and affinities await investigation, and in 1460 there was a copy among the books of Poggio Bracciolini.[4]

VIII. *The Printed Editions*

Bede's *History* first found its way into print in company with Rufinus's Latin translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. An anonymous press, identified by the type used as that of the Strasbourg printer Heinrich Eggestein between 1474 and 1482, put out both works in the same type and format, undated, but perhaps in the period 1475–80. This is the first edition of the *History*, and it was made from a single manuscript, which broke off near the beginning of v. 24 with the words *in dedicionem accepit*.[5] On 14 March 1500, another Strasbourg printer, Georg

[1] Messrs. Robinsons' catalogue 77, no. 93.

[2] M. Faucon, *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, II (1887), p. 65, no. 244.

[3] Laistner and King record a copy from *Archiv*, XII (1874), 576, under the number 131. The catalogue of the Biblioteca communale dell'Archiginnasio, so far as it has appeared in the Mazzatinti *Inventari*, lists only an early fifteenth-century fragment under A 144.

[4] E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 421, no. 49.

[5] This makes it possible to identify as the *editio princeps* or one of its reprints the copy recorded in the 1513 catalogue of the Vienna Dominicans (Th. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, I, Vienna, 1915, 335. 15).

Husner, finished a reprint, which incorporated both works in a single volume; the edition may have been a large one, for the book is by no means uncommon at the present day. A third edition, finished by Heinrich Gran for S. Rynman at Haguenau on 7 December 1506, was again only a reprint.[1]

Over forty years elapsed, and a new edition was inspired not so much by zeal for historical studies as by the troubles in religion. In 1550 John de Grave published at Antwerp a handsome small folio, with a much improved text. This contains the *History* by itself, drawn from one of the manuscripts containing the *Continuatio*, with Bede's epitaph and death-date at the end (above, p. lxviii); the editor comments acidly on the Cimmerian darkness spread over the text by his incompetent predecessors, and expresses the hope that this proof of the antiquity of Christianity in England will discomfit those who think they can reform it. Gravius's improved text was reprinted with an index in small octavo format at Louvain in 1566 by Stephen Valerius for Jerome Welle, and at Cologne in 1601 by the Birckman firm for Arnold Mylius.

Meanwhile at Basel in 1563 Johann Herwagen, assisted by Pamelius, had published the great eight-volume edition of the *Opera Omnia*, which was to have such a great, and on the whole perhaps unfortunate, effect on the study of Bede for over three hundred years. The *History* is in volume III, and for some reason Bede's list of his own works in v. 24 is omitted. Reprints followed at Cologne in 1612 (Antonius Hieratus and Johannes Gymnicus) and in 1688.

By this time the fashion had set in for great collections of historical texts. In 1583 at Paris Michael Sonnius published the *Historia Christiana Veterum Patrum* of René Laurent de la Barre, in which the *History* stands between Gregory of Tours and Sigebert of Gembloux. And at Heidelberg in 1587 Jerome Commelin included it in his admirable *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, between Gildas and an anonymous Continuation, which is in fact a continental abbreviation of the first edition of the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury. Something was done for the text with the aid of a manuscript belonging to Nicolas Pithou, sieur de Changobert, which has not yet been identified.

Then at last we have an English edition, and one based on an early manuscript. This we owe to the Cambridge polymath

[1] Chifflet mentions a Paris edition of 1544, which I have not seen.

Abraham Whelock, and it is an impressive piece of printing, because the Old English version is given in a large fount in parallel columns with the Latin. Roger Daniel, the University printer, brought it out in 1643, and reissued the sheets with a new title-page and followed by the Laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings in the next year. Three Latin manuscripts are mentioned, which have been identified as Sir Robert Cotton's Tiberius C. ii, and two at Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R. 5. 27, and Sidney Sussex Coll. Δ. 5. 17.

What we now call the *m*-text first came to the surface in 1681, when the Paris Jesuit Pierre François Chifflet in his *Bedae presbyteri et Fredegarii scholastici Concordia* published the *History* from the copy at St. Maximin's, Trier which is a ninth-century descendant of the Moore MS.; he tells us that he took pains even to follow its orthography.

That was the last contribution to be made by the Continent, but fortunately English historical scholarship, which had done so little for the *History* in the days of Matthew Parker, was now ready to contribute. A major attack on the manuscript sources of the text was planned by Thomas Gale, dean of York (1635–1702).[1] Gale's hands were always full, and he passed on the task to John Smith, canon of Durham (1659–1715). Smith was an almost exact contemporary at St. John's College, Cambridge, of Richard Bentley; and while Bentley was establishing the paramount role of reason in textual criticism, Smith made himself an example of the critic's other virtue: to reject late copies full of errors and go behind them to the earliest and most correct. It was his good fortune that John Moore, bishop of Ely, should just then have acquired what we still call the Moore MS. With this John Smith joined the two early Cottonian copies, and consequently his text, published at Cambridge in 1722 by his son George Smith, left little more to be done. It was, in Plummer's weighty words, 'a truly monumental work, and its execution cannot be too highly praised'.[2]

Of the nineteenth-century editions, based mainly on Smith, little need be said: Joseph Stevenson's for the English Historical Society in 1841; J. A. Giles's in his edition of Bede's *Opera omnia* in 1843; Robert Hussey's for the Clarendon Press at Oxford in

[1] Gale's own copy of the Cologne edition of 1601, interleaved and annotated, is now Cambridge, Trinity College MSS. O.2.63, O.2.64.

[2] See David C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (1939), pp. 72–75.

1846; Henry Petrie's in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* edited in 1848 by Sir Thomas Hardy, who in vol. I of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain* (1862), pp. 433–47, published a list of manuscripts which was a creditable achievement for its date. The text in Migne's *Patrologia latina*, XCV (1861), declares itself based on the Cologne edition of 1612 with Smith and Giles. Another Oxford edition, by George H. Moberly, appeared in 1869;[1] the Cambridge edition of Books iii and iv by J. E. B. Mayor and J. R. Lumby (1878) contributed some more information about manuscripts in Cambridge; Alfred Holder's of 1882 (Freiburg im Breisgau, as Heft vii of his Germanischer Bücherschatz) is chiefly noteworthy for a brave but (as we should now think) unhistorical attempt to base the spelling on Bede's own school-book *de Orthographia*.

Then in 1896 came Charles Plummer's *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, a new text, with the first full commentary. He ignored the Leningrad MS., and showed little interest in those at Cambridge or in foreign libraries (other than Namur); but this does not impair the value of his text, which can fairly be described as final. The width of his interests and the accuracy of his learning must be the envy of any successor; and those who have spent many days in the company of 'Plummer's Bede' have learnt to recognize qualities of heart as well as head, which must have made Bede specially congenial to him.[2]

APPENDIX

Obituary Verses

(*a*) Epitaph given in the *Vita Bedae*, and cut on the modern tomb in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.

Hac sunt in fossa Bedae venerabilis ossa.

(*b*) Epitaph quoted by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* i. 63, as showing the depth to which scholarship fell immediately after Bede's death.

Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus.
Dona, Christe, animam in celis gaudere per euum,

[1] A reprint of 1881 is the basis of the text edited by J. E. King in the Loeb Classical Library (1930).

[2] Plummer's merits were not thought to deserve inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, nor does his memory require its assistance. A short memoir and list of his writings will be found in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XV (1929), 463–76.

Daque illum sophiae debriari fonte, cui iam
Suspirauit ouans intento semper amore.

(*c*) Epitaph given at the end of MSS. containing the *Continuatio* (above, p. lxviii).

Versus super sepulchrum Bede presbiteri

Beda Dei famulus,[1] monachorum nobile sydus,
Finibus e terrae profuit ecclesiae.
Sollers iste patrum scrutando per omnia sensum
Eloquio uiguit, plurima composuit.
Annos hac uita ter duxit rite triginta
Presbyter officio, utilis ingenio.
Iunii septenis uiduatus carne kalendis
Angligena angelicam commeruit patriam.

Anno ab incarnatione dominica DCCXXXV°, ab obitu beati papae Gregorii CXXVII°.

(*d*) Quatrain written to accompany a picture of the author and dedicatory couplet, from the Magdalen College MS. of the *History* (above, p. lvi).

Scribens in sceda sedet hic sua dogmata Beda
Ex Anglis natus doctissimus atque probatus:
Nam scripturarum tractando profunda sacrarum
Mundum doctrinis ceu sol perlustrat opimis.

Suscipe nostrorum, rex, hystoriam populorum,
Quam lege, scribe, proba: cunctos hoc uelle labora.

[1] This phrase is used at the beginning of two sets of verses in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae*, II (1884), 665 and V. i (1937), 400.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

Aberystwyth, lii.
Admont, lxvii.
Augsburg, lxv.

Bamberg, lxv.
Berlin, Hamilton, 70, lxiii.
  Phillipps 1873 (lat. 133), lxii.
Bern 49, lxii.
  363, xlvi.
Bloomington (Ind.), xliv n.
Bologna, lxx.
Boulogne, lxi.
Breslau (Wrocław), lxvii.
Brussels II 2295, lxii.
  8245–57, lxv.
Bury St. Edmunds, lvii.

Cambridge:
  Univ. Lib. Kk. 5. 16, xliii.
  Corpus Christi Coll. 264, lix.
    270, lviii.
    359, lx.
  Emmanuel Coll., lx.
  Fitzwilliam Museum, lv.
  Pembroke Coll., xlix, lvii.
  St. John's Coll., 27, lvi.
    254, xlviii.
  Sidney Sussex Coll. lx.
  Trinity Coll. R. 5. 22, lvi.
    R. 5. 27, liii.
    R. 7. 3, lviii.
    R. 7. 5, xlvii.
[Cheltenham,] Phillipps 256, lxviii.
  1089, lxviii.
  1873, lxii.
  2701, lxx.
  9428, lv.
  16250, xlviii.
  25402, liv.
  36275, xlvi.
Chicago (Ill.), Mr. C. L. Ricketts:
  see Bloomington.
[Colmar,] lxvii.
Cologny, lxx.

Dijon, lxi.
Douai, lxi.
Dresden, lxvii, lxviii.
Dublin, lviii.
Durham, xlix.

Edinburgh, l.

Florence, lxx.

Glasgow, lxix.
Gotha, lxvii.

Heiligenkreuz, lxvii.
Hengwrt: *see* Aberystwyth.
Hereford, lvi.
Holkham: *see* Oxford.

Kassel 4° MS. theol. 2, xlii.
  fragment, lxv.
Klosterneuburg, lxvii.

Leiden, lxviii.
Leipzig, lxviii.
Leningrad, xliv.
London:
  British Museum, Add. 10949, lxviii.
    14250, liii.
    18150, lxvi.
    25014, xlix.
    33371, lxvi.
    38130, xlviii.
    38817, liv.
  Arundel, 74, lviii.
  Burney 297, liv.
    310, l.
  Cotton Tib. A. xiv, xlvi.
    Tib. C. ii, xlii.
    Vitel. E. i, lx.
  Egerton 3278, xlvii.
  Harley 3680, lviii.
    4124, xlix.
    4978, lxii.
  Royal 13 B. xviii, lxvi.
    13 C. v, li.
    13 C. v, ii, xlviii.
  Stowe 104, liii.
College of Arms, Arundel 16, liv.
    s.n., liii.
Sir A. Chester Beatty: *see* New York.
Messrs. Quaritch, lxvii.

Manchester, lxviii.
Melk, lxvii.
Milan, lxiii.
Monte Cassino, lxvi.
Montpellier, lxi.
Mostyn, lx.
Munich, lxvii.

Namur, xlv.
Naples, lxx.
New York (N.Y.), Morgan Lib., xlvi.

Oxford:
Bodleian Lib., Barlow 39, lii.
Bodley 163, li.
302, l.
712, xlviii.
Digby 101, lvi.
211, lvi.
Douce 368, lii.
e Museo 93, lvi.,
115, lviii.
Fairfax 12, liii.
Hatton 43, xlii.
Holkham misc. 7, lix.
Laud. misc. 243, liii.
610, xlvi.
Rawl. B 189, lx.
Rawl. C 162, liv.
Tanner 348, lvi.
All Souls Coll., lvi.
Balliol Coll., li.
Christ Church, lviii.
Corpus Christi Coll., l.
Lincoln Coll., liv.
Magdalen Coll., lvi.
Merton Coll., lvi, lix.
New Coll., lii.
Pembroke Coll., lii.
St John's Coll., liv.

Paris:
Bibl. nat. lat. 5226, lxii.
5227, lxii.
5227A, lxii.
5228, lxvi.
5229, lxvi.
5230, lxiv.
5230A, lxiv.
5231, lxvi.
5232, lxiv.
5233, lxiv.
5234, lxiv.
5235, lxvi.
5236, lxvi n.
5237, lxvi.
10184, lxiv.
12942, lxiv.
12943, lxiv.
16078, lxiv.
Paris
Bibl. de l'Arsenal 982, lxx.
989, lxiv.
1154, lxi.
Peniarth: *see* Aberystwyth.
Prague, lxvii.
Princeton (N.J.), lxviii.

Reims, lxiv.
Reun, lxvii.
Ripley Castle: *see* Ripon.
Ripon, Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, liv.
Rome, Bibl. naz. Vittorio Emmanuele: *see* Cologny.
Rouen, lxi.

St. Florian, lxvii.
St. Gall 247, lxv.
547, lxvii.
Schaffhausen, lxvi.

Tournai, lxi.
Trier, lxiv.
Tuxedo Park (N.Y.): *see* Princeton.

Utrecht, lxix.

Valencia, lxi.
Vatican:
Ottob. lat. 877, lxiv.
Regin. lat. 122, lxiv.
694, xlix.
Vendôme, lxiv.
Vienna, lxvii.

Winchester, l.
Wolfenbüttel, xliv.
Worcester, lix.
Würzburg, xlv.

Zürich, xliii.
Zwettl, lxvii.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

822202 B

PRAEFATIO[1]

GLORIOSISSIMO regi Ceoluulfo[2] Beda famulus Christi et presbyter.

Historiam gentis Anglorum ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad legendum ac probandum transmisi, et nunc ad transcribendum ac plenius ex tempore meditandum retransmitto; satisque studium tuae sinceritatis amplector, quo non solum audiendis scripturae sanctae uerbis aurem sedulus accommodas uerum etiam noscendis priorum gestis siue dictis, et maxime nostrae gentis uirorum inlustrium, curam uigilanter inpendis. Siue enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de prauis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius auditor siue lector deuitando quod noxium est ac peruersum, ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac Deo digna esse cognouerit, accenditur. Quod ipsum tu quoque uigilantissime deprehendens, historiam memoratam in notitiam tibi simul et eis, quibus te regendis diuina praefecit auctoritas, ob generalis curam salutis
p. 6 latius propalari desideras. / Vt[3] autem in his quae scripsi uel tibi uel ceteris auditoribus siue lectoribus huius historiae occasionem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim, breuiter intimare curabo.

Auctor ante omnes atque adiutor opusculi huius Albinus[4] abba reuerentissimus, uir per omnia doctissimus, extitit; qui in ecclesia Cantuariorum a beatae memoriae Theodoro archiepiscopo et Hadriano abbate, uiris uenerabilibus atque eruditissimis, institutus diligenter omnia, quae in ipsa Cantuariorum prouincia uel etiam in contiguis eidem regionibus a discipulis beati papae

[1] The Preface, as the wording shows, was written after the *History* was finished. It gives a clear account of Bede's methods as a historian. See Introduction, p. xxx.

[2] Ceolwulf became king of Northumbria in 729. He was forcibly tonsured in 731 but afterwards returned to his kingdom. He retired voluntarily to Lindisfarne in 737. Though Bede admired him as a man of religion, he had little faith in his ability as king (see v. 23). The date of his death is uncertain but was probably 764. He was later on revered as a saint and his relics, together with those of St. Cuthbert, were moved from Lindisfarne to Norham in 830. (*Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, Symeon of Durham, ed. Arnold, 1. 201.)

PREFACE[1]

To the most glorious King Ceolwulf,[2] Bede, servant of Christ and priest.

Your Majesty has asked to see the *History of the English Church and Nation* which I have lately published. It was with pleasure, sire, that I submitted it for your perusal and criticism on a former occasion; and with pleasure I now send it once again, for copying and fuller study, as time may permit. I gladly acknowledge the unfeigned enthusiasm with which, not content merely to lend an attentive ear to hear the words of Holy Scripture, you devote yourself to learn the sayings and doings of the men of old, and more especially the famous men of our own race. Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good; should it record the evil ends of wicked men, no less effectually the devout and earnest listener or reader is kindled to eschew what is harmful and perverse, and himself with greater care pursue those things which he has learned to be good and pleasing in the sight of God. This you perceive, clear-sighted as you are; and therefore, in your zeal for the spiritual well-being of us all, you wish to see my *History* more widely known, for the instruction of yourself and those over whom divine authority has appointed you to rule. Now,[3] in order to remove all occasions of doubt about those things I have written, either in your mind or in the minds of any others who listen to or read this history, I will make it my business to state briefly from what sources I have gained my information.

My principal authority and helper in this modest work has been the revered Abbot Albinus,[4] a man of universal learning who was educated in the Kentish Church by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian of blessed memory, both venerable and learned

[3] Several phrases between *ut autem* and *curabo* are borrowed from the Prologue to Gregory's *Dialogues*.

[4] Albinus succeeded Hadrian as abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, later known as St. Augustine's, outside Canterbury. For Bede's respect for his scholarship see v. 20. Bede wrote him a covering letter when sending him an early copy of the *History*. See Plummer, I. 3.

Gregorii gesta fuere, uel monimentis litterarum[1] uel seniorum traditione cognouerat, et ea mihi de his quae memoria digna uidebantur per religiosum Lundoniensis ecclesiae presbyterum Nothelmum,[2] siue litteris mandata siue ipsius Nothelmi uiua uoce referenda, transmisit. Qui uidelicet Nothelmus postea Romam ueniens, nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii papae simul et aliorum pontificum epistulas, perscrutato eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae Romanae scrinio, permissu eius, qui nunc ipsi ecclesiae praeest Gregorii pontificis,[3] inuenit, reuersusque nobis nostrae historiae inserendas cum consilio praefati Albini reuerentissimi patris adtulit.

A principio itaque uoluminis huius usque ad tempus, quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea quae promeremus didicimus. Exinde autem usque ad tempora praesentia, quae in ecclesia Cantuariorum per discipulos beati papae Gregorii siue successores eorum, uel sub quibus regibus gesta sint, memorati abbatis Albini industria, Nothelmo ut diximus perferente, cognouimus. Qui etiam prouinciae Orientalium simul et Occidentalium Saxonum, necnon et Orientalium Anglorum atque Nordanhymbrorum, a quibus praesulibus uel
p. 7 quorum tempore regum gratiam euangelii / perceperint, nonnulla mihi ex parte prodiderunt. Denique hortatu praecipue ipsius Albini, ut hoc opus adgredi auderem, prouocatus sum. Sed et Danihel[4] reuerentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de historia ecclesiastica prouinciae ipsius, simul et proxima illi Australium Saxonum, necnon et Uectae insulae litteris mandata declarauit. Qualiter uero per ministerium Ceddi et Ceadda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum uel prouincia Merciorum ad fidem Christi, quam non nouerat, peruenerit, uel prouincia Orientalium Saxonum fidem, quam olim exsufflauerat, recuperauerit, qualis etiam ipsorum patrum uita uel obitus extiterit, diligenter a fratribus monasterii, quod ab ipsis conditum Laestingaeu[5] cognominatur, agnouimus. Porro in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum quae fuerint gesta ecclesiastica

[1] It is clear that written records of St. Augustine's mission were still preserved at Canterbury.

[2] Nothhelm became archbishop of Canterbury in 735 and died in 739. It was for him that Bede wrote the *De viii Quaestionibus*. (*PL*, XCIII. 455–78.) See also Laistner and King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts*, pp. 155–7. Boniface wrote him a letter asking for a copy of Gregory's *Responsiones*. See *EHD*, I. 745–6. It is clear from this passage and from the letter to Albinus mentioned above that Nothhelm had visited Bede presumably in Jarrow.

[3] This would be Gregory II who was pope from 715 to 731. Before becoming

men. There he carefully ascertained, from written records[1] or from the old traditions, all that the disciples of St. Gregory had done in the kingdom of Kent or in the neighbouring kingdoms. He passed on to me whatever seemed worth remembering through Nothhelm,[2] a godly priest of the Church in London, either in writing or by word of mouth. Afterwards Nothhelm went to Rome and got permission from the present Pope Gregory[3] to search through the archives of the holy Roman church and there found some letters of St. Gregory and of other popes. On the advice of Father Albinus he brought them to us on his return to be included in our *History*.

So, from the period at which this volume begins to the time when the English race accepted the faith of Christ, I have obtained my material from here and there, chiefly from the writings of earlier writers. From then to the present time I have learned what the disciples of St. Gregory or their successors did in the Kentish church and under what kings these events happened, through the efforts of Abbot Albinus, Nothhelm, as I said, acting as intermediary. Some of my information about the East and West Saxons, as well as East Anglia and Northumbria, was provided by them, especially under what bishops and in whose reigns they received the grace of the gospel. In short, it was chiefly through the encouragement of Albinus that I ventured to undertake this work. Daniel,[4] the esteemed bishop of the West Saxons who still survives, communicated to me in writing something of the history of the church of his own kingdom, as well as of the neighbouring kingdoms of Sussex and the Isle of Wight. Further I learned from the brethren of the monastery known as Lastingham[5] which was founded by Cedd and Chad how, through the ministry of these devoted priests of Christ, the kingdom of Mercia achieved the faith of Christ which it had never known, and how the kingdom of Essex recovered the faith which it had formerly rejected. I also learned from the monks of Lastingham about the life and death of these two fathers. Further, I learned the history of the church

pope he had been librarian of the church at Rome. It is quite likely that Nothhelm's visit to Rome may have been before 715 while he was librarian.

[4] Cf. iv. 16; v. 18, 23. In the last two chapters he is referred to more precisely as bishop of Winchester. He was consecrated bishop of Winchester; when the West Saxon bishopric was divided in 705, he received the smaller but probably more important part. Daniel was a correspondent of St. Boniface, though Bede never mentions the latter.

[5] For a fuller account see iii. 23 and notes.

partim ex scriptis uel traditione priorum, partim reuerentissimi abbatis Esi[1] relatione conperimus. At uero in prouincia Lindissi[2] quae sint gesta erga fidem Christi, quaeue successio sacerdotalis extiterit, uel litteris reuerentissimi antistitis Cynibercti[3] uel aliorum fidelium uirorum uiua uoce didicimus. Quae autem in Nordanhymbrorum prouincia, ex quo tempore fidem Christi perceperunt usque ad praesens, per diuersas regiones in ecclesia sint acta, non uno quolibet auctore sed fideli innumerorum testium, qui haec scire uel meminisse poterant, adsertione cognoui, exceptis his quae per me ipsum nosse poteram. Inter quae notandum quod ea, quae de sanctissimo patre et antistite Cudbercto uel in hoc uolumine uel in libello gestorum ipsius conscripsi, partim ex eis quae de illo prius a fratribus ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis scripta repperi adsumsi, simpliciter fidem historiae quam legebam /
p. 8 accommodans, partim uero ea quae certissima fidelium uirorum adtestatione per me ipse cognoscere potui, sollerter adicere curaui. Lectoremque suppliciter obsecro ut, siqua in his quae scripsimus aliter quam se ueritas habet posita reppererit, non hoc nobis inputet, qui, quod uera lex historiae est,[4] simpliciter ea quae fama uulgante collegimus ad instructionem posteritatis litteris mandare studuimus.

Praeterea omnes, ad quos haec eadem historia peruenire potuerit nostrae nationis, legentes siue audientes suppliciter precor, ut pro meis infirmitatibus et mentis et corporis apud supernam clementiam saepius interuenire meminerint, et in suis quique prouinciis hanc mihi suae remunerationis uicem rependant, ut qui de singulis prouinciis siue locis sublimioribus, quae memoratu digna atque incolis grata credideram, diligenter adnotare curaui, apud omnes fructum piae intercessionis inueniam.

EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO INCIPIUNT CAPITVLA

[1] Nothing more is known of this abbot.

[2] The district between the Humber and the Witham, now forming the Parts of Lindsey in the county of Lincoln. It had a royal dynasty of its own which traced its descent back to the god Woden. Through much of the seventh century it was subject alternately to Northumbria and Mercia and seems to have suffered a good deal (see ii. 16 and note). The people of Lindsey were first converted to Christianity by the teaching of Paulinus (ii. 16). Bede calls the people of Lindsey 'Lindisfari' (iii. 24; iv. 3, 12; v. 23) to the confusion of editors and translators even until recently.

of East Anglia, partly from the writings or the traditions of men of the past, and partly from the account of the esteemed Abbot Esi.[1] As to the kingdom of Lindsey,[2] I learned of the growth of their faith in Christ and of the succession of bishops, either through a letter from the reverend Bishop Cyneberht[3] or from the lips of other trustworthy men. But what happened in the church in the various parts of the kingdom of Northumbria, from the time when they received the faith of Christ up to the present, apart from those matters of which I had personal knowledge, I have learned not from any one source but from the faithful testimony of innumerable witnesses, who either knew or remembered these things. In this respect it is to be noted that what I have written about the most holy father Bishop Cuthbert, either in this volume or in his biography, I took partly from what I had previously found written about him by the brethren of the church at Lindisfarne, accepting the story I read in simple faith; but in part I also made it my business to add with care what I was able to learn myself from the trustworthy testimony of reliable witnesses. So I humbly beg the reader, if he finds anything other than the truth set down in what I have written, not to impute it to me. For, in accordance with the principles of true history,[4] I have simply sought to commit to writing what I have collected from common report, for the instruction of posterity.

Furthermore I humbly beseech all who either read this history of our nation or hear it read, that they will not forget frequently to ask for God's mercy upon my weaknesses both of mind and body; and that in their various kingdoms they will repay me with good measure. Since I have diligently sought to put on record concerning each of the kingdoms and the more important places, those events which I believe to be worthy of remembrance and likely to be welcome to the inhabitants, let me reap among them all, the harvest of their charitable intercessions.

END OF PREFACE BEGINNING OF CHAPTER HEADINGS

[3] He appears in the list of Lindsey bishops in iv. 12 (see also v. 23). Nothing more is known of him but it is clear he was alive in 731.

[4] The phrase *quae uera historiae lex est* is used by Bede in his Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel and is borrowed from Jerome. Cf. C. W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles*, p. 83, note 7, and *PL.* XXIII. 187–8.

Haec continentur in libro primo historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum:

I. De situ Brittaniae uel Hiberniae et de priscis earum incolis.

II. Vt Brittaniam primus Romanorum Gaius Iulius adierit,

III. Vt eandem secundus Romanorum Claudius adiens Orcadas etiam insulas Romano adiecerit imperio, sed et Uespasianus ab eo missus Uectam quoque insulam Romanis subdiderit.

IIII. Vt Lucius Brittanorum rex missis ad Eleutherum papam litteris Christianum se fieri petierit.

V. Vt Seuerus receptam Brittaniae partem uallo a cetera distinxerit.

VI. De imperio Diocletiani, et ut Christianos persecutus sit.

VII. Passio sancti Albani et sociorum eius, qui eodem tempore pro Domino sanguinem fuderunt.

VIII. Vt hac cessante persecutione ecclesia in Brittanis[a] aliquantulam usque ad tempora Arrianae uaesaniae pacem habuerit.

VIIII. Vt regnante Gratiano Maximus in Brittania imperator creatus cum magno exercitu Galliam redierit.

X. Vt Arcadio regnante Pelagius Bretto contra gratiam Dei superba bella susceperit.

XI. Vt regnante Honorio Gratianus et Constantinus in Brittania tyranni creati, et mox prior in Brittania, secundus in Gallia sint interemti.

XII. Vt Brettones a Scottis uastati Pictisque Romanorum auxilia quaesierint, qui secundo uenientes murum trans insulam fecerint, sed hoc confestim a praefatis hostibus interrupto maiore sint calamitate depressi.

XIII. Vt regnante Theodosio minore, cuius tempore[b] Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes missus est, Brettones ab Aetio consule auxilium flagitantes non inpetrauerint.

XIIII. Vt Brettones fame famosa coacti barbaros suis e finibus pepulerint, nec mora, frugum copia luxuria pestilentia et exterminium gentis secutum sit.

[a] Brittaniis *c2* [b] temporibus *c2*

These are the contents of the first book of the history of the Church of the English people.

BOOK I

1. Of the situation of Britain and Ireland and of their earliest inhabitants.
2. How Gaius Julius was the first Roman to visit Britain.
3. How Claudius, the second Roman to visit Britain, also added the Orkney Islands to the Roman Empire; and how Vespasian was sent by him and brought the Isle of Wight also under Roman sway.
4. How Lucius, king of Britain, wrote to Pope Eleutherus asking to be made a Christian.
5. How Severus, by means of a rampart, divided the part of Britain which he had recovered from the rest.
6. Of the reign of Diocletian and how he persecuted the Christians.
7. The passion of St. Alban and his companions who, at that time, shed their blood for the Lord.
8. How, when the persecution ceased, the Church in Britain had a little peace until the time of the Arian heresy.
9. How, during Gratian's reign, Maximus was created emperor in Britain and returned to Gaul with a large army.
10. How, during the reign of Arcadius, a Briton named Pelagius made a presumptuous attack upon the grace of God.
11. How, during the reign of Honorius, Gratian and Constantine were set up as dictators in Britain; and how, shortly afterwards, the former was killed in Britain and the latter in Gaul.
12. How the Britons were ravaged by the Irish and the Picts and sought help from the Romans, who came a second time and built a wall across the island; but this was forthwith broken down by the same enemies and they were reduced to worse straits.
13. How, during the reign of Theodosius the younger, Palladius was sent to the Irish Christians; and how the Britons unsuccessfully sought help from the consul Aetius.
14. How the Britons, rendered desperate by famine, drove the barbarians out of their land; and how there quickly followed, first abundance of corn and then riotous living and pestilence and finally doom upon the race.

XV. Vt inuitata Brittaniam gens Anglorum primo quidem aduersarios longius eiecerit, sed non multo post iuncto cum his foedere in socios arma uerterit.

XVI. Vt Brettones primam de gente Anglorum uictoriam duce Ambrosio Romano homine sumserint.

XVII. Vt Germanus episcopus cum Lupo Brittaniam nauigans et primo maris et postmodum Pelagianorum tempestatem diuina uirtute sedauerit.

XVIII. Vt idem filiam tribuni caecam inluminauerit, ac deinde ad sanctum Albanum perueniens reliquias ibidem et ipsius acceperit et beatorum apostolorum siue aliorum martyrum posuerit.

XVIIII. Vt idem causa infirmitatis ibidem detentus et incendia domorum orando restinxerit et ipse per uisionem a suo sit languore curatus.

XX. Vt idem episcopi Brettonibus in pugna auxilium caeleste tulerint sicque domum reuersi sint.

XXI. Vt renascentibus uirgultis Pelagianae pestis Germanus cum Seuero Brittaniam reuersus prius claudo iuueni incessum, deinde et populo Dei condemnatis siue emendatis haereticis gressum recuperarit fidei.

XXII. Vt Brettones quiescentibus ad tempus exteris ciuilibus se bellis contriuerint, simul et maioribus flagitiis submerserint.

XXIII. Vt sanctus papa Gregorius Augustinum cum monachis ad praedicandum genti Anglorum mittens epistula quoque illos exhortatoria ne a laborando cessarent confortauerit.

XXIIII. Vt Arelatensi episcopo epistulam pro eorum susceptione miserit.

XXV. Vt ueniens Brittaniam Augustinus primo in insula Tanato regi Cantuariorum praedicarit, et sic accepta ab eo licentia Cantiam praedicaturus intrauerit.

XXVI. Vt idem in Cantia primitiuae ecclesiae et doctrinam sit imitatus et uitam atque in urbe regis sedem episcopatus acceperit.

XXVII. Vt idem episcopus factus Gregorio papae quae sint Brittaniae gesta mandarit, simul et de necessariis eius responsa petens acceperit.

XXVIII. Vt papa Gregorius epistulam Arelatensi episcopo pro adiuuando in opere Dei Augustino miserit.

XXVIIII. Vt idem Augustino pallium et epistulam et plures Verbi ministros miserit.

XXX. Exemplar epistulae quam Mellito abbati Brittaniam pergenti misit.

15. How the Angles were invited to Britain and at first drove the enemy away; but not long afterwards the Angles made a treaty with them and turned their weapons against their allies.

16. How the Britons gained their first victory over the Angles under the leadership of a Roman named Ambrosius.

17. How Bishop Germanus sailed for Britain with Lupus and how he stilled, by divine power, first of all the raging of the sea and afterwards the raging of the Pelagians.

18. How he gave sight to a tribune's blind daughter and then visited St. Alban, where he received some of his relics and presented relics of the blessed apostles and other martyrs.

19. How he was detained there by sickness, put out a fire in some burning buildings by his prayers, and was himself healed of his sickness by a vision.

20. How the two bishops brought divine help to the Britons in a battle and then returned home.

21. How when the pestilential growth of Pelagianism sprang up again, Germanus returned to Britain with Severus, first restoring the power of walking to a lame young man and then restoring the people of God to the paths of faith by condemning or converting the heretics.

22. How the Britons, though at rest from foreign invasion, wore themselves out by civil wars and also gave themselves up to more heinous crimes.

23. How Pope St. Gregory sent Augustine and other monks to preach to the English people, and encouraged them in a letter not to cease from their efforts.

24. How he wrote to the bishop of Arles about their entertainment.

25. How Augustine came to Britain and first of all preached to the king of Kent on the island of Thanet; then, after obtaining permission, he went to Kent to preach.

26. How in Kent he followed both the manner of life and the teaching of the primitive church and how he received an episcopal see in the royal city.

27. How he was made bishop and how he sent to inform Pope Gregory about what had been done in Britain, at the same time asking questions and receiving replies on important matters.

28. How Pope Gregory sent a letter to the bishop of Arles asking him to give Augustine help in the work of God.

29. How the pope sent Augustine a pallium with a letter, and also sent several more ministers of the Word.

30. A copy of the letter which Pope Gregory sent to Abbot Mellitus who was on his way to Britain.

XXXI. Vt Augustinum per litteras ne de uirtutibus suis gloriaretur hortatus sit.

XXXII. Vt Aedilbercto regi litteras et dona miserit.

XXXIII. Vt Augustinus ecclesiam Saluatoris instaurauerit et monasterium beati Petri apostoli fecerit, et de primo eius abbate Petro.

XXXIIII. Vt Aedilfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum Scottorum gentes proelio conterens ab Anglorum finibus expulerit.

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA INCIPIT IPSE LIBER

31. How he urged Augustine, in a letter, not to glory in the miracles he was performing.

32. How he sent letters and gifts to King Æthelberht.

33. How Augustine repaired the church of the Saviour and built the monastery of the Apostle St. Peter; and about Peter its first abbot.

34. How Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria, vanquished the Irish race in battle and drove them from English territories.

END OF CHAPTER HEADINGS BEGINNING OF BOOK I

I

BRITTANIA[1] Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit, inter septentrionem et occidentem locata est, Germaniae Galliae Hispaniae, maximis Europae partibus, multo interuallo aduersa. Quae per milia passuum DCCC in boream longa, latitudinis habet milia CC, exceptis dumtaxat prolixioribus diuersorum promontoriorum tractibus, quibus efficitur ut circuitus eius quadragies octies LXXV milia conpleat. Habet a meridie Galliam Belgicam, cuius proximum litus transmeantibus aperit ciuitas quae dicitur Rutubi portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacaestir uocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco Morynorum gentis litore proximo, traiectu milium L siue, ut quidam scripsere, stadiorum CCCCL. A tergo autem, unde Oceano infinito patet, Orcadas
p. 10 insulas habet. Opima frugibus atque arboribus insula, et alendis / apta pecoribus ac iumentis, uineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans, sed et auium ferax terra marique generis diuersi, fluuiis quoque multum piscosis ac fontibus praeclara copiosis; et quidem praecipue issicio abundat et anguilla. Capiuntur autem saepissime et uituli marini et delfines nec non et ballenae, exceptis uariorum generibus concyliorum, in quibus sunt et musculae, quibus inclusam saepe margaritam omnis quidem coloris optimam inueniunt, id est et rubicundi et purpurei et hyacinthini et prasini sed maxime candidi. Sunt et cocleae satis superque abundantes, quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur, cuius rubor pulcherrimus nullo umquam solis ardore, nulla ualet pluuiarum iniuria pallescere, sed quo uetustior eo solet esse uenustior. Habet fontes salinarum, habet et fontes calidos, et ex eis fluuios balnearum calidarum omni aetati et sexui per distincta loca iuxta suum cuique modum accommodos. Aqua enim, ut sanctus Basilius dicit,[2]

[1] Bede's idea of beginning his *History* with a historical and geographical account of Britain may have been suggested either by Orosius' description of the world with which he prefaces his *Histories against the Pagans* or by Gregory of Tours's introductory survey to his *History of the Franks*. The first paragraph up to the reference to the Orkneys is a mosaic of quotations from Pliny's *Natural History*, Gildas' *Ruin of Britain*, Solinus' *Polyhistor*, and Orosius (see Index of Quotations). Most of the account of the products of Britain is his own except for the acknowledged quotation from St. Basil. The description of the properties of jet is borrowed from Solinus except for the reference to its power to drive away serpents, which is his own addition. The allusion to

CHAPTER I

BRITAIN,[1] once called Albion, is an island of the ocean and lies to the north-west, being opposite Germany, Gaul, and Spain, which form the greater part of Europe, though at a considerable distance from them. It extends 800 miles to the north, and is 200 miles broad, save only where several promontories stretch out further and, counting these, the whole circuit of the coast line covers 4,875 miles. To the south lies Belgic Gaul, from which the city called *Rutubi Portus* (which the English now corruptly call *Reptacæstir* (Richborough)) is the nearest port for travellers. Between this and the closest point in the land of the Morini, *Gessoriacum* (Boulogne), is a crossing of fifty miles or, as some writers have it, 450 *stadia*. Behind the island, where it lies open to the boundless ocean, are the Orkney islands. The island is rich in crops and in trees, and has good pasturage for cattle and beasts of burden. It also produces vines in certain districts, and has plenty of both land- and waterfowl of various kinds. It is remarkable too for its rivers, which abound in fish, particularly salmon and eels, and for copious springs. Seals as well as dolphins are frequently captured and even whales; besides these there are various kinds of shellfish, among which are mussels, and enclosed in these there are often found excellent pearls of every colour, red and purple, violet and green, but mostly white. There is also a great abundance of whelks, from which a scarlet-coloured dye is made, a most beautiful red which neither fades through the heat of the sun nor exposure to the rain; indeed the older it is the more beautiful it becomes. The land possesses salt springs and warm springs and from them flow rivers which supply hot baths, suitable for all ages and both sexes, in separate places and adapted to the needs of each. For water, as St. Basil says,[2] acquires the

the twenty-eight cities is from Gildas. The rest of the chapter with the exception of a few words borrowed from Pliny is his own. See, further, Introduction, p. xxxi.

[2] This is a quotation from the *Hexaemeron* of St. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. It was written in Greek in the fourth century and translated into Latin in the fifth century by Eustathius Afer. It is this translation which Bede uses here and elsewhere. The work is a treatise on the six days of creation. See *PL*, LIII. 908.

feruidam qualitatem recipit, cum per certa quaedam metalla transcurrit, et fit non solum calida sed et ardens. Quae etiam uenis metallorum, aeris ferri plumbi et argenti, fecunda gignit et lapidem gagatem plurimum optimumque; est autem nigrogemmeus, et ardens igni admotus, incensus serpentes fugat, adtritu calefactus adplicita detinet aeque ut sucinum. Erat et ciuitatibus quondam XX et VIII nobilissimis[a] insignita, praeter castella innumera quae et ipsa muris, turribus, portis ac seris erant instructa firmissimis. Et quia prope sub ipso septentrionali uertice mundi iacet, lucidas aestate noctes habet, ita ut medio saepe tempore noctis in quaestionem ueniat intuentibus, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat
p. 11 uespertinum an iam / aduenerit matutinum, utpote nocturno sole non longe sub terris ad orientem boreales per plagas redeunte; unde etiam plurimae longitudinis habet dies aestate sicut et noctes contra in bruma, sole nimirum tunc Lybicas in partes secedente, id est horarum XVIII;[b] plurimae item breuitatis noctes aestate et dies habet in bruma, hoc est sex solummodo aequinoctialium horarum, cum in Armenia Macedonia Italia ceterisque eiusdem lineae regionibus longissima dies siue nox XV, breuissima VIIII conpleat horas.

Haec in praesenti iuxta numerum librorum quibus lex diuina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summae ueritatis et uerae sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum uidelicet Brettonum Scottorum Pictorum et Latinorum,[1] quae meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis. In primis autem insula Brettones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano,[2] ut fertur, Brittaniam aduecti australes sibi partes illius uindicarunt. Et cum plurimam insulae partem incipientes ab austro possedissent, contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia,[3] ut perhibent, longis

[a] nobilissimis xx et viii *c2* [b] x et viii *c2*

[1] 'British' here means what we now call Welsh. The Irish language was afterwards taken by the *Scotti* to Scotland, but *Scotti* in Bede always means the Irish race whether in Scotland or Ireland. *Scottia* refers to Ireland alone though he uses *Hibernia* too, apparently using both terms indiscriminately as in the first paragraph of iv. 26. Pictish is some form of the Celtic language of which very few traces survive. Latin of course refers to the language of the Church, not to that of any particular people.

[2] This was originally the name for the whole district lying along the north-west coast of Gaul from the Seine to the Loire. But as the British race was forced into narrower bounds, the name Armorica also came to mean only the north-west corner of the country, now modern Brittany.

quality of heat when it passes through certain metals, so that it not only becomes warm but even scalding hot. The land also has rich veins of metal, copper, iron, lead, and silver. It produces a great deal of excellent jet, which is glossy black and burns when put into the fire and, when kindled, it drives away serpents; when it is warmed by rubbing it attracts whatever is applied to it, just as amber does. The country was once famous for its twenty-eight noble cities as well as innumerable fortified places equally well guarded by the strongest of walls and towers, gates and locks. Because Britain lies almost under the North Pole, it has short nights in summer, so that often at midnight it is hard for those who are watching to say whether it is evening twilight which still lingers, or whether morning dawn has come, since the sun at night returns to the east through the regions towards the north without passing far below the horizon. For this reason the summer days are extremely long. On the other hand the winter nights are also of great length, namely eighteen hours, doubtless because the sun has then departed to the region of Africa. In summer too the nights are extremely short; so are the days in winter, each consisting of six standard equinoctial hours, while in Armenia, Macedonia, Italy, and other countries in the same latitude the longest day or night consists of fifteen hours and the shortest of nine.

At the present time, there are five languages in Britain, just as the divine law is written in five books, all devoted to seeking out and setting forth one and the same kind of wisdom, namely the knowledge of sublime truth and of true sublimity. These are the English, British, Irish, Pictish, as well as the Latin languages;[1] through the study of the scriptures, Latin is in general use among them all. To begin with, the inhabitants of the island were all Britons, from whom it receives its name; they sailed to Britain, so it is said, from the land of Armorica,[2] and appropriated to themselves the southern part of it. After they had got possession of the greater part of the island, beginning from the south, it is related that the Pictish race from Scythia[3] sailed out into the

[3] Bede is supposed to be confusing Scythia and Scandia, the Latin form of the Old English name for the southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula (modern Skåney) which was *Scedenig* or *Scedenland*. It may be this confusion which led Bede to make the Picts come from Scythia. Even so the Picts can hardly have come from Skåney. Bede in another place (*Opp.* VIII. 255–6) refers to Thule as being *in finibus Scytharum*. In Irish tradition, with which Bede may have been familiar, the Picts are said to come from Thrace.

nauibus non multis Oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu uentorum, extra fines omnes Brittaniae Hiberniam peruenisse, eiusque septentrionales oras intrasse atque, inuenta ibi gente Scottorum, sibi quoque in partibus illius sedes petisse, nec inpetrare potuisse. Est autem Hibernia insula omnium post Brittaniam maxima, ad occidentem quidem Brittaniae sita sed, sicut contra aquilonem ea breuior, ita in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum protendens, usque contra Hispaniae septentrionalia
p. 12 quamuis magno aequore interiacente / peruenit. Ad / hanc ergo usque peruenientes nauigio Picti, ut diximus, petierunt in ea sibi quoque sedes et habitationem donari. Respondebant Scotti quia non ambos eos caperet insula, 'sed possumus' inquiunt 'salubre uobis dare consilium, quid agere ualeatis. Nouimus insulam esse aliam non procul a nostra contra ortum solis, quam saepe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere solemus. Hanc adire si uultis, habitabilem uobis facere ualetis; uel, si qui restiterit, nobis auxiliariis utimini.' Itaque petentes Brittaniam Picti habitare per septentrionales insulae partes coeperunt; nam austrina Brettones occupauerant.[a] Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent a Scottis, ea solum condicione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res ueniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse seruatum. Procedente autem tempore Brittania post Brettones et Pictos tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce Reuda de Hibernia progressi uel amicitia uel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent uindicarunt; a quo uidelicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini[1] uocantur, nam lingua eorum daal[b] partem significat.

Hibernia autem et latitudine sui status et salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum Brittaniae praestat, ita ut raro ibi nix plus quam triduana remaneat; nemo propter hiemem aut faena secet aestate aut stabula fabricet iumentis; nullum ibi reptile uideri soleat, nullus uiuere serpens ualeat. Nam saepe illo de Brittania adlati serpentes, mox ut proximante terris nauigio odore aeris illius adtacti fuerint, intereunt; quin potius omnia pene quae de

[a] occupauerunt *c2* [b] dal *c2*

[1] Soon after the middle of the fifth century an offshoot from the kingdom of Dalriada in north-east Ulster was established in Argyll and the islands of the west. This settlement also came to be called the kingdom of Dalriada. By the end of the sixth century, under their king Aedan, they overran the Pictish

ocean in a few warships and were carried by the wind beyond the furthest bounds of Britain, reaching Ireland and landing on its northern shores. There they found the Irish race and asked permission to settle among them but their request was refused. Now Ireland is the largest island of all next to Britain, and lies to the west of it. But though it is shorter than Britain to the north, yet in the south it extends far beyond the limits of that island and as far as the level of North Spain, though a great expanse of sea divides them. The Picts then came to this island, as we have said, by sea and asked for the grant of a place to settle in. The Irish answered that the island would not hold them both; 'but', said they, 'we can give you some good advice as to what to do. We know of another island not far from our own, in an easterly direction, which we often see in the distance on clear days. If you will go there, you can make a settlement for yourselves; but if any one resists you, make use of our help.' And so the Picts went to Britain and proceeded to occupy the northern parts of the island, because the Britons had seized the southern regions. As the Picts had no wives, they asked the Irish for some; the latter consented to give them women, only on condition that, in all cases of doubt, they should elect their kings from the female royal line rather than the male; and it is well known that the custom has been observed among the Picts to this day. In course of time Britain received a third tribe in addition to the Britons and the Picts, namely the Irish. These came from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and won lands among the Picts either by friendly treaty or by the sword. These they still possess. They are still called Dalreudini[1] after this leader, *Dal* in their language signifying a part.

Ireland is broader than Britain, is healthier and has a much milder climate, so that snow rarely lasts there for more than three days. Hay is never cut in summer for winter use nor are stables built for their beasts. No reptile is found there nor could a serpent survive; for although serpents have often been brought from Britain, as soon as the ship approaches land they are affected by the scent of the air and quickly perish. In fact almost everything that

provinces between the Forth and the Tay. About 850, Kenneth Mac Alpin, king of Dalriada, conquered the entire kingdom of the Picts. Bede confuses the fifth-century conqueror of the Scottish Dalriada with the third-century eponymous founder of the dynasty, Cairbre Riada. *Dal* means a meadow or valley; Bede is probably confusing it with OE *dæl*, which means a 'part'.

p. 13 eadem insula / sunt contra uenenum ualent. Denique uidimus, quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerant, et ipsam rasuram aquae inmissam ac potui datam talibus protinus totam uim ueneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumsisse ac sedasse tumorem. Diues lactis et mellis insula nec uinearum expers, piscium uolucrumque sed et ceruorum caprearumque uenatu insignis. Haec autem proprie patria Scottorum est; ab hac egressi, ut diximus, tertiam in Brittania Brettonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt. Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Brettonum a Pictis secernebat, qui ab occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est ciuitas Brettonum munitissima usque hodie, quae uocatur Alcluith; ad cuius uidelicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, aduenientes sibi locum patriae fecerunt.

II

VERUM eadem Brittania Romanis usque ad Gaium Iulium Caesarem inaccessa atque incognita fuit. Qui anno ab Vrbe condita sescentesimo nonagesimo tertio, ante uero incarnationis Dominicae tempus anno sexagesimo,[1] functus gradu consulatus cum Lucio Bibulo, dum contra Germanorum Gallorumque gentes, qui Hreno tantum flumine dirimebantur, bellum gereret, uenit ad Morianos, unde in Brittaniam proximus et breuissimus transitus est, et nauibus circiter onerariis atque actuariis LXXX praeparatis in Brittaniam transuehitur; ubi acerua primum pugna fatigatus,
p. 14 deinde aduersa tempestate correptus, plurimam / classis partem et non paruum numerum militum, equitum uero pene omnem disperdidit. Regressus in Galliam legiones in hiberna[a] dimisit, ac sescentas naues utriusque commodi fieri inperauit. Quibus iterum in Brittaniam primo uere transuectus, dum ipse in hostem cum exercitu pergit, naues in anchoris stantes tempestate correptae uel conlisae inter se uel arenis inlisae ac dissolutae sunt; ex quibus XL perierunt, ceterae cum magna difficultate reparatae sunt. Caesaris

[a] hibernia (*here and below*) *c2*

[1] The year of Rome 693 is 61 B.C. Bede took the Roman date from Orosius. The true dates of the expeditions are the year of Rome 699 and 700, that is, 55 and 54 B.C. Bede regularly uses the modern era of the Incarnation or the year

the island produces is efficacious against poison. For instance we have seen how, in the case of people suffering from snake-bite, the leaves of manuscripts from Ireland were scraped, and the scrapings put in water and given to the sufferer to drink. These scrapings at once absorbed the whole violence of the spreading poison and assuaged the swelling. The island abounds in milk and honey, nor does it lack vines, fish, and birds. It is also noted for the hunting of stags and roedeer. It is properly the native land of the Irish; they emigrated from it as we have described and so formed the third nation in Britain in addition to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very wide arm of the sea which originally divided the Britons from the Picts. It runs far into the land from the west. Here there is to this day a very strongly fortified British town called Alcluith (Dumbarton). The Irish whom we have mentioned settled to the north of this arm of the sea and made their home there.

CHAPTER II

Now Britain had never been visited by the Romans and was unknown to them until the time of Gaius Julius Caesar who, in the year of Rome 693, that is, in the year 60 before our Lord,[1] was consul with Lucius Bibulus. When he was waging war against the Germans and the Gauls, who were divided only by the river Rhine, he came to the Morini, from whose land is the nearest and shortest crossing to Britain. He prepared about eighty transport ships and light vessels and sailed across to Britain, where first of all he was roughly handled in a severe battle and then caught by a contrary gale, so that he lost a great part of his fleet and no small number of his soldiers, including almost all his cavalry. He returned to Gaul, sent the legions into winter quarters, and then gave orders for the construction of 600 ships of both types. With these he sailed to Britain again in early spring. But while he was marching against the enemy with his army, the ships riding at anchor were caught by a storm and either dashed against each other or cast up on the sands and broken up. Forty of them were lost and the rest were only repaired with great difficulty. At the first encounter Caesar's cavalry were defeated by the Britons and

of grace and continues to use it throughout the *History* except where he is quoting. See Introduction, pp. xviii f. and p. 546, n. 3.

equitatus primo congressu a Brittanis uictus, ibique Labienus tribunus occisus est. Secundo proelio cum magno suorum discrimine uictos Brittanos in fugam uertit, inde ad flumen Tamensim profectus. In huius ulteriore ripa Cassobellauno duce inmensa hostium multitudo consederat, ripamque fluminis ac paene totum sub aqua uadum acutissimis sudibus praestruxerat; quarum uestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie uisuntur, et uidetur inspectantibus quod singulae earum ad modum humani femoris grossae et circumfusae plumbo inmobiliter erant in profundum fluminis infixae. Quod ubi a Romanis deprehensum ac uitatum est, barbari legionum inpetum non ferentes siluis sese obdidere, unde crebris eruptionibus Romanos grauiter ac saepe lacerabant. Interea Trinouantum firmissima ciuitas cum Andragio[1] duce datis XL obsidibus Caesari sese dedit; quod exemplum secutae urbes aliae conplures in foedus Romanorum uenerunt. Hisdem demonstrantibus Caesar oppidum Cassobellauni[2] inter duas paludes situm, obtentu insuper siluarum munitum omnibusque rebus confertissimum, tandem graui pugna cepit. Exin Caesar a Brittanis reuersus in Galliam, postquam legiones in hiberna misit, repentinis bellorum tumultibus undique circumuentus et conflictatus est.

p. 15

III

ANNO autem ab Vrbe condita DCCXCVIII[3] Claudius imperator ab Augusto quartus, cupiens utilem reipublicae ostentare principem, bellum ubique et uictoriam undecumque quaesiuit. Itaque expeditionem in Brittaniam mouit, quae excitata in tumultum propter non redhibitos transfugas[4] uidebatur; transuectus in insulam est, quam neque ante Iulium Caesarem neque post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat; ibique sine ullo proelio ac sanguine intra paucissimos dies plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit. Orcadas etiam insulas ultra Brittaniam in Oceano positas

[1] This seems to be the leader of the Trinovantes, whom Caesar calls Mandubracius (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, v. 20). The kingdom of the Trinovantes covered Essex and part of Middlesex.

[2] This fortress is now marked by a series of great earthworks, ramparts, and ditches, on the hilltop near Wheathampstead, a little north of St. Albans. With the exception of the first sentence, the year of grace dating, and the references to the visible traces of the stakes, which is Bede's own comment, the chapter is taken verbally from Orosius, vi. 7–10.

[3] This should be the year of Rome 796, that is A.D. 43. Most of the chapter is taken from Orosius, with additions from Eutropius.

[4] Amongst others there was a certain Bericus who according to Dio Cassius (lx. 19) had urged Claudius to attack Britain.

there the tribune Labienus was killed. In the second battle, though his men incurred heavy risks, he conquered the Britons and put them to flight. Thence he marched to the river Thames. An immense multitude of the enemy was established on the further bank under the leadership of Cassobellaunus (Cassivelaunus).[1] The bank of the river and almost all the ford beneath the water had been blocked with sharp stakes. The traces of these stakes are visible even today; each of them, on inspection, is seen to be about the thickness of a man's thigh encased in lead and fixed immovably in the river bed. The Romans saw and avoided these, so the barbarians, being unable to resist the charge of the legions, hid themselves in the woods, from which they made constant sallies and frequently did the Romans great damage. Meanwhile the strongest city of the Trinovantes with its leader Androgeus[1] surrendered to Caesar and gave him forty hostages. Several other towns followed their example and made terms with the Romans. With their guidance Caesar, at length, after heavy fighting, captured the town of Cassivelaunus,[2] which was situated between two marshes and further fortified by a belt of woodland and provided with ample stores of every kind. After this Caesar returned from Britain to Gaul, but no sooner had he sent his legions to their winter quarters than he was surrounded and assailed on every hand by sudden wars and tumults.

CHAPTER III

In the year of Rome 798[3] the Emperor Claudius, fourth after Augustus, wishing to prove that he was a benefactor to the State, sought to make war everywhere and to gain victories on every hand. So he made an expedition to Britain, which had apparently been roused to rebellion because of the refusal of the Romans to give up some deserters.[4] He crossed to the island which no one either before or after Julius Caesar had dared to invade until then, and without any fighting or bloodshed he received the surrender of the greater part of the island within a very few days. He even annexed to the Roman empire the Orkneys, some islands which lie in the Ocean beyond Britain. He returned to Rome only six months

Romano adiecit imperio, ac sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, filioque suo Brittanici nomen inposuit. Hoc autem bellum quarto imperii sui anno conpleuit, qui est annus ab incarnatione Domini quadragesimus sextus; quo etiam anno fames grauissima per Syriam facta est, quae in Actibus Apostolorum per prophetam Agabum praedicta esse memoratur.

Ab eodem Claudio Uespasianus, qui post Neronem imperauit, in Brittaniam missus, etiam Uectam insulam, Brittaniae proximam a meridie, Romanorum dicioni subiugauit; quae habet ab oriente in occasum XXX circiter milia passuum, ab austro in boream XII, in orientalibus suis partibus mari sex milium, in occidentalibus trium, a meridiano Brittaniae litore distans. Succedens autem Claudio in imperium Nero nihil omnino in re militari ausus est; unde inter alia Romani regni detrimenta innumera Brittaniam pene amisit, nam duo sub eo nobilissima oppida illic capta atque subuersa sunt.

p. 16

IIII

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto[1] Marcus Antoninus Uerus quartus decimus ab Augusto regnum cum Aurelio Commodo fratre suscepit. Quorum temporibus cum Eleuther uir sanctus pontificatui Romanae ecclesiae praeesset, misit ad eum Lucius[2] Brittaniarum rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per eius mandatum Christianus efficeretur; et mox effectum piae postulationis consecutus est, susceptamque fidem Brittani usque in tempora Diocletiani principis inuiolatam integramque quieta in pace seruabant.

V

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CLXXXVIIII Seuerus, genere Afer Tripolitanus ab oppido Lepti, septimus decimus ab Augusto imperium adeptus X et VII annis tenuit. Hic natura saeuus, multis semper bellis lacessitus, fortissime quidem rempublicam sed laboriosissime rexit. Victor ergo ciuilium bellorum, quae ei grauissima occurrerant, in Brittanias defectu paene omnium

[1] The correct date here is A.D. 161.

[2] Bede borrowed this story from the *Liber Pontificalis*. It was suggested by A. Harnack that the note really refers to King Lucius of Edessa and that *Brittanio* is a misinterpretation of *Britium* (= *Birtha*, a castle) of Edessa. See *BLTW*, p. 135, n. 2.

after he had set out and gave his son the title of Britannicus. He brought the war to an end in the fourth year of his reign, that is in the year of our Lord 46, the year in which occurred the very severe famine throughout Syria, which, as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, was foretold by the prophet Agabus.

Vespasian, who became emperor after Nero, was sent to Britain by Claudius and brought the Isle of Wight also under Roman rule. It is close to the south coast of Britain, and is about thirty miles in length from east to west and twelve from north to south. At its eastern end it is six miles and at its western end three miles from the southern coast of Britain. Nero, who succeeded Claudius as emperor, undertook no military campaigns of any kind. Consequently he brought countless other disasters upon the Roman empire, and nearly lost Britain as well. For two very noble cities were captured and destroyed there during his reign.

CHAPTER IV

In the year of Our Lord 156[1] Marcus Antoninus Verus was made emperor together with his brother Aurelius Commodus. He was the fourteenth after Augustus. In their time, while a holy man called Eleutherius was bishop of the church at Rome, Lucius,[2] a king of Britain, sent him a letter praying him that he might be made a Christian by a rescript from him. His pious request was quickly granted and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received, inviolate and entire, in peace and quiet, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian.

CHAPTER V

In the year of our Lord 189 Severus, an African by race, of the town of Leptis in the province of Tripoli, became emperor. He was the seventeenth after Augustus and reigned for seventeen years. He was harsh by nature and harassed by continual wars; he ruled the State firmly but with great difficulty. Having been victorious in the very grievous civil wars which happened in his time, he was drawn into Britain by the defection of almost all the

sociorum trahitur. Vbi magnis grauibusque proeliis saepe gestis receptam partem insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus non muro,[1] ut quidam aestimant, sed uallo distinguendam putauit. Murus etenim de lapidibus, uallum uero, quo ad repellendam uim hostium castra muniuntur, fit de caespitibus, quibus circumcisis e terra uelut murus exstruitur altus supra terram, ita ut in ante sit fossa de qua leuati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis /
p. 17 fortissimis praefiguntur. Itaque Seuerus magnam fossam firmissimumque uallum, crebris insuper turribus conmunitum, a mari ad mare duxit. Ibique apud Eboracum oppidum morbo obiit. Reliquit duos filios, Bassianum et Getam, quorum Geta hostis publicus iudicatus interiit, Bassianus Antonini cognomine adsumto regno potitus est.

VI

ANNO incarnationis dominicae CCLXXXVI[2] Diocletianus tricesimus tertius ab Augusto imperator ab exercitu electus annis XX fuit, Maximianumque cognomento Herculium socium creauit imperii. Quorum tempore Carausius quidam, genere quidem infimus sed consilio et manu promtus, cum ad obseruanda Oceani litora, quae tunc Franci et Saxones infestabant, positus plus in perniciem quam in prouectum rei publicae ageret, ereptam praedonibus praedam nulla ex parte restituendo dominis sed sibi soli uindicando accendens suspicionem quia ipsos quoque hostes ad incursandos fines artifici neglegentia permitteret; quam ob rem a Maximiano iussus occidi, purpuram sumsit ac Brittanias occupauit. Quibus sibi per VII annos fortissime uindicatis ac retentis, tandem fraude Allecti socii sui interfectus est, Allectus postea ereptam Carausio

[1] The Roman wall consists of three different parts: (1) a stone wall with a ditch on its north side; (2) forts, mile castles, and turrets; (3) an earthwork consisting of a ditch with mounds on either side and in some places a marginal mound as well, on the south side. This is generally known as the vallum, the name being borrowed from Bede's description here. The wall ran across the whole country, from Wallsend at one end to Bowness-on-Solway at the other, altogether about seventy-three and a half English miles or eighty Roman miles. It was the Emperor Hadrian who first decided to build the wall as a continuous fortification and a permanent frontier barrier. This first building was begun about A.D. 122 and continued for some years. It was largely overthrown by the northern tribes at the end of the second century and rebuilt by the Emperor Severus from A.D. 205 to 208. So extensive were the repairs that many early writers like Orosius took him to be the original builder. Bede follows Orosius' description for the first part and then, after having established the distinction between the wall (*murus*) and the rampart (*uallum*), goes on to borrow a description of a turf wall from Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* i. 24. It is disappointing

federate tribes there. After fighting many great and hard battles, he decided to separate the part of the island over which he had regained control, from the other unconquered tribes, not by a wall[1] as some think, but by a rampart. For a wall is made of stones but a rampart, with which the forts are strengthened to resist the violence of the enemy, is made of sods cut from the earth and is raised high above the ground like a wall. In front is the ditch from which the sods have been lifted and above it are fixed stakes made of the strongest wood. So Severus constructed a great ditch from sea to sea and a very strong rampart fortified by numerous towers upon it. He fell ill and died at York and left two sons, Bassianus and Geta. Of these Geta perished, having been judged an enemy of the state, while Bassianus, who assumed the surname of Antoninus, gained the empire.

CHAPTER VI

IN the year of our Lord 286,[2] Diocletian, the thirty-third after Augustus, was elected emperor by the army and reigned twenty years. He made Maximianus, whose surname was Herculius, his co-emperor. In their time a certain Carausius, a man of mean birth but able and energetic, had been appointed to guard the shores of the Ocean, which were then infested by Franks and Saxons. This man acted rather to the prejudice than to the benefit of the body politic, in that, when he took booty from the robbers, he restored none of it to its owners but kept it all himself. Thus he gave rise to the suspicion that he even allowed the enemy to invade the territories through intentional neglect. For this reason Maximianus gave orders for him to be put to death, but instead Carausius assumed the purple and occupied Britain. He seized and held it for seven years with great daring but was finally killed by the treachery of his colleague Allectus. The latter afterwards held the island which he had seized from Carausius for three years after

that, though a section of the wall was on the other side of the river and not more than two miles from Jarrow, Bede did not give a fuller description based on his own observation. See further J. C. Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, eleventh edition revised by Sir I. A. Richmond (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1957) and p. 42, n. 1.

[2] With the exception of the incarnation year of the dating and the last sentence, the chapter is borrowed from Orosius, vii. 25.

insulam per triennium tenuit; quem Asclipiodotus praefectus praetorio obpressit, Brittaniamque post X annos recepit.

Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculius in Occidente uastari ecclesias, affligi interficique Christianos decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt. Quae persecutio omnibus fere
p. 18 ante actis diuturnior atque in/manior fuit; nam per X annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, caedibus martyrum incessabiliter acta[a] est. Denique etiam Brittaniam tum plurima confessionis Deo deuotae gloria sublimauit.

VII

SIQUIDEM in ea passus est sanctus Albanus, de quo presbyter Fortunatus[1] in Laude Virginum, cum beatorum martyrum qui de toto orbe ad Dominum uenirent mentionem facit, ait:

Albanum egregium fecunda Britania profert.

Qui uidelicet Albanus[2] paganus adhuc, cum perfidorum principum mandata aduersum Christianos saeuirent, clericum quendam persecutores fugientem hospitio recepit. Quem dum orationibus continuis ac uigiliis die noctuque studere conspiceret, subito diuina gratia respectus exemplum fidei ac pietatis illius coepit aemulari, ac salutaribus eius exhortationibus paulatim edoctus relictis idolatriae tenebris Christianus integro ex corde factus est. Cumque praefatus clericus aliquot diebus apud eum hospitaretur, peruenit ad aures nefandi principis confessorem Christi, cui necdum fuerat locus martyrii deputatus, penes Albanum latere; unde statim iussit milites eum diligentius inquirere. Qui cum ad tugurium martyris peruenissent, mox se sanctus Albanus pro hospite ac magistro suo ipsius habitu, id est caracalla qua uestiebatur, indutus militibus exhibuit, atque ad iudicem uinctus perductus est.

[a] aucta *c2*

[1] The poetical works of Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers (who died about 600), were known to Bede, who quotes them on several occasions in his writings. The poem from which Bede quotes is printed in *MGH, Auct. Ant.* IV. i (*Carmina* VIII. iii). 185.

[2] The whole of this chapter is based upon the third and latest version of the *Passio Albani* found in a Paris manuscript (B.N. 11748) by Wilhelm Meyer. See 'Die Legende des h. Albanus des Proto-martyr Angliae' (*Abhandlungen*

which Asclipiodotus, the commander of the imperial bodyguard, overthrew him and, ten years later, restored Britain to the Empire.

Meanwhile Diocletian in the east and Maximianus Herculius in the west ordered the churches to be laid waste and the Christians persecuted and slain, the tenth persecution after Nero. This one lasted longer and was more cruel than almost any of the previous ones; it continued without ceasing for ten years accompanied by the burning of churches, the outlawry of innocent people, and the slaughter of the martyrs. In fact Britain also attained to the great glory of bearing faithful witness to God.

CHAPTER VII

DURING this persecution St. Alban suffered. Fortunatus[1] in his *Praise of the Virgins*, in which he mentions the blessed martyrs, who came to theLord from every quarter of the globe, calls him 'Illustrious Alban, fruitful Britain's child'.

When infidel rulers were issuing violent edicts against the Christians, Alban[2], though still a heathen at the time, gave hospitality to a certain cleric who was fleeing from his persecutors. When Alban saw this man occupied day and night in continual vigils and prayers, divine grace suddenly shone upon him and he learned to imitate his guest's faith and devotion. Instructed little by little by his teaching about salvation, Alban forsook the darkness of idolatry and became a wholehearted Christian. When this cleric had been staying with him for some days, it came to the ears of the evil ruler that a man who confessed Christ, though not yet destined to be a martyr, was hiding in Alban's house. He at once ordered his soldiers to make a thorough search for him there. When they came to the martyr's dwelling, St. Alban at once offered himself to the soldiers in place of his guest and teacher, and so, having put on the garment, that is to say the cloak, which the cleric was wearing, he was brought in bonds to the judge.

der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse, N.F. viii, No. i, 1904). Bede states definitely here and also in his *Chronica Maiora* (ed. Mommsen, *MGH, Auct. Ant.*, p. 295) and in his *Martyrology* (Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen âge*, p. 105) what Gildas only conjectured, that the martyrdom took place under the Emperor Diocletian. In the first version of the *Passio* the date of the martyrdom is ascribed to the time of the Emperor Severus (193–211). See *BLTW*, p. 135, n. 4.

p. 19 Contigit autem iudicem ea hora, qua ad eum Albanus adducebatur, aris adsistere ac daemonibus hostias offerre. Cumque uidisset Albanum, mox ira succensus nimia quod se ille ultro pro hospite quem susceperat militibus offerre ac discrimini dare praesumsisset, ad simulacra daemonum quibus adsistebat eum iussit pertrahi, 'Quia rebellem' inquiens 'ac sacrilegum celare quam militibus reddere maluisti, ut contemtor diuum meritam blasfemiae suae poenam lueret, quaecumque illi debebantur supplicia tu soluere habes, si a cultu nostrae religionis discedere temtas.' At sanctus Albanus, qui se ultro persecutoribus fidei Christianum esse prodiderat, nequaquam minas principis metuit, sed accinctus armis militiae spiritalis palam se iussis illius parere nolle pronuntiabat. Tum iudex 'Cuius' inquit 'familiae uel generis es?' Albanus respondit: 'Quid ad te pertinet qua stirpe sim genitus? Sed si ueritatem religionis audire desideras, Christianum iam me esse Christianisque officiis uacare cognosce.' Ait iudex: 'Nomen tuum quaero, quod sine mora mihi insinua.' At ille: 'Albanus' inquit 'a parentibus uocor, et Deum uerum ac uiuum, qui uniuersa creauit, adoro semper et colo.' Tum iudex repletus iracundia dixit: 'Si uis perennis uitae felicitate perfrui, diis magnis sacrificare ne differas.' Albanus respondit: 'Sacrificia haec, quae a uobis redduntur daemonibus, nec auxiliari subiectis possunt nec supplicantium sibi desideria uel uota conplere. Quin immo quicumque his sacrificia simulacris obtulerit, aeternas inferni poenas pro mercede recipiet.' His auditis iudex nimio furore commotus, caedi sanctum Dei confessorem a tortoribus praecepit, autumans se uerberibus, quam uerbis non poterat, cordis eius emollire constantiam. Qui cum tormentis afficeretur acerrimis, patienter haec
p. 20 pro Domino, immo / gaudenter ferebat. At ubi iudex illum tormentis superari uel a cultu Christianae religionis reuocari non posse persensit, capite eum plecti iussit.

Cumque ad mortem duceretur, peruenit ad flumen quod muro[a] et harena, ubi feriendus erat, meatu rapidissimo diuidebatur; uiditque ibi non paruam hominum multitudinem utriusque sexus, condicionis diuersae et aetatis, quae sine dubio diuinitatis instinctu ad obsequium beatissimi confessoris ac martyris uocabatur,

[a] *The* Passio sancti Albani *has* ad fluuium quo murus, *and this is demanded by the sense, as Plummer saw; but* ad flumen quod muro *is in a ninth-cent. MS. of the* Passio, *Paris. lat. 11748, and Bede's copy had the same mistake*

[1] Translating *quo murus.*

Now it happened that, when Alban was brought in to him, the judge was standing before the devils' altars and offering sacrifices to them. Seeing Alban, he immediately flew into a rage because this man of his own accord had dared to give himself up to the soldiers and to run so great a risk on behalf of the guest whom he had harboured. He ordered Alban to be dragged before the images of the devils in front of which he was standing and said, 'You have chosen to conceal a profane rebel rather than surrender him to my soldiers, to prevent him from paying a well-deserved penalty for his blasphemy in despising the gods; so you will have to take the punishment he has incurred if you attempt to forsake our worship and religion.' St. Alban had of his own accord declared himself a Christian before the enemies of the faith, and was not at all afraid of the ruler's threats; arming himself for spiritual warfare, he openly refused to obey these commands. The judge said to him, 'What is your family and race?' Alban answered, 'What concern is it of yours to know my parentage? If you wish to hear the truth about my religion, know that I am now a Christian and am ready to do a Christian's duty.' The judge said, 'I insist on knowing your name, so tell me at once.' The saint said, 'My parents call me Alban and I shall ever adore and worship the true and living God who created all things.' The judge answered very angrily, 'If you wish to enjoy the happiness of everlasting life, you must sacrifice at once to the mighty gods.' Alban answered, 'The sacrifices which you offer to devils cannot help their votaries nor fulfil the desires and petitions of their suppliants. On the contrary, he who has offered sacrifices to these images will receive eternal punishment in hell as his reward.' When the judge heard this he was greatly incensed and ordered the holy confessor of God to be beaten by the torturers, thinking that he could weaken by blows that constancy of heart which he could not affect by words. Alban, though he was subjected to the most cruel tortures, bore them patiently and even joyfully for the Lord's sake. So when the judge perceived that he was not to be overcome by tortures nor turned from the Christian faith, he ordered him to be executed.

As he was being led to his execution, he came to a rapid river whose stream ran between the town wall[1] and the arena where he was to suffer. He saw there a great crowd of people of both sexes and of every age and rank, who had been led (doubtless by divine inspiration) to follow the blessed confessor and martyr. They

et ita fluminis ipsius occupabat pontem, ut intra uesperam transire uix posset. Denique cunctis pene egressis iudex sine obsequio in ciuitate substiterat. Igitur sanctus Albanus, cui ardens inerat deuotio mentis ad martyrium ocius peruenire, accessit ad torrentem, et dirigens ad caelum oculos, illico siccato alueo, uidit undam suis cessisse ac uiam dedisse uestigiis. Quod cum inter alios etiam ipse carnifex, qui eum percussurus erat, uidisset, festinauit ei, ubi ad locum destinatum morti uenerat, occurrere, diuino nimirum admonitus instinctu, proiectoque ense quem strictum tenuerat, pedibus eius aduoluitur, multum desiderans ut cum martyre uel pro martyre, quem percutere iubebatur, ipse potius mereretur percuti.

Dum ergo is ex persecutore factus esset collega ueritatis et fidei, ac iacente ferro esset inter carnifices iusta cunctatio, montem cum turbis reuerentissimus Dei confessor ascendit, qui oportune laetus gratia decentissima quingentis fere passibus ab harena situs est, uariis herbarum floribus depictus, immo usquequaque uestitus; in quo nihil repente arduum, nihil praeceps, nihil abruptum, quem lateribus longe lateque deductum in modum aequoris Natura conplanat, dignum uidelicet eum pro insita sibi specie uenustatis iam olim reddens, qui beati martyris cruore
p. 21 dicaretur./In huius ergo uertice sanctus Albanus dari sibi a Deo aquam rogauit, statimque incluso meatu ante pedes eius fons perennis exortus est, ut omnes agnoscerent etiam torrentem martyri obsequium detulisse; neque enim fieri poterat ut in arduo montis cacumine martyr aquam, quam in fluuio non reliquerat, peteret, si hoc oportunum esse non uideret. Qui uidelicet fluuius ministerio persoluto, deuotione conpleta officii testimonium relinquens reuersus est ad naturam. Decollatus itaque martyr fortissimus ibidem accepit coronam uitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se.[1] Sed ille, qui piis ceruicibus impias intulit manus, gaudere super mortuum non est permissus; namque oculi eius in terram una cum beati martyris capite deciderunt.

[1] Jac. 1: 12.

packed the bridge over the river so tightly that he could hardly have crossed it that evening. In fact almost everyone had gone out so that the judge was left behind in the city without any attendants at all. St. Alban, whose ardent desire it was to achieve his martyrdom as soon as possible, came to the torrent and raised his eyes towards heaven. Thereupon the river-bed dried up at that very spot and he saw the waters give way and provide a path for him to walk in. The executioner who was to have put him to death was among those who saw this. Moved by a divine prompting, he hastened to meet the saint as he came to the place appointed for his execution; then he threw away his sword which he was carrying ready drawn and cast himself down at the saint's feet, earnestly praying that he might be judged worthy to be put to death either with the martyr whom he himself had been ordered to execute, or else in his place.

So while he was turned from a persecutor into a companion in the true faith, and while there was a very proper hesitation among the other executioners in taking up the sword which lay on the ground, the most reverend confessor ascended the hill with the crowds. This hill lay about five hundred paces from the arena, and, as was fitting, it was fair, shining and beautiful, adorned, indeed clothed, on all sides with wild flowers of every kind; nowhere was it steep or precipitous or sheer but Nature had provided it with wide, long-sloping sides stretching smoothly down to the level of the plain. In fact its natural beauty had long fitted it as a place to be hallowed by the blood of a blessed martyr. When he reached the top of the hill, St. Alban asked God to give him water and at once a perpetual spring bubbled up, confined within its channel and at his very feet, so that all could see that even the stream rendered service to the martyr. For it could not have happened that the martyr who had left no water remaining in the river would have desired it on the top of the hill, if he had not realized that this was fitting. The river, when it had fulfilled its duty and completed its pious service, returned to its natural course, but it left behind a witness of its ministry. And so in this spot the valiant martyr was beheaded and received the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him.[1] But the one who laid his unholy hands on that holy neck was not permitted to rejoice over his death; for the head of the blessed martyr and the executioner's eyes fell to the ground together.

Decollatus est ibi etiam tum miles ille, qui antea superno nutu correptus sanctum Dei confessorem ferire recusauit; de quo nimirum constat quia, etsi fonte baptismatis non est ablutus, sui tamen est sanguinis lauacro mundatus ac regni caelestis dignus factus ingressu. Tum iudex, tanta miraculorum caelestium nouitate perculsus, cessari mox a persecutione praecepit, honorem referre incipiens caedi sanctorum, per quam eos opinabatur prius a Christianae fidei posse deuotione cessare. Passus est autem beatus Albanus die decimo kalendarum Iuliarum iuxta ciuitatem Uerolamium, quae nunc a gente Anglorum Uerlamacaestir siue Uaeclingacaestir[1] appellatur; ubi postea, redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate, ecclesia est mirandi operis atque eius martyrio condigna extructa. In quo uidelicet loco usque ad hanc diem curatio infirmorum et frequentium operatio uirtutum celebrari non desinit.

p. 22 Passi sunt ea tempestate Aaron et Iulius Legionum / urbis ciues,[2] aliique utriusque sexus diuersis in locis perplures, qui diuersis cruciatibus torti et inaudita membrorum discerptione lacerati, animas ad supernae ciuitatis gaudia perfecto agone miserunt.

VIII

At ubi turbo persecutionis quieuit, progressi in publicum fideles Christi, qui se tempore discriminis siluis ac desertis abditisue speluncis occulerant, renouant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas, basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant construunt perficiunt, ac ueluti uictricia signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra mundo corde atque ore conficiunt. Mansitque haec in ecclesiis Christi quae erant in Brittania pax usque ad tempora Arrianae uaesaniae, quae corrupto orbe toto hanc etiam insulam extra orbem tam longe remotam[3] ueneno sui infecit erroris;[4] et hac quasi uia pestilentiae trans Oceanum patefacta, non

[1] *Wæclingacæstir* means the Roman camp occupied by the group of settlers called the *Wæclingas*. From them the road through the city came to be known as Watling Street. See *EPNS*, xv (1938), 87.

[2] Bede borrows the name of these Caerleon martyrs from Gildas. Nothing more is known of them.

[3] Bede is possibly echoing Virgil, *Eclogue* i. 66.

[4] Of all the heresies that Bede mentions in his theological works, this is the one on which he lays greatest stress. Arius was a third-century monk who denied the eternity and the essential divinity of the Son. The heresy was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325. The Nicene Creed was composed asserting in the plainest terms the eternal nature of Christ and his co-equality with the Father.

The soldier who had been constrained by the divine will to refuse to strike God's holy confessor was also beheaded there. In his case it is clear that though he was not washed in the waters of baptism, yet he was cleansed by the washing of his own blood and made worthy to enter the kingdom of heaven. Then the judge, who was astonished by these strange heavenly miracles, ordered the persecution to cease and began to respect the way in which the saints met their death, though he had once believed that he could thereby make them forsake their devotion to the Christian faith. The blessed Alban suffered death on 22 June near the city of Verulamium which the English now call either *Uerlamacæstir* or *Uæclingacæstir* (St. Albans).[1] Here when peaceful Christian times returned, a church of wonderful workmanship was built, a worthy memorial of his martyrdom. To this day sick people are healed in this place and the working of frequent miracles continues to bring it renown.

About this time Aaron and Julius,[2] both citizens of the city of the Legions (Caerleon), suffered, and many others of both sexes in various other places. They were racked by many kinds of torture and their limbs were indescribably mangled but, when their sufferings were over, their souls were carried to the joys of the heavenly city.

CHAPTER VIII

WHEN the storm of persecution had ceased, the faithful Christians who in the time of danger had hidden themselves in woods and deserts and secret caverns came out of hiding. They rebuilt the churches which had been razed to the ground; they endowed and built shrines to the holy martyrs. Everywhere, they displayed them as tokens of victory, celebrating festal days and performing their sacred rites with pure heart and voice. The churches of Britain remained at peace until the time of the Arian madness which corrupted the whole world and even infected this island, sundered so far from the rest of mankind,[3] with the poison of its error.[4] This quickly opened the way for every foul heresy from across the

Many of the Germanic nations, when converted to Christianity in the fifth century, were converted by Arian teachers. Bede probably exaggerates the importance and influence of the heresy in England.

mora, omnis se lues hereseos cuiusque insulae noui semper aliquid audire gaudenti et nihil certi firmiter obtinenti infudit.[1]

His temporibus Constantius,[2] qui uiuente Diocletiano Galliam Hispaniamque regebat, uir summae mansuetudinis et ciuilitatis, in Brittania morte obiit. Hic Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena creatum imperatorem Galliarum reliquit. Scribit autem Eutropius[3] quod Constantinus in Brittania creatus imperator patri in regnum successerit. Cuius temporibus Arriana heresis exorta, et in Nicena synodo detecta atque damnata, nihilominus exitiabile perfidiae suae uirus, ut diximus, non solum orbis totius sed et insularum ecclesiis aspersit.

p. 23

VIIII

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCLXXVII Gratianus quadragesimus ab Augusto post mortem Ualentis sex annis imperium tenuit, quamuis iamdudum antea cum patruo Ualente et cum Ualentiniano fratre regnaret. Qui cum adflictum et paene conlapsum reipublicae statum uideret, Theodosium Hispanum uirum restituendae reipublicae necessitate apud Syrmium purpura induit, Orientisque et Thraciae simul praefecit imperio. Qua tempestate Maximus uir quidem strenuus et probus, atque Augusto dignus nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset, in Brittaniam inuitus propemodum ab exercitu imperator creatus in Galliam transit. Ibi Gratianum Augustum subita incursione perterritum, atque in Italiam transire meditantem, dolis circumuentum interfecit, fratremque eius Ualentinianum Augustum Italia expulit. Ualentinianus in Orientem refugiens, a Theodosio paterna pietate susceptus, mox etiam imperio restitutus est, clauso uidelicet intra muros Aquileiae, capto atque occiso ab eis Maximo tyranno.[4]

[1] Cf. Act. 17: 21.

[2] The Emperor Constantius Chlorus died in York in 306 and his son, Constantine the Great, was first of all appointed Caesar in Britain and later became sole emperor.

[3] As in Chapter III Bede adds details from the *Breviarium* of Eutropius

Ocean to pour into an island which always delights in hearing something new and holds firmly to no sure belief.[1]

At this time Constantius[2] died in Britain, a man of great clemency and courtesy, who had governed Gaul and Spain while Diocletian was alive. He left a son Constantine, who was made emperor of Gaul, being the child of his concubine Helena. Eutropius[3] writes that Constantine was created emperor in Britain and succeeded to his father's kingdom. In his time arose the Arian heresy which was exposed and condemned by the Council of Nicaea. Nevertheless, the deadly poison of its evil doctrine, as has been said, tainted the churches of the whole world, including those of our own islands.

CHAPTER IX

In the year of our Lord 377, Gratian, the fortieth after Augustus, ruled the empire alone for six years after the death of Valens. He had already reigned for a long time previously with his uncle Valens and his brother Valentinian. Seeing that the body politic was in a disordered state and on the point of collapse, and faced with the need of restoring it, he invested Theodosius, a Spaniard, with the purple at Syrmium and at the same time made him emperor of Thrace and the east. At this moment, an energetic and upright man named Maximus, one worthy of the title of Augustus had he not risen to the rank of dictator by breaking his oath of allegiance, was elected emperor by the army in Britain almost against his will, and crossed to Gaul. There he treacherously murdered the Emperor Gratian, who had been terrified by the sudden incursion and was intending to cross into Italy. Maximus also drove from Italy Gratian's brother, the Emperor Valentinian, who thereupon fled to the east, where Theodosius received him with fatherly affection and soon restored him to the empire. The dictator Maximus was trapped within the walls of Aquileia, where he was caught and killed.[4]

(x. 2) to fill out Orosius (vii. 25), on whom he chiefly depends in this and the next chapter. The *Breviarium* is a summary of Roman history in ten books, from the foundation of the city to 364.

[4] Except for the year of grace the chapter is taken verbally from Orosius (vii. 34, 35).

X

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCXCIIII Arcadius filius Theodosii cum fratre Honorio quadragesimus tertius ab Augusto regnum suscipiens tenuit annos XIII. Cuius temporibus Pelagius Bretto[1] contra auxilium gratiae supernae uenena suae perfidiae longe
p. 24 lateque dispersit, / utens cooperatore Iuliano de Campania, quem dudum amissi episcopatus intemperans cupido exagitabat. Quibus sanctus Augustinus, sicut et ceteri patres orthodoxi, multis sententiarum catholicarum milibus responderunt, nec eorum tamen dementiam corrigere ualebant; sed, quod grauius est, correpta eorum uaesania magis augescere contradicendo quam fauendo ueritati uoluit emendari. Quod pulchre uersibus heroicis Prosper[2] rethor insinuat, cum ait:

Contra Augustinum narratur serpere quidam
scriptor quem dudum liuor adurit edax.
Quis caput obscuris contectum utcumque cauernis
tollere humo miserum propulit anguiculum?
Aut hunc fruge sua aequorei pauere Britanni
aut hic Campano gramine corda tumet.

XI

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCCVII, tenente imperium Honorio Augusto, filio Theodosii minoris, loco ab Augusto quadragesimo quarto, ante biennium Romanae inruptionis, quae per Halaricum regem Gothorum facta est, cum gentes Halanorum Sueuorum Uandalorum multaeque cum his aliae, protritis Francis transito Hreno, totas per Gallias saeuirent, apud Brittanias Gratianus[3] municeps tyrannus creatur et occiditur. Huius loco Constantinus ex infima militia propter solam spem nominis sine merito uirtutis eligitur; qui continuo ut inuasit imperium, in Gallias transiit. Ibi saepe a barbaris incertis foederibus inlusus

[1] A priest of British or Irish origin who denied the necessity of internal grace. His teaching was based upon an exaggeration of the power of the will and man's capacity for moral attainment. He spent most of his life out of Britain. He flourished in the early fifth century. Bede opposed this doctrine almost as frequently and as bitterly as he did the Arian heresy. He singled out for special attack this Julianus of Campania, once bishop of Eclanum near Beneventum, who was deprived of his bishopric for his support of Pelagius. Bede directed the preface of his commentary on the *Song of Songs* against him (*Opp.* IX. 186–200).

[2] Prosper the rhetorician or Prosper of Aquitaine is probably identical with Prosper Tiro. He was a strong supporter of St. Augustine, Pelagius' chief opponent. He was the author of a chronicle based on Eusebius and St. Jerome's

CHAPTER X

IN the year of our Lord 394 Arcadius, son of Theodosius, became joint-emperor with his brother Honorius and ruled for thirteen years. He was the forty-third from Augustus. In his time the Briton Pelagius[1] spread his treacherous poison far and wide, denying our need of heavenly grace. He had as his supporter Julianus of Campania, who had long been stirred by an intemperate desire to get back his lost bishopric. St. Augustine and the rest of the orthodox fathers answered them by quoting many thousands of catholic authorities against them but failed to correct their folly; and, what was worse, the madness which should have been healed by turning to the truth was rather increased by rebuke and contradiction. The rhetorician Prosper[2] expresses it well in telling couplets when he says:

> Some hack, 'tis said, of envy long the prey,
> Against Augustine crawls his serpent way.
> Who made this piteous worm raise from the ground
> A head once rightly sunk in caves profound?
> Sure, sea-girt Britain's porridge bred this twaddle—
> Or else Campania's groats have turned his noddle.

CHAPTER XI

IN the year of our Lord 407, when Honorius Augustus, son of Theodosius the second was emperor, being the forty-fourth from Augustus, two years before the invasion of Rome by Alaric, king of the Goths, Gratian, a citizen,[3] was set up here in Britain as dictator and killed. It was the year when the Alani, Suevi, Vandals, and many other races defeated the Franks, crossed the Rhine, and ravaged all Gaul. In his place Constantine, a worthless soldier of the lowest rank, was elected in Britain solely on account of the promise of his name and with no virtue to recommend him. As soon as he had seized power he crossed over to Gaul. There he was often deluded by the barbarians into making doubtful treaties

continuation with additional matter of his own from which Bede quotes in several places, including the remark about Julianus in this chapter. Prosper also wrote several poems including the *Epigrammata* here referred to. Cf. *PL*, LI. 149–51. Bede quotes these poems frequently in his *De Arte Metrica*.

[3] *municeps* probably means a citizen of a fortified city or *municipium*—possibly York. See p. 213, n. 2.

detrimento magis[a] reipublicae fuit. Vnde mox iubente Honorio
p. 25 Constantius comes / in Galliam cum exercitu profectus apud Arelatem ciuitatem eum clausit cepit occidit, Constantemque filium eius, quem ex monacho Caesarem fecerat, Gerontius comes suus apud Uiennam interfecit.[1]

Fracta est autem Roma a Gothis anno millesimo CLXIIII suae conditionis, ex quo tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cesserunt, post annos ferme quadringentos LXX ex quo Gaius Iulius Caesar eandem insulam adiit. Habitabant autem intra uallum, quod Seuerum trans insulam fecisse commemorauimus, ad plagam meridianam, quod ciuitates farus pontes et stratae ibidem factae usque hodie testantur; ceterum ulteriores Brittaniae partes, uel eas etiam quae ultra Brittaniam sunt insulas, iure dominandi possidebant.

XII

EXIN Brittania in parte Brettonum omni armato milite, militaribus copiis uniuersis, tota floridae iuuentutis alacritate spoliata, quae tyrannorum temeritate abducta nusquam ultra domum rediit, praedae tantum patuit, utpote omnis bellici usus prorsus ignara; denique subito duabus gentibus transmarinis uehementer saeuis, Scottorum a circio,[2] Pictorum ab aquilone, multos stupet gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes non quod extra Brittaniam essent positae, sed quia a parte Brettonum erant remotae, duobus sinibus maris interiacentibus, quorum unus ab orientali mari, alter ab occidentali Brittaniae terras longe lateque inrumpit, quamuis ad se inuicem pertingere non possint. Orientalis habet in medio sui urbem Giudi,[3] occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad
p. 26 dexteram sui, / habet urbem Alcluith, quod lingua eorum significat Petram Cluit; est enim iuxta fluuium nominis illius.

Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium Brettones legatos Romam cum epistulis mittentes, lacrimosis precibus auxilia flagitabant, subiectionemque continuam, dummodo hostis inminens longius arceretur, promittebant. Quibus mox legio destinatur armata quae,

[a] magno *c2*

[1] While the first paragraph is based on Orosius (vii. 36, 40, 42), the second paragraph is Bede's own addition.

[2] See p. 16, n. 1.

[3] *Giudi* is described as an *urbs* or fortified town but its site has never been identified. In the *Historia Brittonum* it is called *Iudeu*. There is some possibility that it may be Inveresk. See I. A. Richmond and O. G. S. Crawford, 'The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography', *Archaeologia*, XCIII (1949), 34.

and so inflicted great harm on the body politic. Soon afterwards, on the orders of Honorius, his officer Constantius marched into Gaul with an army, besieged Constantine in the city of Arles, captured and killed him. Constans his son whom he had created Caesar, though a monk, was also put to death at Vienne by Gerontius, his own officer.[1]

Now Rome was taken by the Goths in the eleven hundred and sixty-fourth year after its foundation; after this the Romans ceased to rule in Britain, almost 470 years after Gaius Julius Caesar had come to the island. They had occupied the whole land south of the rampart already mentioned, set up across the island by Severus, an occupation to which the cities, lighthouses, bridges, and roads which they built there testify to this day. Moreover they possessed the suzerainty over the further parts of Britain as well as over the islands which are beyond it.

CHAPTER XII

FROM that time Britain, or the British part of it, which had been stripped of all its armed men, its military supplies, and the whole flower of its active youth, who by the rashness of the dictators, had been led away never to return, lay wholly exposed to plunderers and the more so because the people were utterly ignorant of the practice of warfare. For instance, they were rapidly reduced to a state of terror and misery by two extremely fierce races from over the waters, the Irish[2] from the west and the Picts from the north; and this lasted many years. We call them races from over the waters, not because they dwelt outside Britain but because they were separated from the Britons by two wide and long arms of the sea, one of which enters the land from the east, the other from the west, although they do not meet. Half way along the eastern branch is the city of *Giudi*,[3] while above the western branch, that is on its right bank, is the town of *Alcluith* (Dumbarton), a name which in their language means 'Clyde Rock' because it stands near the river of that name.

As a result of these invasions, the Britons sent messengers to Rome bearing letters with tearful appeals for aid, promising to be their subjects for ever, if only they would drive away their threatening foes. An armed legion was quickly dispatched to them which

ubi insulam aduecta et congressa est cum hostibus, magnam eorum multitudinem sternens, ceteros sociorum finibus expulit, eosque interim a dirissima depressione liberatos hortata est instruere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, qui arcendis hostibus posset esse praesidio; sicque domum cum triumpho magno reuersa est. At insulani murum, quem iussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt. Fecerunt autem eum inter duo freta uel sinus, de quibus diximus, maris per milia passuum plurima, ut, ubi aquarum munitio deerat, ibi praesidio ualli fines suos ab hostium inruptione defenderent. Cuius operis ibidem facti, id est ualli latissimi et altissimi, usque hodie certissima uestigia cernere licet. Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel,[a1] lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith.[b]

Verum priores inimici, ut Romanum militem abisse conspexerant, mox aduecti nauibus inrumpunt terminos caeduntque omnia,
p. 27 et quasi maturam segetem obuia quae/que metunt calcant transeunt. Vnde rursum mittuntur Romam legati, flebili uoce auxilium inplorantes, ne penitus misera patria deleretur, ne nomen Romanae prouinciae, quod apud eos tam diu claruerat, exterarum gentium inprobitate obrutum uilesceret. Rursum mittitur legio, quae inopinata tempore autumni aduenies magnas hostium strages dedit, eosque qui euadere poterant omnes trans maria fugauit, qui prius anniuersarias praedas trans maria nullo obsistente cogere solebant. Tum Romani denuntiauere Brettonibus non se ultra ob eorum defensionem tam laboriosis expeditionibus posse fatigari; ipsos potius monent arma corripere et certandi cum hostibus studium subire, qui non aliam ob causam, quam si ipsi inertia soluerentur, eis possent esse fortiores. Quin etiam, quia et

[a] Peanuahel *c2* [b] Alcluit *c2*

[1] In two manuscripts of the *Historia Brittonum* the place is called 'Penguaul, which in Scottish (*Scottice*) is called *Cenail* but in English *Peneltun*'. (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* XIII, 165, n. 2.) These are all variant forms of a British word meaning 'end of the wall'. The wall is the Antonine turf wall thirty-seven miles long which was built between A.D. 140 and 142, not by Severus but by Quintus

duly reached the island, attacked the enemy, destroying a great number of them and driving the rest from the territories of their allies. When the Romans had freed them from their dire distress, they urged the Britons to build a wall across the island from sea to sea, as a protection against their foes. And so the legion returned home in great triumph. The islanders built the wall, as they had been bidden to do, but they made it, not of stone, since they had no skill in work of this kind, but of turves, so that it was useless. They built many miles of it between the two channels or arms of the sea already mentioned, so that where there was no water to shield them, the protecting wall might defend their borders from enemy incursions. The clearest traces of the work constructed there, in the form of a very wide and high wall, can be seen to this day. It starts almost two miles west of the monastery at *Aebbercurnig* (Abercorn) in the place which the Picts call *Peanfahel*,[1] while in English it is called *Penneltun* (Kinneil). It stretches westward as far as *Alcluith* (Dumbarton).

But as soon as their former foes saw the Roman soldiers depart, they took ship and broke into their borders, felling, trampling, and treading down everything they met, like reapers mowing ripe corn. Once more envoys were sent to Rome with pitiful appeals for help so that their wretched country might not be utterly destroyed, and the name of a Roman province, long renowned amongst them, might not be obliterated and disgraced by the barbarity of foreigners. Once again a legion was sent, which arrived unexpectedly in the autumn and did great destruction amongst the enemy, while all who succeeded in escaping were driven across the waters; before this they had been accustomed to carry off their booty every year across the same waters without any opposition. Then the Romans informed the Britons that they could no longer be burdened with such troublesome expeditions for their defence; they advised them to take up arms themselves and make an effort to oppose their foes, who would prove too powerful for them only if they themselves were weakened by sloth. Moreover, thinking that it might be some help to the allies whom they were compelled to abandon, they built a strong wall of stone from sea to sea in a straight line between the fortresses which had been built there

Lollius Urbicus. It ran apparently from Carriden on the Forth to Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde, some four miles east of Dumbarton. It was destroyed by the northern tribes at the end of the second century and never again occupied.

hoc sociis, quos derelinquere cogebantur, aliquid commodi adlaturum putabant, murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes, quae ibidem ob metum hostium factae fuerant, ubi et Seuerus quondam uallum fecerat,[1] firmo de lapide locarunt. Quem uidelicet murum, hactenus famosum atque conspicuum, sumtu publico priuatoque adiuncta secum Brittanorum manu construebant, octo pedes latum et XII altum,[2] recta ab oriente in occasum linea, ut usque hodie intuentibus clarum est. Quo mox condito, dant fortia segni populo monita, praebent instituendorum exemplaria armorum. Sed et in litore Oceani ad meridiem, quo naues eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbarorum inruptio timebatur, turres per interualla ad prospectum maris conlocant, et ualedicunt sociis tamquam ultra non reuersuri.

Quibus ad sua remeantibus, cognita Scotti Pictique reditus denegatione redeunt confestim ipsi, et solito confidentiores facti omnem aquilonalem extremamque insulae partem pro indigenis
p. 28 ad murum usque capessunt. Sta/tuitur ad haec in aedito arcis acies segnis, ubi trementi corde stupida die noctuque marcebat. At contra non cessant uncinata hostium tela; ignaui propugnatores miserrime de muris tracti solo adlidebantur. Quid plura? Relictis ciuitatibus ac muro fugiunt disperguntur. Insequitur hostis, adcelerantur strages cunctis crudeliores prioribus. Sicut enim agni a feris, ita miseri ciues discerpuntur ab hostibus; unde a mansionibus ac possessiunculis suis eiecti, inminens sibi famis periculum latrocinio ac rapacitate mutua temperabant, augentes externas domesticis motibus clades, donec omnis regio totius cibi sustentaculo, excepto uenandi solacio, uacuaretur.

XIII

ANNO Dominicae incarnationis CCCCXXIII Theodosius iunior post Honorium quadragesimus quintus ab Augusto regnum suscipiens

[1] Bede seems to have realized that considerable alterations had been made at some time to the wall and assumed that there was a much later complete reconstruction.

[2] It is true that the width of the wall from Newcastle to Wallsend was only eight feet. This was the part that Bede would know but it was actually a later addition. The original design was a width of ten Roman feet and the wall ran at this width for about thirty-nine miles from Newcastle to the river Irthing. West of this the wall was made of turf. The height of the wall is uncertain but it is generally reckoned to have been fifteen feet up to the rampart walk while the parapet and merlons made a height of twenty feet in all. The

for fear of the enemy, on the site which Severus had once made his rampart.[1] So, at public and private expense and with the help of the Britons, they made a famous wall which is still to be seen. It is eight feet wide and twelve feet high,[2] running in a straight line from east to west, as is plain for all to see even to this day. When it was complete they gave some heartening advice to this sluggish people and showed them how to make themselves weapons. In addition they built look-out towers at intervals along the shores of the Ocean to the south, where their ships plied and where there was fear of barbarian attacks. And so they took leave of their allies never to return.

After the Romans had gone back to their own land, the Irish and Picts, who knew they were not to return, immediately came back themselves and, becoming bolder than ever, captured the whole of the northern and farthest portion of the island as far as the wall, driving out the natives. There the Britons deployed their dispirited ranks along the top of the defence and, day and night, they moped with dazed and trembling hearts. On the other hand the enemy with hooked weapons never ceased from their ravages. The cowardly defenders were wretchedly dragged from the walls and dashed to the ground. In short, they deserted their cities, fled from the wall, and were scattered. The enemy pursued and there followed a massacre more bloodthirsty than ever before. The wretched Britons were torn in pieces by their enemies like lambs by wild beasts. They were driven from their dwellings and their poor estates; they tried to save themselves from the starvation which threatened them by robbing and plundering each other. Thus they increased their external calamities by internal strife until the whole land was left without food and destitute except for such relief as hunting brought.

CHAPTER XIII

IN the year of our Lord 423, Theodosius the younger became emperor after Honorius, being the forty-fifth from Augustus, and

account borrowed from Gildas, of the Picts dragging their opponents down from a twenty-foot wall with hooked weapons, is obviously fantastic, particularly in view of a deep ditch, artificial or natural, which ran all the way along the north of the wall. Though much of the chapter is based on Gildas, most of the comments on the two walls are Bede's own.

XX et VI annis tenuit. Cuius anno imperii octauo Palladius[1] ad Scottos in Christum credentes a pontifice Romanae ecclesiae Celestino primus mittitur episcopus. Anno autem regni eius uicesimo tertio Aetius[2] uir inlustris, qui et patricius fuit, tertium cum Symmacho gessit consulatum. Ad hunc pauperculae Brettonum reliquiae mittunt epistulam, cuius hoc principium est: 'Aetio ter consuli gemitus Brittanorum,' et in processu epistulae ita suas calamitates explicant: 'Repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter haec oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut iugulamur aut mergimur.' Neque haec tamen agentes quicquam
p. 29 ab illo auxilii inpetrare quiuerunt, utpote qui grauissimis / eo tempore bellis cum Blaedla[a3] et Attila regibus Hunorum erat occupatus et, quamuis anno ante hunc proximo Blaedla[a] Attilae fratris sui sit interemtus insidiis, Attila tamen ipse adeo intollerabilis reipublicae remansit hostis, ut totam pene Europam excisis inuasisque ciuitatibus atque castellis conroderet. Quin et hisdem temporibus fames Constantinopolim inuasit; nec mora, pestis secuta est, sed et plurimi eiusdem urbis muri cum LVII turribus conruerunt;[b] multis quoque ciuitatibus conlapsis fames et aerum pestifer odor plura hominum milia iumentorumque deleuit.

XIIII

INTEREA Brettones fames sua[c] praefata magis magisque adficiens, ac famam suae malitiae posteris diuturnam relinquens, multos eorum coegit uictas infestis praedonibus dare manus, alios uero numquam; quin potius confidentes in diuinum, ubi humanum cessabat, auxilium de ipsis montibus speluncis ac saltibus continue

[a] Bledla *c2* [b] conruerant *c2* [c] sua *om. c2*

[1] There are two references to Palladius in Prosper's *Chronicle*, the one *s.a.* 431 which Bede borrows here, the other *s.a.* 429 which describes how Pope Celestine, in his anxiety to prevent Pelagianism from spreading in Britain, sent Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, as his representative at the suggestion of 'Palladius the deacon'. They are presumably the same person. Nothing is known of him otherwise, and of his subsequent history; a tradition which was recorded some two centuries later suggests that his mission was short-lived and unsuccessful, and that he died among the British Picts on his way home. It has even been suggested that he and St. Patrick were the same person. Bede never

ruled twenty-six years. In the eighth year of his reign Palladius[1] was sent by Celestinus the pontiff of the Roman church to the Irish believers in Christ to be their first bishop. In the twenty-third year of his reign Aetius,[2] a man of high rank, who was also a patrician, held his third consulship together with Symmachus. The wretched remnant of the Britons sent him a letter which began: 'To Aetius, thrice consul, come the groans of the Britons.' In the course of the letter they unfolded their sorrows: 'The barbarians drive us to the sea: the sea drives us back on the barbarians; between them two kinds of death face us: we are either slaughtered or drowned.' In spite of all this they were unable to obtain any help from him, seeing that he was at that time engaged in a deadly struggle with Blædla[3] and Attila, the kings of the Huns; and although in the previous year Blædla had been murdered by the treachery of his own brother Attila, nevertheless Attila continued to be so dangerous an enemy to the state that he devastated almost the whole of Europe, attacking and destroying cities and strongholds alike. At that time too, Constantinople was attacked by a famine, which was followed immediately by the plague. Moreover most of the walls of the city fell, together with fifty-seven towers. Many cities also fell into ruins, while hunger and a pestiferous stench which filled the air destroyed many thousands more men and cattle.

CHAPTER XIV

MEANWHILE this famine, which left to posterity a lasting memory of its horrors, afflicted the Britons more and more. It compelled many of them to surrender to the plundering foe; others, trusting in divine aid when human help failed them, would never give in but continued their resistance, hiding in mountains, caves, and

mentions St. Patrick in his *History*, though there is a brief mention of him in Bede's *Martyrology* in a ninth-century manuscript, but even this may well be a later addition.

[2] Aetius was the consul who was principally responsible for putting an end to the Hunnish menace in the west. The beginning of the letter appealing to Aetius for help is borrowed from Gildas. At the time the letter reached him, Aetius was in Gaul.

[3] For the historical details in the latter part of this chapter Bede is borrowing from a chronicle written by Marcellinus Comes which extended from 379 to 534. He also uses the chronicle at the end of i. 21 and in several places in his *Commentaries*. Nothing is known of the author. See *MGH. Auct. Ant.* XI. 81.

rebellabant, et tum primum inimicis, qui per multos annos praedas in terra agebant, strages dare coeperunt. Reuertuntur ergo inpudentes grassatores Hiberni domus, post non longum tempus reuersuri; Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps quieuerunt, praedas tamen nonnumquam exinde et contritiones de Brettonum gente agere non cessarunt.

Cessante autem uastatione hostili, tantis frugum copiis insula quantas nulla retro aetas meminit, affluere coepit, cum quibus et luxuria crescere et hanc continuo omnium lues scelerum comitari
p. 30 adcelerauit, crudelitas / praecipue et odium ueritatis amorque mendacii, ita ut, si quis eorum mitior et ueritati aliquatenus propior[a] uideretur, in hunc quasi Brittaniae subuersorem omnium odia telaque sine respectu contorquerentur. Et non solum haec saeculares uiri sed etiam ipse grex Domini eiusque pastores egerunt, ebrietati animositati litigio contentioni inuidiae ceterisque huiusmodi facinoribus sua colla, abiecto leui iugo Christi,[1] subdentes. Interea subito corruptae mentis homines acerua pestis corripuit, quae in breui tantam eius multitudinem strauit, ut ne sepeliendis quidem mortuis uiui sufficerent; sed ne morte quidem suorum nec timore mortis hi, qui supererant, a morte animae, qua peccando sternebantur, reuocari poterant. Vnde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est: initum namque est consilium quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium inruptiones, placuitque omnibus cum suo rege Uurtigerno[2] ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium uocarent. Quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut ueniret contra inprobos malum, sicut euidentius rerum exitus probauit.

XV

ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCCXLVIIII[3] Marcianus cum Ualentiniano quadragesimus sextus ab Augusto regnum adeptus

[a] proprior *c2*

[1] Cf. Matth. 11. 29.

[2] Though Bede incorporates the tradition related by Gildas about the coming of the Angles and Saxons, he makes certain significant changes. Gildas leaves the story vague but Bede provides a name for Gildas' 'superbus tyrannus'. The name Vortigern is apparently a title meaning 'chief lord' of which Gildas' phrase may perhaps be a latinization. H. M. Chadwick, 'Vortigern', *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 27. Bede is also the first to supply the names of Hengist and Horsa and to associate them with Kent (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 16 ff.). It is probable that he got the

forests. At last they began to inflict severe losses on the enemy who had been plundering their land for many years. So the shameless Irish robbers returned home, intending to come back before long, while the Picts, from that time on, settled down in the furthest part of the island, though they did not cease to plunder and harass the Britons occasionally.

After the enemy's depredations had ceased, there was so great an abundance of corn in the island as had never before been known. With this affluence came an increase of luxury, followed by every kind of foul crime; in particular, cruelty and hatred of the truth and love of lying increased so that if anyone appeared to be milder than the rest and somewhat more inclined to the truth, the rest, without consideration, rained execrations and missiles upon him as if he had been an enemy of Britain. Not only were laymen guilty of these offences but even the Lord's own flock and their pastors. They cast off Christ's easy yoke[1] and thrust their necks under the burden of drunkenness, hatred, quarrelling, strife, and envy and other similar crimes. In the meantime a virulent plague suddenly fell upon these corrupt people which quickly laid low so large a number that there were not enough people left alive to bury the dead. Yet those who survived could not be awakened from the spiritual death which their sins had brought upon them either by the death of their kinsmen or by fear of their own death. For this reason a still more terrible retribution soon afterwards overtook this sinful people for their fearful crimes. They consulted as to what they should do and where they should seek help to prevent or repel the fierce and very frequent attacks of the northern nations; all, including their king Vortigern,[2] agreed that they should call the Saxons to their aid from across the seas. As events plainly showed, this was ordained by the will of God so that evil might fall upon those miscreants.

CHAPTER XV

IN the year of our Lord 449[3] Marcian, forty-sixth from Augustus, became emperor with Valentinian and ruled for seven years. At

additional information from Albinus; it may even have come from the written records mentioned in the Preface.

[3] In i. 23 Bede puts the coming of the Angles and Saxons about 445 and so too in v. 23. In ii. 14 it is dated about 446 or 447. It is clear therefore that he looks upon the dating as a mere approximation.

VII annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum siue Saxonum gens, inuitata a rege praefato, Brittaniam tribus longis nauibus aduehitur et in
p. 31 orientali parte / insulae iubente eodem rege locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem uera hanc expugnatura suscepit. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem uenerant, uictoriam sumsere Saxones. Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul et insulae fertilitas ac segnitia Brettonum, mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior, armatorum ferens manum fortiorem, quae praemissae adiuncta cohorti inuincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo qui aduenerant, donantibus Brittanis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea condicione ut hi pro patriae pace et salute contra aduersarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent.

Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis.[1] De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuari et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur; posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam. De Saxonibus, id est ea regione quae nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, uenere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est de illa patria quae Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter prouincias Iutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium quae ad boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist[a] et Horsa, e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Brettonibus hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Uictgisli, /
p. 32 cuius pater Uitta, cuius pater Uecta, cuius pater Uoden, de cuius stirpe multarum prouinciarum regium genus originem duxit.[2]

[a] Haengist *c2*

[1] Bede's famous division of the invading races into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes is perhaps his most important contribution to the history of the invasion. That other tribes such as the Frisians took part is now clear, while the discoveries at Sutton Hoo have led to the conjecture that a tribe or tribes from as far away as Sweden may have taken part. See R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, XXV. i

that time the race of the Angles or Saxons, invited by Vortigern, came to Britain in three warships and by his command were granted a place of settlement in the eastern part of the island, ostensibly to fight on behalf of the country, but their real intention was to conquer it. First they fought against the enemy who attacked from the north and the Saxons won the victory. A report of this as well as of the fertility of the island and the slackness of the Britons reached their homes and at once a much larger fleet was sent over with a stronger band of warriors; this, added to the contingent already there, made an invincible army. The newcomers received from the Britons a grant of land in their midst on condition that they fought against their foes for the peace and safety of the country, and for this the soldiers were also to receive pay.

They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes.[1] The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes. From the Saxon country, that is, the district now known as Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. Besides this, from the country of the Angles, that is, the land between the kingdoms of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is called *Angulus*, came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and all the Northumbrian race (that is those people who dwell north of the river Humber) as well as the other Anglian tribes. *Angulus* is said to have remained deserted from that day to this. Their first leaders are said to have been two brothers, Hengist and Horsa. Horsa was afterwards killed in battle by the Britons, and in the eastern part of Kent there is still a monument bearing his name. They were the sons of Wihtgisl, son of Witta, son of Wecta, son of Woden, from whose stock the royal families of many kingdoms claimed their descent.[2]

(1949), 74. The distinction which Bede makes is almost certainly fundamental, even though the differences were apparently not great and Bede himself in his title to the *History* could happily refer to the whole complex of invading races as the 'gens Anglorum'.

[2] With the exception of Essex all the genealogies of the English royal families which have been preserved go back to Woden. Cf. K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1953), 326. For the paragraph which follows and the whole of the following chapter Bede is again dependent on Gildas, 24, 25.

Non mora ergo, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum cateruis, grandescere populus coepit aduenarum, ita ut ipsis quoque qui eos aduocauerant indigenis essent terrori. Tum subito inito ad tempus foedere cum Pictis, quos longius iam bellando pepulerant, in socios arma uertere incipiunt. Et primum quidem annonas sibi eos affluentius ministrare cogunt, quaerentesque occasionem diuortii protestantur, nisi profusior sibi alimentorum copia daretur, se cuncta insulae loca rupto foedere uastaturos. Neque aliquanto segnius minas effectibus prosequuntur. Siquidem, ut breuiter dicam, accensus manibus paganorum ignis iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit, non illius inpar qui quondam a Chaldaeis succensus Hierosolymorum moenia, immo aedificia cuncta consumsit.[1] Sic enim et hic agente impio uictore, immo disponente iusto Iudice, proximas quasque ciuitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari[a] usque ad occidentale nullo prohibente suum continuauit incendium, totamque prope insulae pereuntis superficiem obtexit. Ruebant aedificia publica simul et priuata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, praesules cum populis sine ullo respectu honoris ferro pariter et flammis absumebantur, nec erat qui crudeliter interemtos sepulturae traderet. Itaque nonnulli de miserandis reliquiis in montibus conprehensi aceruatim iugulabantur; alii fame confecti procedentes manus hostibus dabant, pro accipiendis alimentorum subsidiis aeternum subituri seruitium, si tamen non continuo
p. 33 trucidarentur; alii transmarinas regiones dolentes pete/bant; alii perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem uitam in montibus siluis uel rupibus arduis suspecta semper mente agebant.

XVI

At ubi hostilis exercitus exterminatis dispersisque insulae indigenis domum reuersus est,[2] coeperunt et illi paulatim uires animosque resumere, emergentes de latibulis quibus abditi fuerant et unanimo consensu auxilium caeleste precantes ne usque ad internicionem usquequaque delerentur. Vtebantur eo tempore

[a] mare *c2*

[1] 4 Reg. 25, 8–10.

[2] Bede borrows the word from Gildas but it can hardly mean more than that the invaders returned to their headquarters on some island or islands near the coast, perhaps Thanet.

It was not long before hordes of these peoples eagerly crowded into the island and the number of foreigners began to increase to such an extent that they became a source of terror to the natives who had called them in. Then suddenly they made a temporary treaty with the Picts whom they had already driven far away and began to turn their weapons against their allies. First they made them provide a greater quantity of food; then, seeking an occasion for a quarrel, they insisted that unless they received still greater supplies, they would break the treaty and lay waste every part of the island. Nor were they at all slow in carrying out their threats. To put it briefly, the fire kindled by the hands of the heathen executed the just vengeance of God on the nation for its crimes. It was not unlike that fire once kindled by the Chaldeans which consumed the walls and all the buildings of Jerusalem.[1] So here in Britain the just Judge ordained that the fire of their brutal conquerors should ravage all the neighbouring cities and countryside from the east to the western sea, and burn on, with no one to hinder it, until it covered almost the whole face of the doomed island. Public and private buildings fell in ruins, priests were everywhere slain at their altars, prelates and people alike perished by sword and fire regardless of rank, and there was no one left to bury those who had died a cruel death. Some of the miserable remnant were captured in the mountains and butchered indiscriminately; others, exhausted by hunger, came forward and submitted themselves to the enemy, ready to accept perpetual slavery for the sake of food, provided only they escaped being killed on the spot: some fled sorrowfully to lands beyond the sea, while others remained in their own land and led a wretched existence, always in fear and dread, among the mountains and woods and precipitous rocks.

CHAPTER XVI

WHEN the army of the enemy had exterminated or scattered the native peoples, they returned home[1] and the Britons slowly began to recover strength and courage. They emerged from their hiding-places and with one accord they prayed for the help of God that they might not be completely annihilated. Their leader at that

duce Ambrosio Aureliano,[1] uiro modesto, qui solus forte Romanae gentis praefatae tempestati superfuerat, occisis in eadem parentibus regium nomen et insigne ferentibus. Hoc ergo duce uires capessunt Brettones, et uictores prouocantes ad proelium uictoriam ipsi Deo fauente suscipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc ciues nunc hostes uincebant usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, quadragesimo circiter et quarto anno aduentus eorum in Brittaniam. Sed haec postmodum.

XVII

ANTE paucos sane aduentus eorum annos heresis Pelagiana per Agricolam inlata, Seueriani episcopi Pelagiani filium, fidem Brittaniarum feda peste conmaculauerat. Verum Brittanni, cum neque suscipere dogma peruersum gratiam Christi blasfemando ullatenus uellent neque uersutiam nefariae persuasionis refutare uerbis
p. 34 certando sufficerent, inueniunt / salubre consilium, ut a Gallicanis antistitibus auxilium belli spiritalis inquirant. Quam ob causam collecta magna synodo quaerebatur in commune, qui illic ad succurrendum fidei mitti deberent, atque omnium iudicio electi sunt[a] apostolici sacerdotes Germanus[2] Autisidorensis[b] et Lupus Trecasenae ciuitatis episcopi, qui ad confirmandam fidem gratiae caelestis Brittanias uenirent. Qui cum promta deuotione preces et iussa sanctae ecclesiae suscipissent, intrant Oceanum et usque ad medium itineris, quo a Gallico sinu Brittanias usque tenditur, secundis flatibus nauis tuta uolabat. Tum subito occurrit pergentibus inimica uis daemonum, qui tantos talesque uiros ad recuperandam tendere populorum salutem inuiderent; concitant procellas, caelum diemque nubium nocte subducunt; uentorum furores uela non sustinent; cedebant ministeria uicta nautarum; ferebatur nauigium oratione non uiribus; et casu dux ipse uel pontifex fractus corpore lassitudine ac sopore resolutus est. Tum uero quasi repugnatore cessante tempestas excitata conualuit, et

[a] eligebantur *c2* [b] Altiodori *c2*

[1] Gildas, as quoted here by Bede, is the final source for our knowledge of Ambrosius Aurelianus and the victory at Mount Badon; though later writers have much to say about both, they have no trustworthy information to offer. The site of Mount Badon is uncertain but its date, judging by all available evidence, is believed to be about A.D. 500. (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 2 ff.)

[2] Chapters 17–24 are based on the *Life of St. Germanus* written by Constantius at the request of Bishop Patiens of Lyons, somewhere about 475. The Life was known to Bede in its earliest form. The mention of St. Alban in this Life is the earliest known reference to the saint. The first sentence of the chapter is borrowed from Prosper's *Chronicon* (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* IX. 472), after which the borrowings from the other Life begin.

time was a certain Ambrosius Aurelianus,[1] a discreet man, who was, as it happened, the sole member of the Roman race who had survived this storm in which his parents, who bore a royal and famous name, had perished. Under his leadership the Britons regained their strength, challenged their victors to battle, and, with God's help, won the day. From that time on, first the Britons won and then the enemy were victorious until the year of the siege of Mount Badon, when the Britons slaughtered no small number of their foes about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain. But more of this hereafter.

CHAPTER XVII

A FEW years before their arrival, the Pelagian heresy introduced by Agricola, the son of the Pelagian bishop Severianus, had corrupted the faith of Britain with its foul taint. The Britons had no desire at all to accept this perverse teaching and so blaspheme the grace of Christ, but could not themselves confute by argument the subtleties of the evil belief; so they wisely decided to seek help in this spiritual warfare from the Gaulish bishops. For this reason a great synod was called to consult together as to who should be sent thither to support the faith; by unanimous consent the apostolic bishops, Germanus of Auxerre[2] and Lupus of Troyes, came to Britain to confirm their belief in heavenly grace. These, with ready zeal, complied with the requests and commands of the holy Church and embarked on the Ocean. The ship sped along safely with favouring winds and had reached half-way across the channel between Britain and Gaul, when suddenly they were met on their way by the hostile fury of devils; these were enraged that men of such quality should be sent to restore salvation to the people. They raised storms, they darkened the sky, turning day into night with clouds; the sails could not resist the fury of the winds; the sailors toiled in vain; the ship was supported by prayers rather than by their efforts. As it happened, their leader, the bishop, was worn out and fell asleep. Their champion having thus deserted his post (or so it seemed), the storm increased in fury and the ship, overwhelmed by the waves, was about to sink. Then St. Lupus and all the rest in their dismay awakened their

iam nauigium superfusis fluctibus mergebatur. Tum beatus Lupus omnesque turbati excitant seniorem elementis furentibus obponendum. Qui periculi inmanitate constantior Christum inuocat, et adsumto[a] in nomine sanctae Trinitatis leui aquae spargine fluctus saeuientes obprimit, collegam commonet, hortatur uniuersos, oratio uno ore et clamore profunditur. Adest Diuinitas, fugantur inimici, tranquillitas serena subsequitur, uenti e contrario ad itineris ministeria reuertuntur, decursisque breui spatiis pelagi optati litoris quiete potiuntur. Ibi conueniens ex diuersis partibus multitudo excepit sacerdotes, quos uenturos etiam uaticinatio aduersa praedixerat. Nuntiabant enim sinistri spiritus
p. 35 quod timebant, qui imperio sacerdotum dum ab obsessis cor/poribus detruduntur, et tempestatis ordinem et pericula quae intulerant fatebantur, uictosque se eorum meritis et imperio non negabant.

Interea Brittaniarum insulam apostolici sacerdotes raptim opinione praedicatione uirtutibus impleuerunt, diuinusque per eos sermo cotidie non solum in ecclesiis uerum etiam per triuia, per rura praedicabatur, ita ut passim et fideles catholici firmarentur et deprauati uiam correctionis agnoscerent. Erat illis apostolorum instar et gloria et auctoritas per conscientiam, doctrina per litteras, uirtutes ex meritis.[1] Itaque regionis uniuersitas in eorum sententiam promta transierat. Latebant abditi sinistrae persuasionis auctores, et more maligni spiritus gemebant perire sibi populos euadentes. Ad extremum, diuturna meditatione concepta, praesumunt inire conflictum; procedunt conspicui diuitiis, ueste fulgentes, circumdati adsentatione multorum, discrimenque certaminis subire maluerunt quam in populo quem subuerterant[b] pudorem taciturnitatis incurrere, ne uiderentur se ipsi silentio damnauisse. Illic plane inmensa multitudo etiam cum coniugibus ac liberis excita conuenerat, aderat populus, exspectatur[c] futurus et iudex, adstabant partes dispari condicione dissimiles: hinc

[a] *The* Vita Germani *has* adsumto oleo*;* aquae *is added, perhaps by Bede to make good a defect in his copy of the* Vita, *which contained several errors*

[b] subuerterunt *c2*

[c] *The* Vita Germani *has* exspectator (=*as spectators*)

[1] Cf. 2 Cor. 1: 12.

leader so that he might oppose the fury of the elements. More resolute than they in the face of frightful danger, Germanus called on Christ and in the name of the Holy Trinity took a little water and sprinkled it on the raging billows. At the same time he admonished his colleague and encouraged them all, whereupon with one consent and one voice they offered up their prayers. Divine help was forthcoming, the adversaries were put to flight, peace and calm followed, and the contrary winds veered round and helped them on their way; after a quick and peaceful crossing they reached the land they sought. There, great crowds gathered together from all quarters to meet the bishops, whose arrival had been foretold even by their enemies. The evil spirits proclaimed that what they feared had come to pass; and when driven out by the bishops' commands from the bodies of those possessed, they owned up to the nature of the tempest and the dangers which they had brought about, confessing that they had been vanquished by the merits and the power of these men.

In the meantime the island of Britain was soon filled with the fame of the preaching and the miracles of these apostolic bishops. They preached the word of God daily not only in the churches but also in the streets and in the fields, so that the faithful and the catholic were everywhere strengthened and the perverted recognized the true way; like the apostles,[1] they acquired honour and authority for themselves through a good conscience, their learning through the scriptures, and the power of working miracles through their merits. And so the whole country readily turned to their way of thinking, while the authors of the false doctrine went into hiding and, like evil spirits, grieved over the loss of the people who had escaped destruction at their hands. At last, after long deliberation, they ventured to join battle. They came, ostentatiously displaying their wealth in their gorgeous robes and surrounded by a multitude of their supporters, preferring to risk a contest rather than be put to shame by their own silence before the people whom they had subverted, lest by saying nothing they should appear to admit defeat. An immense multitude had been attracted thither with their wives and children. The crowds were present, ready to act as judges, but the contestants differed widely one from the other: on the one side was divine faith, on the other side, human presumption: on the one side piety, on the other pride: on the one side Pelagius the founder of their faith, on

diuina fides, inde humana praesumtio; hinc pietas, inde superbia; inde Pelagius auctor, hinc Christus. Primo in loco beatissimi sacerdotes praebuerunt aduersariis copiam disputandi, quae sola nuditate uerborum diu inaniter et aures occupauit et tempora; deinde antistites uenerandi torrentes eloquii sui cum apostolicis et euangelicis imbribus profuderunt; miscebatur sermo proprius cum diuino, et adsertiones molestissimas lectionum testimonia sequebantur. Conuincitur uanitas, perfidia confutatur, ita ut ad singulas uerborum obiectiones errare se, dum respondere nequiit,[a]
p. 36 fateretur; / populus arbiter uix manus continet, iudicium tamen clamore testatur.

XVIII

TUM subito quidam tribuniciae potestatis cum coniuge procedit in medium, filiam X annorum caecam curandam sacerdotibus offerens, quam illi aduersariis offerri praeceperunt. Sed hi conscientia puniente deterriti iungunt cum parentibus preces, et curationem paruulae a sacerdotibus deprecantur. Qui inclinatos animo aduersarios intuentes, orationem breuiter fundunt, ac deinde Germanus plenus Spiritu Sancto inuocat Trinitatem; nec mora, adherentem lateri suo capsulam cum sanctorum reliquiis collo auulsam manibus conprehendit, eamque in conspectu omnium puellae oculis adplicauit, quos statim euacuatos tenebris lumen ueritatis impleuit. Exultant parentes, miraculum populus contremescit; post quam diem ita ex animis omnium suasio iniqua deleta est, ut sacerdotum doctrinam sitientibus desideriis sectarentur.

Conpressa itaque peruersitate damnabili eiusque auctoribus confutatis atque animis omnium fidei puritate conpositis, sacerdotes beatum Albanum martyrem acturi[b] Deo per ipsum gratias petierunt; ubi Germanus[1] omnium apostolorum diuersorumque martyrum secum reliquias habens, facta oratione, iussit reuelli sepulchrum pretiosa ibidem munera conditurus, arbitrans oportunum ut membra sanctorum ex diuersis regionibus collecta, quos

[a] nequit *c2* [b] auctori *c2*

[1] From this point to the end of the chapter is borrowed from the third *Passio Sancti Albani*, chapters 21–22. (See p. 28, n. 2.)

the other Christ. The holy bishops gave their adversaries the opportunity of speaking first; these occupied their time and attention for a long period with nothing but empty words. Then the venerable bishops showered upon them the words of the apostles and evangelists in torrents of eloquence. They mingled their own words with the word of God, supporting their most trenchant arguments by the testimony of the scriptures. Falsehood was overcome, deceit unmasked, so that their opponents, as every argument was presented, could not reply but had to confess their errors. The people who were judging found it hard to refrain from violence but nevertheless signified their verdict by applause.

CHAPTER XVIII

IMMEDIATELY after this, a man who held the rank of tribune came into the midst with his wife bringing to the bishops his blind daughter, a child of ten, to be healed. They bade the parents take her to their adversaries but the latter, rebuked by their consciences, joined in the prayers of the parents and begged the bishop to heal the child. Seeing their opponents yield, they uttered a short prayer and then Germanus, full of the Holy Spirit, invoked the Trinity. He tore from his neck the little bag which hung down close to his side, containing relics of the saints. Grasping it firmly, he pressed it in the sight of all on the girl's eyelids; her eyes were immediately delivered from darkness and filled with the light of truth. The parents rejoiced while the people were overawed by the miracle. From that day the evil doctrine was so utterly banished from the minds of them all that they thirsted eagerly after the teaching of the bishops.

So when this damnable heresy had been suppressed and its authors confuted and the minds of all had been built up again on the pure faith, the bishops visited the martyr St. Alban to give thanks to God through him. Germanus[1] had with him relics of all the apostles and various martyrs; and, after praying, he ordered the tomb to be opened so that he might place his precious gifts in it. He thought it fitting that the limbs of saints which had been gathered from near and far should find lodging in the same tomb, seeing that they had all entered heaven equal in merits. When

pares meritis receperat caelum, sepulchri quoque unius teneret hospitium. Quibus depositis honorifice atque sociatis, de loco ipso,
p. 37 ubi beati martyris effusus erat sanguis, massam / pulueris secum portaturus abstulit, in qua apparebat cruore seruato rubuisse martyrum caedem persecutore pallente. Quibus ita gestis, innumera hominum eodem die ad Dominum turba conuersa est.

XVIIII

VNDE dum redeunt, insidiator inimicus, casualibus laqueis praeparatis, Germani pedem lapsus occasione contriuit, ignorans merita illius, sicut Iob beatissimi, afflictione corporis propaganda; et dum aliquandiu uno in loco infirmitatis necessitate teneretur, in uicina qua manebat casula exarsit incendium, quod consumtis domibus, quae illic palustri harundine tegebantur, ad eum habitaculum in quo idem iacebat flabris stimulantibus ferebatur. Concursus omnium ad antistitem conuolauit, ut elatus manibus periculum quod inminebat euaderet; quibus increpatis moueri se fidei praesumtione non passus est. At multitudo omnis desperatione perterrita obuiam currit incendio. Sed ut Dei potentia manifestior appareret, quicquid custodire temtauerat turba consumitur; quod uero iacens et infirmus defenderat, reserato hospitio sancti uiri, expauescens flamma transiliuit, ultra citraque desaeuiens, et inter globos flammantis incendii incolume tabernaculum, quod habitator inclusus seruabat, emicuit. Exultat turba miraculo, et uictam se diuinis uirtutibus gratulatur. Excubabat diebus ac noctibus ante tugurium pauperis uulgus sine numero, hi animas curare, hi cupientes corpora.

Referri nequeunt quae Christus operabatur in tamulo, qui uirtutes faciebat infirmus. Et cum debilitati suae nihil remedii
p. 38 pateretur adhiberi, quadam nocte candentem niueis / uestibus uidit sibi adesse personam, quae manu extensa iacentem uideretur adtollere, eumque consistere firmis uestigiis imperabat. Post quam horam ita fugatis doloribus recepit pristinam sanitatem, ut die reddito itineris laborem subiret intrepidus.

these were honourably bestowed and placed side by side, he collected a heap of soil from the place where the blood of the blessed martyr had been shed, to take away with him. In it the blood still showed, pointing the contrast between the scarlet tide of martyrdom and the pale visage of the persecutor. After these incidents a countless number of men turned to the Lord on the same day.

CHAPTER XIX

WHILE they were returning, the treacherous foe, setting his chance snares, caused Germanus to fall and bruise his foot, not knowing that his merits like those of Job would be increased by bodily affliction. While he was necessarily confined to one building because of the accident, a neighbouring cottage caught fire; the other dwellings which were thatched with reeds were destroyed and the fire, fanned by the wind, approached the house where he lay. All the people flocked to the bishop intending to lift him up in their arms and rescue him from the danger which threatened; but in the fulness of his faith, he rebuked them and would not allow himself to be moved. So the whole crowd in despair ran to fight the fire. That the power of God might be made more manifest, whatever the crowds sought to preserve was destroyed; but, sick and prostrate as he was, he proved a sure defence. The saint's dwelling was wide open, yet the flames avoided and leapt over it though they raged hither and thither; and amid the masses of blazing fire, his shelter remained unharmed, preserved by the man who lay within. The crowd rejoiced at the miracle, glad to be outdone by the power of God. Day and night a countless multitude watched before the poor man's hut, some desiring to have their souls healed and some their bodies.

All that Christ wrought by his servant cannot be told, for though sick himself, he performed miracles; nor did he allow any remedy to be applied to his own injury. But one night he saw a person standing by him, clad in snow-white garments, who with outstretched hand seemed to raise him as he lay and bade him stand firm upon his feet. From that hour his pain departed and he was restored to his former health, so that when day returned he set out on his toilsome journey full of confidence.

XX

INTEREA Saxones Pictique bellum aduersum Brettones iunctis uiribus susceperunt, quos eadem necessitas in castra contraxerat, et cum trepidi partes suas pene inpares iudicarent, sanctorum antistitum auxilium petierunt; qui promissum maturantes aduentum tantum pauentibus fiduciae contulerunt, ut accessisse maximus crederetur exercitus. Itaque apostolicis ducibus Christus militabat in castris. Aderant etiam quadragesimae uenerabiles dies, quos religiosiores reddebat praesentia sacerdotum, in tantum ut cotidianis praedicationibus instituti certatim populi ad gratiam baptismatis conuolarent.[1] Nam maxima exercitus multitudo undam lauacri salutaris expetit, et ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis dominicae frondibus contexta conponitur, atque in expeditione campestri instar ciuitatis aptatur. Madidus baptismate procedit exercitus, fides feruet in populo, et conterrito[a] armorum praesidio diuinitatis exspectatur auxilium. Institutio uel forma castitatis[a] hostibus nuntiatur, qui uictoriam quasi de inermi exercitu praesumentes adsumta alacritate festinant; quorum tamen aduentus exploratione cognoscitur. Cumque emensa sollemnitate paschali recens de lauacro pars maior exercitus arma capere et bellum parare temtaret, Germanus ducem se proelii profitetur, eligit[b] expeditos, circumiecta percurrit, et e regione qua hostium /
p. 39 sperabatur aduentus uallem circumdatam mediis[c] montibus intuetur. Quo in loco nouum conponit exercitum ipse dux agminis. Et iam aderat ferox hostium multitudo, quam adpropinquare intuebantur in insidiis constituti. Tum subito Germanus signifer uniuersos admonet, et praedicat ut uoci suae uno clamore respondeant; securisque hostibus, qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, alleluiam tertio repetitam sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una uox omnium, et elatum clamorem repercusso aere montium conclusa multiplicant; hostile agmen terrore prosternitur, et super se[d] non solum rupes circumdatas sed etiam ipsam caeli machinam contremescunt, trepidationique iniectae uix sufficere pedum pernicitas credebatur. Passim fugiunt, arma

[a] *The* Vita Germani *has* contempto *and* castrorum, *which are found in later English MSS.* [b] elegit *c2* [c] *The* Vita *has* editis [d] *The* Vita *has* et ruisse super se

[1] Easter and Pentecost were very early regarded as specially suitable seasons for the administration of baptism. The first baptism in Northumbria took place at Pentecost (ii. 9).

[2] Translating the readings from the *Life of Germanus*: *contempto* for *conterrito* and *castrorum* for *castitatis*.

CHAPTER XX

MEANWHILE the Saxons and Picts had joined forces and were making war upon the Britons, who were forced to take up arms. Fearing they were no match for their foes, they besought the help of the holy bishops. These came at once to fulfil their promise and inspired such confidence in the timid people that one would have thought that a large army had come to their support. Indeed, with such apostolic leaders, it was Christ Himself who fought in their camp. Now the holy season of Lent had come round and was made more sacred by the presence of the bishops, so much so that the people, instructed by their daily teaching, flocked eagerly to receive the grace of baptism.[1] Vast numbers of the army were baptized. A church of wattle was built in preparation for Easter Day and set up for the army in the field as though it were in a city. So, still soaked in the waters of baptism, the army set out. The people's faith was fervent and putting no trust in[2] their arms they expectantly awaited the help of God. The disposition and arrangement of the army[2] was reported to the enemy; they were as sure of victory as though they were attacking an unarmed foe and hastened forward with renewed eagerness; but their approach was observed by the British scouts. So when the Easter solemnities had been celebrated and the greater part of the army, still fresh from the font, were beginning to take up arms and prepare for war, Germanus himself offered to be their leader. He picked out the most active and, having explored the surrounding country, he saw a valley surrounded by hills of moderate height lying in the direction from which the enemy was expected to approach. In this place he stationed his untried army and himself took command. The fierce enemy forces approached, plainly visible as they drew near to the army which was lying in ambush. Germanus who was bearing the standard, thereupon ordered his men to repeat his call in one great shout; as the enemy approached confidently, believing that their coming was unexpected, the bishops shouted 'Alleluia' three times. A universal shout of 'Alleluia' followed, and the echoes from the surrounding hills multiplied and increased the sound. The enemy forces were smitten with dread, fearing that not only the surrounding rocks but even the very frame of heaven itself would fall upon them. They were so filled with terror that they could not run fast enough. They fled hither and thither

proiciunt, gaudentes uel nuda corpora eripuisse discrimini; plures etiam timore praecipites flumen quod transierant deuorauit. Vltionem suam innocens exercitus intuetur, et uictoriae concessae otiosus spectator efficitur. Spolia colliguntur exposita, et caelestis palmae gaudia miles religiosus amplectitur. Triumphant pontifices hostibus fusis sine sanguine, triumphant uictoria fide obtenta non uiribus.

Conposita itaque insula securitate multiplici, superatisque hostibus uel inuisibilibus[a] uel carne conspicuis, reditum moliuntur pontifices. Quibus tranquillam nauigationem et merita propria et intercessio beati martyris Albani parauerunt, quietosque eos suorum desideriis felix carina restituit.

XXI

Nec multo interposito tempore nuntiatur ex eadem insula
p. 40 Pelagianam peruersitatem iterato paucis auctoribus / dilatari, rursusque ad beatissimum uirum preces sacerdotum omnium deferuntur, ut causam Dei, quam prius obtenuerat, tutaretur. Quorum petitioni festinus obtemperat; namque adiuncto sibi Seuero,[1] totius sanctitatis uiro, qui erat discipulus beatissimi patris Lupi Trecasenorum episcopi, et tunc Treuiris ordinatus episcopus gentibus primae Germaniae uerbum praedicabat, mare conscendit, et consentientibus elementis tranquillo nauigio Brittanias petit.

Interea sinistri spiritus peruolantes totam insulam Germanum uenire inuitis uaticinationibus nuntiabant; in tantum ut Elafius quidam, regionis illius primus, in occursu sanctorum sine ulla manifesti nuntii relatione properaret, exhibens secum filium quem in ipso flore adulescentiae debilitas dolenda damnauerat. Erat enim arescentibus neruis contracto poplite, cui per siccitatem cruris usus uestigii negabantur. Hunc Elafium prouincia tota[b] subsequitur: ueniunt sacerdotes, occurrit inscia multitudo, confestim benedictio et sermonis diuini doctrina profunditur. Recognoscunt populum in ea qua reliquerat credulitate durantem; intellegunt

[a] uisibilibus *m* [b] tota prouincia *c2*

[1] Severus was the thirteenth bishop of Trier and no more is known of him than we are told here. Bede adds extra information not given by Constantius but borrowed from the *Life of Bishop Lupus of Troyes* (*MGH*, *SRM*, VII. 302).

casting away their weapons and glad even to escape naked from the danger. Many of them rushed headlong back in panic and were drowned in the river which they had just crossed. The army, without striking a blow, saw themselves avenged and became inactive spectators of the victory freely offered to them. They gathered up the spoils lying ready to hand and the devout soldiery rejoiced in this heaven-sent triumph. The bishops thus overcame the enemy without the shedding of blood; they won a victory by faith and not by might.

So a widespread peace was restored to the island and foes visible and invisible were overcome; and the bishops prepared to return home. Their own merits and the intercession of the blessed martyr Alban won them a quiet voyage and their vessel prosperously brought them back in peace to their beloved people.

CHAPTER XXI

NOT long afterwards news came from Britain that a small number of people were again spreading abroad the Pelagian heresy. Again all the clergy sent to St. Germanus, begging him to defend the cause of God which he had maintained before. He hastened to grant their request and, taking with him Severus,[1] a man of great sanctity, put to sea and reached Britain after a good voyage with favouring winds. Severus was a disciple of St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes; he was afterwards consecrated Bishop of Trier, preaching the word to the tribes in Germany west of the Rhine.

Meanwhile the evil spirits sped through the whole island, prophesying, though against their will, that Germanus was coming. So a certain Elafius, a chief of that district, hastened to meet the holy men, though no visible messenger had announced their coming. He took with him his son, who, while in the flower of his youth, had been smitten by a painful disease. His knee was wasted and the sinews shrunk so that he was unable to walk because the leg had withered. The whole population of the district followed Elafius. The bishops arrived and were met by the ignorant multitude, on whom they at once bestowed their blessing, giving them instruction in the Word of God. They recognized that the people as a whole had remained true to the faith from the time Germanus had left them; but on learning of the guilt of the few,

culpam esse paucorum, inquirunt auctores, inuentosque condemnant; cum subito Elafius pedibus aduoluitur sacerdotum offerens filium, cuius necessitatem ipsa debilitas etiam sine precibus adlegabat. Fit communis omnium dolor, praecipue sacerdotum, qui conceptam misericordiam ad diuinam clementiam contulerunt, statimque adulescentem beatus Germanus sedere conpulit, adtrectat poplitem debilitate curuatum, et per tota infirmitatis spatia medicabilis dextrá percurrit, salubremque tactum sanitas festina subsequitur. Ariditas sucum, nerui officia receperunt, et in conspectu omnium filio incolumitas, patri filius
p. 41 restituitur. Inplentur / populi stupore miraculi, et in pectoribus omnium fides catholica inculcata firmatur. Praedicatio deinde ad plebem de praeuaricationis emendatione conuertitur, omniumque sententia prauitatis auctores, qui erant expulsi insula, sacerdotibus adducuntur ad mediterranea[1] deferendi, ut et regio absolutione et illi emendatione fruerentur. Factumque est ut in illis locis multo ex eo tempore fides intemerata perduraret.

Itaque conpositis omnibus beati sacerdotes ea, qua uenerant, prosperitate redierunt. Porro Germanus post haec ad Rauennam pro pace Armoricanae gentis supplicaturus aduenit, ibique a Ualentiniano et Placidia matre ipsius summa reuerentia susceptus migrauit ad Christum. Cuius corpus honorifico agmine, comitantibus uirtutum operibus, suam defertur ad urbem. Nec multo post Ualentinianus ab Aetii patricii, quem occiderat, satellitibus interimitur, anno imperii Marciani sexto, cum quo simul Hesperium concidit regnum.

XXII

INTEREA Brittaniae cessatum quidem est parumper ab externis, sed non a ciuilibus bellis. Manebant exterminia ciuitatum ab hoste derutarum ac desertarum; pugnabant contra inuicem, qui hostem euaserant, ciues. Attamen recente adhuc memoria calamitatis et cladis inflictae seruabant utcumque reges, sacerdotes, priuati et

[1] I have interpreted *mediterranea* to mean the land between two adjoining territories, the traditional no-man's-land haunted by monsters and evil men, as, for example, the monster Grendel in *Beowulf*.

they searched out the authors of the evil and condemned them. Then Elafius threw himself at the bishop's feet and presented his son, whose infirmity proclaimed his need louder than words. All were grieved but especially the bishops, who were moved by pity to invoke the mercy of God. St. Germanus at once told the boy to sit down and then stroked the knee which had been twisted by the disease. He passed his healing hand over all the afflicted parts and recovery quickly followed his health-giving touch. The withered knee regained its strength and the sinews were renewed; in the presence of them all, health was restored to the son and the son was restored to his father. The people were amazed at the miracle, and the catholic faith, already implanted in the hearts of them all, was further strengthened. Thereupon Germanus turned to the people and warned them in a sermon to correct their error. The teachers of the heresy, who had been expelled from the island, were brought by common consent before the bishops, who banished them into the marchlands,[1] so that the country might be rid of them and they might be rid of their error. Thus it came to pass that the faith remained untainted in those parts for a very long time.

So when everything had been settled, the holy bishops returned as successfully as they had come. After this Germanus went to Ravenna to obtain peace for the people of Armorica. He was received with the greatest reverence by Valentinian and his mother Placidia and there he departed to be with Christ. His body was carried to his own town with a splendid retinue and miracles took place on the way. Not long after, in the sixth year of the reign of Marcian, Valentinian was murdered by the followers of the patrician Aetius whom he had put to death, and with Valentinian the western empire fell.

CHAPTER XXII

MEANWHILE Britain had rest for a time from foreign though not from civil wars. The ruins of the cities destroyed and abandoned by the enemy still remained, while the citizens who had escaped from the foe fought against each other. Nevertheless, so long as the memory of the calamity and bloodshed was still fresh, somehow the kings, priests, nobles, and private citizens kept within

optimates suum quique ordinem. At illis decedentibus, cum successisset aetas tempestatis illius nescia et praesentis solum serenitatis statum experta, ita cuncta ueritatis ac iustitiae moderamina concussa ac subuersa sunt, ut earum non dicam uestigium sed ne
p. 42 memoria / quidem praeter in paucis, et ualde paucis, ulla appareret. Qui inter alia inenarrabilium scelerum facta, quae historicus eorum Gildas flebili sermone describit,[1] et hoc addebant, ut numquam genti Saxonum siue Anglorum, secum Brittaniam incolenti, uerbum fidei praedicando committerent. Sed non tamen diuina pietas plebem suam, quam praesciuit, deseruit; quin multo digniores genti memoratae praecones ueritatis, per quos crederet, destinauit.

XXIII

SIQUIDEM anno ab incarnatione Domini DLXXXII Mauricius ab Augusto quinquagesimus quartus imperium suscipiens XX et uno annis tenuit. Cuius anno regni decimo Gregorius, uir doctrina et actione praecipuus, pontificatum Romanae et apostolicae sedis sortitus rexit annos XIII menses VI et dies X. Qui diuino admonitus instinctu anno XIIII eiusdem principis, aduentus uero Anglorum in Brittaniam anno circiter CL, misit seruum Dei Augustinum[2] et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes Dominum[a] praedicare uerbum Dei genti Anglorum. Qui cum iussis pontificalibus obtemperantes memoratum opus adgredi coepissent, iamque aliquantulum itineris confecissent, perculsi timore inerti redire domum potius quam barbaram feram incredulamque gentem, cuius ne linguam quidem nossent, adire cogitabant, et hoc esse tutius communi consilio decernebant. Nec mora, Augustinum, quem eis episcopum ordinandum, si ab Anglis susciperentur, disposuerat, domum remittunt, qui a beato Gregorio humili sup-
p. 43 plicatu obtineret, ne tam periculosam, tam laboriosam, / tam incertam peregrinationem adire deberent. Quibus ille exhortatorias mittens litteras, in opus eos Verbi diuino confisos auxilio proficisci suadet. Quarum uidelicet litterarum ista est forma:

[a] Deum *c2*

[1] At this point Bede ceases to depend on Gildas for his information.

[2] From here Bede is using information obtained from Kent for the most part, at the same time quoting a few phrases from the *Liber Pontificalis* of which he had a copy of the second recension of the text (*BLTW*, p. 120). Augustine was prior of Gregory's own monastery of St. Andrew on the Coelian Hill at Rome.

bounds. But, when they died, a generation succeeded which knew nothing of all these troubles and was used only to the present state of peace. Then all restraints of truth and justice were so utterly destroyed and abandoned that, not merely was there no trace of them to be found, but only a small, a very small minority even remembered their existence. To other unspeakable crimes, which Gildas[1] their own historian describes in doleful words, was added this crime, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or Angles who inhabited Britain with them. Nevertheless God in His goodness did not reject the people whom He foreknew, but He had appointed much worthier heralds of the truth to bring this people to the faith.

CHAPTER XXIII

In the year of our Lord 582, Maurice, the fifty-fourth from Augustus, became emperor; he ruled for twenty-one years. In the tenth year of his reign, Gregory, a man eminent in learning and in affairs, was elected pontiff of the apostolic see of Rome; he ruled for thirteen years, six months, and ten days. In the fourteenth year of this emperor and about 150 years after the coming of the Angles to Britain, Gregory, prompted by divine inspiration, sent a servant of God named Augustine[2] and several more God-fearing monks with him to preach the word of God to the English race. In obedience to the pope's commands, they undertook this task and had already gone a little way on their journey when they were paralysed with terror. They began to contemplate returning home rather than going to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation whose language they did not even understand. They all agreed that this was the safer course; so forthwith they sent home Augustine whom Gregory had intended to have consecrated as their bishop if they were received by the English. Augustine was to beg St. Gregory humbly for permission to give up so dangerous, wearisome, and uncertain a journey. Gregory, however, sent them an encouraging letter in which he persuaded them to persevere with the task of preaching the Word and trust in the help of God. The letter was in these terms:

Gregorius[1] seruus seruorum Dei seruis Domini nostri.

Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere quam ab his, quae coepta sunt, cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilectissimi filii, oportet ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Domino coepistis, impleatis. Nec labor uos ergo itineris nec maledicorum hominum linguae deterreant, sed omni instantia omnique feruore, quae inchoastis, Deo auctore peragite, scientes quod laborem magnum maior aeternae retributionis gloria sequitur. Remeanti autem Augustino praeposito uestro, quem et abbatem uobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter oboedite, scientes hoc uestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid a uobis fuerit in eius admonitione conpletum. Omnipotens Deus sua uos gratia protegat, et uestri laboris fructum in aeterna me patria uidere concedat, quatinus etsi uobiscum laborare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inueniar, quia laborare scilicet uolo. Deus uos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi filii.

Data die x kalendarum Augustarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XIIII post consulatum eiusdem domni nostri anno XIII indictione XIIII.

XXIIII

MISIT etiam tunc isdem uenerandus pontifex ad Etherium Arelatensem archiepiscopum,[2] ut Augustinum Brittaniam pergentem benigne susciperet, litteras, quarum iste est textus:

p. 44 Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Etherio coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

Licet apud sacerdotes habentes Deo placitam caritatem religiosi uiri nullius commendatione indigeant, quia tamen aptum scribendi se tempus[a] ingessit, fraternitati uestrae nostra mittere scripta curauimus, insinuantes latorem praesentium Augustinum seruum Dei, de cuius certi sumus studio, cum aliis seruis Dei illic nos pro utilitate animarum auxiliante Domino direxisse; quem necesse est, ut sacerdotali studio sanctitas uestra adiuuare et sua ei solacia praebere festinet. Cui etiam,

[a] tempus se scribendi *c2*

[1] Bede, all through the *History* but especially in the earlier part, depends much on documents such as letters and accounts of synodal proceedings (see Introduction, p. xxxii). This letter may well be one of those of which Nothhelm brought copies from the archives of the Roman Church, though it is not preserved in the papal register. Possibly Gregory, in view of its personal tone, did not wish to have it kept amongst his official correspondence. All these letters of Gregory, together with others not used by or not available to Bede, form our best authenticated and completest source of information for the Anglo-Saxon mission. Bede's narrative

Gregory,[1] servant of the servants of God, to the servants of our Lord.

My dearly beloved sons, it would have been better not to have undertaken a noble task than to turn back deliberately from what you have begun: so it is right that you should carry out with all diligence this good work which you have begun with the help of the Lord. Therefore do not let the toilsome journey nor the tongues of evil speakers deter you. But carry out the task you have begun under the guidance of God with all constancy and fervour. Be sure that, however great your task may be, the glory of your eternal reward will be still greater. When Augustine your prior returns, now, by our appointment, your abbot, humbly obey him in all things, knowing that whatever you do under his direction will be in all respects profitable to your souls. May Almighty God protect you by His grace and grant that I may see the fruit of your labours in our heavenly home. Though I cannot labour with you, yet because I should have been glad indeed to do so, I hope to share in the joy of your reward. May God keep you safe, my dearly loved sons.

Given on the 23 July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor Maurice Tiberius, and the thirteenth year after his consulship, and the fourteenth indiction.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE venerable pontiff at the same time also sent a letter to Etherius,[2] archbishop of Arles, asking him to receive Augustine kindly on his return to Britain. This is the text:

To his most reverend and holy brother and fellow bishop Etherius, Gregory, servant of the servants of God. Although religious men stand in need of no recommendation with those bishops who have that love which is pleasing to God, yet because a suitable occasion for writing presents itself, we think fit to send this letter to you our brother, informing you that we have directed thither the bearer of this document, Augustine, the servant of God, of whose zeal we are assured, together with other servants of God devoted to winning souls with the Lord's help. It is essential that your holiness should assist him with episcopal zeal and hasten to provide him with what he needs. And in

written 130 years later also incorporated traditional stories preserved at Canterbury and elsewhere. By the 'tongues of evil speakers' Gregory probably means the terrifying stories about the English which had discouraged the missioners.

[2] Etherius was bishop of Lyons, not Arles. Bede makes the same mistake in i. 27. The real holder was Vergilius and in chapter 28 Bede makes him Etherius' successor though of course wrongly. The letter here quoted was actually sent to Pelagius, bishop of Tours, and Serenus, bishop of Marseilles. A separate letter was sent to Vergilius which Bede does not reproduce (*MGH, Epp.* i. 425).

ut promtiores ad suffragandum possitis existere, causam uobis iniunximus subtiliter indicare, scientes quod ea cognita tota uos propter Deum deuotione ad solaciandum, quia res exigit, commodetis. Candidum praeterea presbyterum,[1] communem filium, quem ad gubernationem patrimonioli ecclesiae nostrae transmisimus, caritati uestrae in omnibus commendamus. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

Data die x kalendarum Augustarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno xiiii post consulatum eiusdem domni nostri anno xiii indictione xiiii.

XXV

ROBORATUS ergo confirmatione beati patris Gregorii, Augustinus cum famulis Christi, qui erant cum eo, rediit in opus Verbi peruenitque Brittaniam. Erat eo tempore rex Aedilberct[2] in Cantia
p. 45 potentissimus, / qui ad confinium usque Humbrae fluminis maximi, quo meridiani et septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat. Est autem ad orientalem Cantiae plagam Tanatos insula non modica,[3] id est magnitudinis iuxta consuetudinem aestimationis Anglorum familiarum sexcentarum, quam a continenti terra secernit fluuius Uantsumu, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum, et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis; utrumque enim caput protendit in mare. In hac ergo adplicuit seruus Domini Augustinus et socii eius, uiri ut ferunt ferme XL. Acceperant autem, praecipiente beato papa Gregorio, de gente Francorum[4] interpretes; et mittens ad Aedilberctum, mandauit se uenisse de Roma ac nuntium ferre optimum, qui sibi obtemperantibus aeterna in caelis gaudia et regnum sine fine cum Deo uiuo et uero futurum sine ulla dubietate promitteret. Qui haec audiens manere illos in ea quam adierant insula, et eis necessaria ministrari, donec uideret quid eis faceret, iussit. Nam et antea fama ad eum Christianae religionis peruenerat, utpote qui et uxorem habebat Christianam de gente Francorum

[1] Gregory wrote a letter to Candidus about 595, asking him to buy English boys with the income from this estate, in order to train them to be missionaries to their own people (*MGH, Epp.* i. 388–9).

[2] A fuller account of the king is to be found in ii. 5. Bede always looked upon the Humber as the division between the northern and southern English.

[3] At this time Thanet was an island. Augustine may have landed at Ebbsfleet or even Stonor. Richborough is a possibility, though it was not on the island of Thanet. The hide or *familia* was the amount of land adequate to supply the

order that you may be the more prompt with your help, we have specially enjoined him to tell you of his mission. We are sure that when you know this you will be prepared with all zeal to afford him your help for the Lord's sake as the occasion requires. We also commend to your charity the priest Candidus,[1] a son of both of us, whom we have sent to take charge of a small patrimony of our church. God keep you safe, most reverend brother.

Given on the 23 July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor, Maurice Tiberius, and the thirteenth year after his consulship and the fourteenth indiction.

CHAPTER XXV

So Augustine, strengthened by the encouragement of St. Gregory, in company with the servants of Christ, returned to the work of preaching the word, and came to Britain. At that time Æthelberht,[2] king of Kent, was a very powerful monarch. The lands over which he exercised his suzerainty stretched as far as the great river Humber, which divides the northern from the southern Angles. Over against the eastern districts of Kent there is a large island called Thanet[3] which, in English reckoning, is 600 hides in extent. It is divided from the mainland by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs wide, can be crossed in two places only, and joins the sea at either end. Here Augustine, the servant of the Lord, landed with his companions, who are said to have been nearly forty in number. They had acquired interpreters from the Frankish race[4] according to the command of Pope St. Gregory. Augustine sent to Æthelberht to say that he had come from Rome bearing the best of news, namely the sure and certain promise of eternal joys in heaven and an endless kingdom with the living and true God to those who received it. On hearing this the king ordered them to remain on the island where they had landed and be provided with all things necessary until he had decided what to do about them. Some knowledge about the Christian religion had already reached him because he had a Christian wife of the

needs of a household. It varied at different times and in different places and we have no means of identifying its exact size here.

[4] These would speak some form of Franconian dialect, possibly not unlike the Kentish dialect of Old English. Cenwealh, king of Wessex (iii. 7), disliked the Frankish dialect spoken by his bishop Agilbert.

regia, uocabulo Bercta,[1] quam ea condicione a parentibus acceperat, ut ritum fidei ac religionis suae cum episcopo, quem ei adiutorem fidei dederant nomine Liudhardo, inuiolatum seruare licentiam haberet.

Post dies ergo uenit ad insulam rex, et residens sub diuo[2] iussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem aduenire colloquium. Cauerat enim[a] ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, uetere usus augurio, ne superuentu suo, siquid maleficae artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. At illi non daemonica sed diuina uirtute
p. 46 praediti ueniebant, crucem pro uexillo / ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Saluatoris in tabula depictam,[3] laetaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos uenerant, salute aeterna Domino supplicabant. Cumque ad iussionem regis residentes uerbum ei uitae una cum omnibus qui aderant eius comitibus[4] praedicarent, respondit ille dicens: 'Pulchra sunt quidem[b] uerba et promissa quae adfertis; sed quia noua sunt et incerta, non his possum adsensum tribuere relictis eis, quae tanto tempore cum omni Anglorum gente seruaui. Verum quia de longe huc peregrini uenistis et, ut ego mihi uideor perspexisse, ea, quae uos uera et optima credebatis, nobis quoque communicare desiderastis, nolumus molesti esse uobis; quin potius benigno uos hospitio recipere et, quae uictui sunt uestro[c] necessaria, ministrare curamus, nec prohibemus quin omnes quos potestis fidei uestrae religionis praedicando sociatis.' Dedit ergo eis mansionem in ciuitate Doruuernensi, quae imperii sui totius erat metropolis, eisque, ut promiserat, cum administratione uictus temporalis licentiam quoque praedicandi non abstulit. Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes ciuitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetaniam consona uoce modularentur: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia

[a] autem *c2* [b] quidem sunt *c2* [c] uestro sunt *c2*

[1] Daughter of Charibert, Merovingian king of Paris. Little is known of Liudhard, not even his see, though a coin or 'medalet' with his name inscribed on it was found in a hoard of coins near St. Martin's church, outside Canterbury, in the early part of last century. It was possibly minted at Canterbury. (P. Grierson, 'The Canterbury (St. Martin's) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments', *British Numismatic Journal*, XXVII (1952–4), 41–43.)

[2] Æthelberht must have known a certain amount about the Christian religion,

Frankish royal family whose name was Bertha.[1] He had received her from her parents on condition that she should be allowed to practise her faith and religion unhindered, with a bishop named Liudhard whom they had provided for her to support her faith.

Some days afterwards the king came to the island and, sitting in the open air,[2] commanded Augustine and his comrades to come thither to talk with him. He took care that they should not meet in any building, for he held the traditional superstition that, if they practised any magic art, they might deceive him and get the better of him as soon as he entered. But they came endowed with divine not devilish power and bearing as their standard a silver cross and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a panel.[3] They chanted litanies and uttered prayers to the Lord for their own eternal salvation and the salvation of those for whom and to whom they had come. At the king's command they sat down and preached the word of life to himself and all his *gesiths*[4] there present. Then he said to them: 'The words and the promises you bring are fair enough, but because they are new to us and doubtful, I cannot consent to accept them and forsake those beliefs which I and the whole English race have held so long. But as you have come on a long pilgrimage and are anxious, I perceive, to share with us things which you believe to be true and good, we do not wish to do you harm; on the contrary, we will receive you hospitably and provide what is necessary for your support; nor do we forbid you to win all you can to your faith and religion by your preaching.' So he gave them a dwelling in the city of Canterbury, which was the chief city of all his dominions; and, in accordance with his promise, he granted them provisions and did not refuse them freedom to preach. It is related that as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of our great King and Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this

but he was probably acting on behalf of his followers rather than through personal fears when he decided to remain in the open air where the might of the magician would be less effective.

[3] Paintings on panels are known as early as the sixth century, to which date is said to belong the lid of the casket in the Lateran Museum at Rome on which is a painting of the crucifixion. Benedict Biscop brought back painted panels from Rome to the Wearmouth-Jarrow monastery. *HAB*, Plummer, I. 369, 373.

[4] In the *History* Bede uses the word *comes* for the *gesiths* or retainers of the king who had a household of their own, while he uses the word *miles* or occasionally *minister* for the *thegns* or retainers who had not yet received a private establishment.

tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus. Alleluia.'[1]

XXVI

At ubi datam sibi mansionem intrauerant, coeperunt apostolicam primitiuae ecclesiae uitam imitari, orationibus uidelicet assiduis
p. 47 uigiliis ac ieiuniis ser/uiendo, uerbum uitae quibus poterant praedicando, cuncta huius mundi uelut aliena spernendo, ea tantum quae uictui necessaria uidebantur ab eis quos docebant accipiendo, secundum ea quae docebant ipsi per omnia uiuendo, et paratum ad patiendum aduersa quaeque uel etiam moriendum pro ea quam praedicabant ueritate animum habendo. Quid mora? Crediderunt nonnulli et baptizabantur, mirantes simplicitatem innocentis uitae ac dulcedinem doctrinae eorum caelestis. Erat autem prope ipsam ciuitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta,[2] dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse praediximus, orare consuerat. In hac ergo et ipsi primo conuenire psallere orare missas facere praedicare et baptizare coeperunt, donec rege ad fidem conuerso maiorem praedicandi per omnia et ecclesias fabricandi uel restaurandi licentiam acciperent.[3]

At ubi ipse etiam inter alios delectatus uita mundissima sanctorum et promissis eorum suauissimis, quae uera esse miraculorum quoque multorum ostensione firmauerunt, credens baptizatus est, coepere plures cotidie ad audiendum Verbum confluere, ac relicto gentilitatis ritu unitati se sanctae Christi ecclesiae credendo sociare. Quorum fidei et conuersioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum, sed

[1] The prayer belongs to the Gallican Liturgy, being used as an antiphon during Rogation Day processions. These Rogation Day processions before Ascension Day were not used in Rome at this time; Augustine may have learned the practice during his journey through Gaul. That the processions were practised in Jarrow in Bede's time is clear from the story of his death written by Cuthbert (see p. 589).

[2] The church of St. Martin, on a hill just east of Canterbury, is still in use. Though the present church is post-Roman, there is sufficient Roman material incorporated in it to make it highly probable that a Roman building once stood there. (Taylor, I. 143–5.) Though Bede's words are ambiguous he seems to imply

litany in unison: 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.'[1]

CHAPTER XXVI

As soon as they had entered the dwelling-place allotted to them, they began to imitate the way of life of the apostles and of the primitive church. They were constantly engaged in prayers, in vigils and fasts; they preached the word of life to as many as they could; they despised all worldly things as foreign to them; they accepted only the necessaries of life from those whom they taught; in all things they practised what they preached and kept themselves prepared to endure adversities, even to the point of dying for the truths they proclaimed. To put it briefly, some, marvelling at their simple and innocent way of life and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine, believed and were baptized. There was near by, on the east of the city, a church built in ancient times in honour of St. Martin,[2] while the Romans were still in Britain, in which the queen who, as has been said, was a Christian, used to pray. In this church they first began to meet to chant the psalms, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize, until, when the king had been converted to the faith, they received greater liberty to preach everywhere and to build or restore churches.[3]

At last the king, as well as others, believed and was baptized, being attracted by the pure life of the saints and by their most precious promises, whose truth they confirmed by performing many miracles. Every day more and more began to flock to hear the Word, to forsake their heathen worship, and, through faith, to join the unity of Christ's holy Church. It is related that the king, although he rejoiced at their conversion and their faith, compelled no one to accept Christianity; though none the less he showed

that the dedication to St. Martin dates from Roman times. On the other hand it is possible that he may be saying that the church was ancient but not necessarily the dedication. To change the dedication when a church was rebuilt was not uncommon. Augustine himself rededicated the Roman church he found at Canterbury (i. 33).

[3] It is clear from this that there were other churches in Kent at this time, as for instance the church mentioned in i. 33. They would be the remains of ancient British or even Roman churches. Eddius in his *Life of Wilfrid* (chapter 17) mentions deserted British holy places apparently in some numbers in the neighbourhood of Ripon.

tantummodo credentes artiori dilectione,[a] quasi conciues sibi regni caelestis, amplecteretur. Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suae salutis seruitium Christi uoluntarium, non coacticium esse debere. Nec distulit quin etiam ipsis doctoribus suis locum sedis eorum gradui congruum in Doruuerni metropoli sua donaret, simul et necessarias in diuersis speciebus possessiones conferret.

XXVII

p. 48

INTEREA uir Domini Augustinus uenit Arelas, et ab archiepiscopo eiusdem ciuitatis Aetherio, iuxta quod iussa sancti patris Gregorii acceperant, archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est;[1] reuersusque Brittaniam misit continuo Romam Laurentium presbyterum[2] et Petrum monachum, qui beato pontifici Gregorio gentem Anglorum fidem Christi suscepisse ac se episcopum factum esse referrent, simul et de eis quae necessariae uidebantur quaestionibus eius consulta flagitans. Nec mora,[3] congrua quaesitui responsa recepit, quae etiam huic historiae nostrae commodum duximus indere.[4]

I. Interrogatio beati Augustini episcopi Cantuariorum ecclesiae: De episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conuersentur, uel de his, quae fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario, quantae debeant fieri portiones, et qualiter episcopus agere in ecclesia debeat.

[a] dilectioni *c2*

[1] Gregory, writing to Brunhild, queen of the Franks, in September 597, refers to Augustine as 'frater et co-episcopus noster'. As he refers to him in several letters dated July 596 as 'servus Dei', the usual title of a monk, it would appear that Augustine was consecrated bishop between those two dates (*MGH*, *Epp.* I. 426–31 and II. 7). A letter written by Gregory in July 598 to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria (*MGH*, *Epp.* II. 30), which Bede apparently did not know of, suggests that Augustine was consecrated at Arles before he reached Kent on his outward journey. If so, Bede was wrong in making Augustine return to Arles for consecration. For further discussion on this point see R. A. Markus, 'The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XIV (1963), 16–30, and Paul Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, Jarrow Lecture 1964.

[2] Laurence, one of Augustine's original companions, was his successor as archbishop of Canterbury. For further particulars of Peter see i. 33.

greater affection for believers since they were his fellow citizens in the kingdom of heaven. But he had learned from his teachers and guides in the way of salvation that the service of Christ was voluntary and ought not to be compulsory. It was not long before he granted his teachers a place to settle in, suitable to their rank, in Canterbury, his chief city, and gave them possessions of various kinds for their needs.

CHAPTER XXVII

MEANWHILE Augustine, the man of God, went to Arles and, in accordance with the command of the holy father Gregory, was consecrated archbishop of the English race[1] by Etherius, the archbishop of that city. He returned to Britain and at once sent to Rome the priest Laurence[2] and the monk Peter to inform the pope St. Gregory that the English race had received the faith of Christ and that he himself had been made their bishop. At the same time he asked his advice about certain questions which seemed urgent. He received fitting answers to his inquiry without delay,[3] and we have thought proper to insert them in our *History*.[4]

I. The first question of St. Augustine, bishop of the Kentish church. How should bishops live with their clergy? How are the offerings which the faithful bring to the altar to be apportioned, and how ought a bishop to act in the church?

[3] As the *Libellus Responsionum* (= *HE*, I. 27) is dated July 601 (*MGH*, *Epp.* II. 332) it is clear that if Gregory really answered Augustine's letters at once, Laurence and Peter can hardly have left for Rome before late 600.

[4] There has recently been much discussion as to the authenticity of the *Libellus Responsionum*. Boniface was unable to get a copy from the Roman archives in 736, but it does not follow that this was not Gregory's work. Indeed the answers bear the marks of Gregory's style and a number of Gregorian echoes have been found in them. Several manuscripts of the *Libellus* survive, differing from each other in certain respects. Bede was in possession of a copy and used it as early as 721 in his *Prose Life of St. Cuthbert*. It is almost certainly the copy which he used here ten years later for the *History*. The somewhat unorthodox concessions allowed in the answer to question five, on the subject of unlawful marriages, do not appear in the oldest surviving manuscripts and are probably a later addition intended to cater for Germanic conditions. The answer is very unlike what St. Gregory would have written and is not in accord with general papal practice. See S. Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Großen*, pp. 48–110, and Paul Meyvaert, 'Les Responsions de S. Grégoire à S. Augustin de Cantorbéry', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LIV (1959), 879–94.

Respondit Gregorius papa urbis Romae: Sacra scriptura testatur, quam te bene nosse dubium non est, et specialiter beati Pauli ad Timotheum epistulae, in quibus eum erudire studuit, qualiter in domo Dei conuersari debuisset.[1] Mos autem sedis apostolicae est ordinatis episcopis praecepta tradere, ut omni stipendio quod accedit quattuor debeant fieri portiones: una uidelicet episcopo et familiae propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem, alia clero, tertia pauperibus, quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis in ecclesia Anglorum, quae auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus
p. 49 eorum ex his / quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia.[2] Siqui uero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines constituti, qui se continere non possunt,[3] sortire uxores debent, et stipendia sua exterius accipere; quia et de hisdem patribus, de quibus praefati sumus, nouimus scriptum, quod diuidebatur singulis, prout cuique opus erat.[4] De eorum quoque stipendio cogitandum atque prouidendum est, et sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus uiuant et canendis psalmis inuigilent, et ab omnibus inlicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conseruent. Communi autem uita uiuentibus iam de faciendis portionibus uel exhibenda hospitalitate et adimplenda misericordia nobis quid erit loquendum?—cum omne quod superest in causis piis ac religiosis erogandum est, Domino magistro omnium docente: 'Quod superest, date elemosinam, et ecce omnia munda sunt uobis.'[5]

II. Interrogatio Augustini: Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diuersae consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia atque altera in Galliarum tenetur?

Respondit Gregorius papa: Nouit fraternitas tua Romanae ecclesiae consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet ut, siue in Romana siue in Galliarum seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid inuenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit

[1] 1 Tim. 3: 15. [2] Act. 4: 32.

[3] Marriage was forbidden to all clergy from the rank of sub-deacon upwards all through the middle ages.

[4] Act. 4: 35. [5] Luc. 11: 41.

Pope Gregory, bishop of the city of Rome answered: The sacred scriptures with which you are doubtless very familiar bear witness to this and especially the epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, in which he took pains to instruct him how he ought to behave himself in the house of God.[1] It is a custom of the apostolic see to give instruction to those who have been consecrated bishops that all money received should be divided into four portions: that is, one for the bishop and his household for purposes of hospitality and entertainment, a second for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the repair of churches. But because you, brother, are conversant with monastic rules, and ought not to live apart from your clergy in the English Church, which, by the guidance of God, has lately been converted to the faith, you ought to institute that manner of life which our fathers followed in the earliest beginnings of the Church: none of them said that anything he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common.[2] If, however, there are any who are clerics but in minor orders and who cannot be continent,[3] they should marry and receive their stipends outside the community; for we know that it is written concerning those fathers whom we have mentioned that division was to be made to each according to his need.[4] Care must also be taken and provision made for their stipends and they must be kept under ecclesiastical rule, living a moral life and attending to the chanting of the psalms and, under God's guidance, keeping their heart, their tongue, and their body from all things unlawful. And what need we say to those who lead a common life about assigning portions or dispensing hospitality or giving alms? For all that is over is to be spent for holy and religious purposes as the Lord and Master of all teaches: 'Give alms of what you have over and behold all things are clean unto you.'[5]

II. Augustine's second question. Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? and is there one form of mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?

Pope Gregory answered: My brother, you know the customs of the Roman Church in which, of course, you were brought up. But it is my wish that if you have found any customs in the Roman or the Gaulish church or any other church which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should make a careful selection of

placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quae adhuc ad fidem noua est, institutione praecipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta sunt elige, et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.[1]

III. Interrogatio Augustini: Obsecro, quid pati debeat, siquis aliquid de ecclesia furtu[a] abstulit.

p. 50 Respondit Gregorius: Hoc tua fraternitas ex persona furis pensare potest, qualiter ualeat corrigi. Sunt enim quidam, qui habentes subsidia furtum perpetrant, et sunt alii, qui hac in re inopia delinquunt; unde necesse est, ut quidam damnis, quidam uero uerberibus, et quidam districtius, quidam autem lenius corrigantur. Et cum paulo districtius agitur, ex caritate agendum est et non ex furore, quia ipsi hoc praestatur qui corrigitur, ne gehennae ignibus tradatur. Sic enim nos fidelibus tenere disciplinam debemus, sicut boni patres carnalibus filiis solent, quos et pro culpis uerberibus feriunt, et tamen ipsos quos doloribus adfligunt habere heredes quaerunt, et quae possident, ipsis seruant quos irati insequi uidentur. Haec ergo caritas in mente tenenda est, et ipsa modum correctionis dictat, ita ut mens extra rationis regulam omnino nihil faciat. Addes etiam quomodo ea, quae furtu de ecclesiis abstulerint, reddere debeant. Sed absit ut ecclesia cum augmento recipiat quod de terrenis rebus uideatur amittere, et lucra de uanis quaerere.[2]

IIII. Interrogatio Augustini: Si debeant duo germani fratres singulas sorores accipere, quae sunt ab illis longa progenie generatae.

Respondit Gregorius: Hoc fieri modis omnibus licet; nequaquam enim in sacris eloquiis inuenitur, quod huic capitulo contradicere uideatur.

[a] furto *c*

[1] The last sentence has been altered so as to spoil the sense. As the earliest manuscripts of the *Libellus* prove, it should read: *et haec quasi in uasculo collecta, apud Anglorum mensam in consuetudine depone.* 'When you have collected them as it were into one pot, put them on the English table for their use.' This is a much more vivid and intelligible remark.

them and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which is still new in the faith, what you have been able to gather from other churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things. Therefore choose from every individual Church whatever things are devout, religious, and right. And when you have collected these as it were into one bundle, see that the minds of the English grow accustomed to it.[1]

III. Augustine's third question. I beg you to tell me how one who robs a church should be punished.

Gregory answered: My brother, you must judge from the thief's circumstances what punishment he ought to have. For there are some who commit theft though they have resources, while others transgress in this matter through poverty. So some must be punished by fines, some by a flogging, some severely and others more leniently. And when the punishment is more severe, it must be administered in love and not in anger, for it is bestowed on the one who is punished so that he shall not be delivered up to hell fire. We ought to maintain discipline among the faithful as good fathers do with their children according to the flesh; they beat them with stripes for their faults and yet the very ones they chastise, they intend to make their heirs; and they keep whatever they possess for those whom they appear to persecute in their anger. So we must always keep love in mind and love must dictate the method of correction, so that we do not decide on anything unreasonable. You should also add that they ought to restore whatever they have stolen from a church. But God forbid that the Church should make a profit out of the earthly things it seems to lose and so seek to gain from such vanities.[2]

IV. Augustine's fourth question. May two brothers marry two sisters provided they belong to a family not related to them?

Gregory answered: This is entirely permissible, for there is nothing in the sacred writings on this point which seems to forbid it.

[2] For *uanis* in Bede's text the older manuscripts of the *Libellus* read *damnis*, 'fines', which makes much better sense. In the Laws of Æthelberht heavy compensation up to twelve times the amount stolen is demanded for a theft from a church, without any consideration of motive (*EHD*, I. 357). Cf. p. 150, n. 2.

V. Interrogatio Augustini: Vsque ad quotam generationem fideles debeant[a] cum propinquis sibi coniugio copulari; et nouercis et cognatis si liceat copulari coniugio.

Respondit Gregorius:[1] Quaedam terrena lex in Romana republica permittit, ut siue frater et soror seu duorum fratrum germanorum uel duarum sororum filius et filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali coniugio sobolem non posse succrescere, et sacra lex prohibet cognationis turpitudinem reuelare.
p. 51 Vnde necesse est, ut iam / tertia uel quarta generatio fidelium licenter sibi iungi debeat; nam secunda, quam praediximus, a se omnimodo debet abstinere. Cum nouerca autem miscere graue est facinus, quia et in lege scriptum est: 'Turpitudinem patris tui non reuelabis.'[2] Neque enim patris turpitudinem filius reuelare potest; sed quia scriptum est: 'Erunt duo in carne una',[3] qui turpitudinem nouercae, quae una caro cum patre fuit, reuelare praesumserit, profecto patris turpitudinem reuelauit. Cum cognata quoque miscere prohibitum est, quia per coniunctionem[b] priorem caro fratris fuerit facta. Pro qua re etiam Iohannes Baptista capite truncatus est et sancto martyrio consummatus, cui non est dictum ut Christum negaret, et[c][4] pro Christi confessione occisus est; sed quia isdem Dominus noster Iesus Christus dixerat: 'Ego sum ueritas,'[5] quia pro ueritate Iohannes occisus est, uidelicet et pro Christo sanguinem fudit.

Quia uero sunt multi in Anglorum gente qui, dum adhuc in infidelitate essent, huic nefando coniugio dicuntur admixti, ad fidem uenientes admonendi sunt, ut se abstineant, et graue hoc esse peccatum cognoscant. Tremendum Dei iudicium timeant, ne pro carnali dilectione tormenta aeterni cruciatus incurrant. Non tamen pro hac re sacri corporis ac sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt, ne in eis illa ulcisci uideantur, in quibus se per ignorantiam ante lauacrum baptismatis adstrinxerunt. In hoc enim tempore sancta ecclesia quaedam per feruorem corrigit, quaedam per mansuetudinem tolerat, quaedam per considerationem dissimulat, atque ita portat et dissimulat, ut saepe malum quod aduersatur portando et dissimulando conpescat. Omnes autem qui

[a] debeant fideles *c* [b] iunctionem *c* [c] *The sense requires* nec; *Bede's copy of the* Responsiones *was already corrupted*

[1] For the doubtful authenticity of this fifth answer see p. 79, n. 4. Though it occurs in all the early manuscripts of Bede's *History*, yet in a number of them, of which the earliest extant is the Moore MS., a sort of antidote has been added in the form of extracts from Isidore on prohibited degrees of marriage and the decree of Gregory II in the Roman Council of 721, both of which are stricter than this version. See Introduction, pp. lxii ff.

V. Augustine's fifth question. Within what degree may the faithful marry their kindred; and is it lawful to marry a stepmother or a sister-in-law?

Gregory answered:[1] A certain secular law in the Roman State allows that the son and daughter of a brother and sister, or of two brothers or two sisters may be married. But we have learned from experience that the offspring of such marriages cannot thrive. Sacred law forbids a man to uncover the nakedness of his kindred; hence it is necessary that the faithful should only marry relations three or four times removed, while those twice removed must not marry in any case, as we have said. It is a grave sin to marry one's stepmother, because it is written in the law: 'Thou shalt not uncover thy father's nakedness.'[2] Now the son cannot uncover his father's nakedness, but because it is written, 'They twain shall be one flesh',[3] he who presumes to uncover his stepmother's nakedness who was one flesh with his father at the same time uncovers his father's nakedness. So also it is forbidden to marry a brother's wife, because by a former union she had become one flesh with his brother. For this reason also John the Baptist was beheaded and won holy martyrdom. He was not bidden to deny Christ nor was he executed[4] for his confession of Christ. But since our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'I am the truth',[5] and John was killed for the sake of the truth, therefore he shed his blood for Christ.

Now because there are many of the English race who, while they were unbelievers, are said to have contracted these unlawful marriages, when they accept the faith, they should be warned that they must abstain, because such marriages are a grave sin. Let them fear the heavy judgement of God, lest, for the gratification of their carnal desires, they incur the pains of eternal punishment. Nevertheless they are not to be deprived of the communion of the sacred Body and Blood of the Lord for this cause, lest they seem to be punished for sins which they committed through ignorance, before they received the washing of baptism. For in these days the holy Church corrects some things with zeal and tolerates some things with gentleness, while in her wisdom she connives at other things and so by forbearance and connivance often succeeds in checking the evil which she resists. But all who come to the faith

[2] Levit. 18: 7. [3] Matth. 19: 5.
[4] The reading of the older texts of the *Libellus* is *nec pro Christi.*
[5] Ioh. 14: 6.

ad fidem ueniunt admonendi sunt, ne tale aliquid audeant perpetrare. Siqui autem perpetrauerint, corporis et sanguinis Domini communione priuandi sunt, quia, sicut in his qui per ignorantiam
p. 52 fecerunt aliquatenus toleranda / est, ita in his fortiter insequenda, qui non metuunt sciendo peccare.

VI. Interrogatio Augustini: Si longinquitas itineris magna interiacet, ut episcopi non facile ualeant conuenire, an debeat sine aliorum episcoporum praesentia episcopus ordinari.

Respondit Gregorius: Et quidem in Anglorum ecclesia, in qua adhuc solus tu episcopus inueniris, ordinare episcopum non aliter nisi sine episcopis potes. Nam quando de Gallis episcopi ueniunt, qui in ordinatione episcopi testes adsistant? Sed fraternitatem tuam ita uolumus episcopos ordinare, ut ipsi sibi episcopi longo interuallo minime disiungantur,[a] quatinus nulla sit necessitas ut in ordinatione episcopi pastores quoque alii, quorum praesentia ualde est utilis, facile debeant conuenire. Cum igitur auctore Deo ita fuerint episcopi in propinquis sibi locis ordinati, per omnia episcoporum ordinatio sine adgregatis tribus uel quattuor episcopis fieri non debet. Nam in ipsis rebus spiritalibus, ut sapienter et mature disponantur, exemplum trahere a rebus etiam carnalibus possumus. Certe enim dum coniugia in mundo celebrantur, coniugati quique conuocantur, ut qui in uia iam coniugii praecesserunt, in subsequentis quoque copulae gaudio misceantur. Cur non ergo et in hac spiritali ordinatione, qua per sacrum ministerium homo Deo coniungitur, tales conueniant, qui uel in prouectu ordinati episcopi gaudeant, uel pro eius custodia omnipotenti Deo preces pariter fundant?

VII. Interrogatio Augustini: Qualiter debemus cum Galliarum atque Brittaniarum episcopis agere?

Respondit Gregorius: In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus, quia ab antiquis prodecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos
p. 53 priuare auctoritate percepta minime / debemus. Si igitur contingat ut fraternitas tua ad Galliarum prouinciam transeat, cum eodem Arelatense episcopo debet agere qualiter, siqua sunt in episcopis uitia, corrigantur. Qui si forte in disciplinae[b] uigore tepidus existat, tuae fraternitatis zelo accendendus est. Cui etiam epistulas

[a] disiunguntur *m* [b] disciplinis *m*

must be warned not to perpetrate any such crime. If any do so, then they shall be deprived of the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord; for as the sin is in some measure to be tolerated in those who did it through ignorance, so it must be strenuously prosecuted in those who presume to sin knowingly.

VI. Augustine's sixth question. Whether a bishop may be consecrated without other bishops being present, if they are at so great a distance from one another that they cannot easily meet.

Gregory answered: In the English Church of which you are as yet the only bishop, it is not possible for you to consecrate a bishop otherwise than alone. For how often do bishops come from Gaul who can assist as witnesses at the consecration of a bishop? But, my brother, we wish you to consecrate bishops in order that they may not be separated by long distances, and thus there will be no lack, so that at the consecration of a bishop, other pastors also may easily be present: for their presence is extremely useful. When therefore, by God's help, bishops have been consecrated in places near to one another, no consecration of a bishop should take place under any circumstances, except in the presence of three or four bishops. For even in spiritual affairs we may take example from things of the flesh in order that they may be conducted wisely and discreetly. When marriages are celebrated in the world, certain married people are invited so that those who have preceded them in the path of matrimony may also share in the joy of the union of those who follow them. Why then, in the spiritual consecration too in which a man is joined to God in the sacred ministry, should not such persons meet together so that they may rejoice in the elevation of the newly consecrated bishop and also pour out their prayers to Almighty God for his preservation?

VII. Augustine's seventh question. How ought we to deal with the bishops of Gaul and Britain?

Gregory answered: We give you no authority over the bishops of Gaul because the bishop of Arles received the pallium long ago in the days of my predecessors and we must on no account deprive him of the authority he has received. So, my brother, if you chance to cross over to the province of Gaul, you must consult with the bishop of Arles as to how such faults as are found among the bishops may be amended. If he should happen to be slack in his discipline he must be kindled by your zeal. We have also sent

fecimus, ut cum tuae sanctitatis praesentia in Gallis et ipse tota mente subueniat, et quae sunt Creatoris nostri iussioni contraria, ab episcoporum moribus conpescat. Ipse autem extra auctoritatem propriam episcopos Galliarum iudicare non poteris; sed suadendo, blandiendo, bona quoque opera eorum imitationi monstrando prauorum mentes ad sanctitatis studia reforma, quia scriptum est in lege: 'Per alienam messem transiens falcem mittere non debet, sed manu spicas conterere et manducare.'[1] Falcem enim iudicii mittere non potes in ea segete, quae alteri uidetur esse commissa, sed per affectum boni operis frumenta dominica uitiorum suorum paleis expolia, et in ecclesiae corpore monendo et persuadendo quasi mandendo conuerte. Quicquid uero ex auctoritate agendum est, cum praedicto Arelatense episcopo agatur, ne praetermitti possit hoc, quod antiqua patrum institutio inuenit. Brittaniarum uero omnes episcopos tuae fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, peruersi auctoritate corrigantur.

VIII. Interrogatio Augustini: Si pregnans mulier debeat baptizari; aut postquam genuerit, post quantum tempus possit ecclesiam intrare; aut etiam, ne morte praeoccupetur quod genuerit, post quot dies hoc liceat sacri baptismatis sacramenta percipere; aut post quantum temporis[a] huic uir suus possit in carnis copulatione coniungi; aut, si menstrua consuetudine tenetur, an ecclesiam intrare ei liceat aut sacrae communionis sacramenta percipere; aut uir suae coniugi permixtus, priusquam
p. 54 lauetur aqua, si ecclesiam possit intrare, uel etiam ad / mysterium communionis sacrae accedere. Quae omnia rudi Anglorum genti oportet habere conperta.

Respondit Gregorius: Hoc non ambigo fraternitatem tuam esse requisitam, cui iam et responsum reddidisse me arbitror; sed hoc, quod ipse dicere et sentire potuisti, credo quia mea apud te uolueris responsione firmari. Mulier etenim pregnans cur non debeat baptizari, cum non sit ante omnipotentis Dei oculos culpa aliqua fecunditas carnis? Nam cum primi parentes nostri in Paradiso deliquissent, inmortalitatem quam acceperant recto Dei iudicio perdiderunt. Quia itaque isdem omnipotens Deus

[a] tempus *c*

[1] Cf. Deut. 23: 25.

letters to him bidding him profit by the presence of your Holiness in Gaul, to use his utmost efforts to check whatever is contrary to our Creator's commands in the conduct of the bishops. You have no right to judge the bishops of Gaul, who are outside your jurisdiction; but, by persuading and winning them and by showing them a good example to imitate, you may restore the minds of the depraved to a zeal for holiness. It is written in the Law: 'When you pass through the standing corn of another, you shall not put a sickle into it: but you may rub the ears with your hands and eat.'[1] You cannot put the sickle of judgement into that harvest which you see has been entrusted to another: but by the influence of good works you may clear the Lord's wheat from the chaff of its vices and by warning and persuasion transform it into the Church's body as though by eating it. But whatever has to be done by the exercise of authority is to be done in collaboration with the bishop of Arles, lest a rule should be neglected which was established by the ancient disposition of the fathers, but we commit to you, my brother, all the bishops of Britain that the unlearned may be instructed, the weak strengthened by your counsel, and the perverse corrected by your authority.

VIII. Augustine's eighth question. Should a pregnant woman be baptized? And when the child has been born how much time should elapse before she can enter the church? And after how many days may the child receive the sacrament of holy baptism so as to forestall its possible death; and after what length of time may her husband have intercourse with her; and is it lawful for her to enter the church if she is in her periods or to receive the sacrament of holy communion? Or may a man who has had intercourse with his wife enter the church before he has washed; or approach the mystery of the holy communion? All these things the ignorant English people need to know.

Gregory answered: I do not doubt, my brother, that you have been asked such questions and I think I have already given you the answer. But I believe that you merely wish that what you yourself may have thought and felt should be confirmed by my answer. Why indeed should a pregnant woman not be baptized, since the fruitfulness of the body is no sin in the eyes of Almighty God? For when our first parents had sinned in Paradise they forfeited by God's just judgement that immortality which they had received. And so because Almighty God had no desire to wipe

humanum genus pro culpa sua funditus extinguere noluit, et inmortalitatem homini pro peccato suo abstulit et tamen pro benignitate suae pietatis fecunditatem ei subolis reseruauit. Quod ergo naturae humanae ex omnipotentis Dei dono seruatum est, qua ratione poterit a sacri baptismatis gratia prohibere? In illo quippe mysterio, in quo omnis culpa funditus extinguitur, ualde stultum est, si donum gratiae contradicere posse uideatur.

Cum uero enixa fuerit mulier, post quot dies debeat ecclesiam intrare, Testamenti ueteris praeceptione didicisti, ut pro masculo diebus XXXIII, pro femina autem diebus LXVI debeat abstinere.[1] Quod tamen sciendum est, quia in mysterio accipitur. Nam si hora eadem qua genuerit actura gratias intrat ecclesiam, nullo peccati pondere grauatur; uoluptas etenim carnis, non dolor in culpa est. In carnis autem commixtione uoluptas est; nam in prolis prolatione gemitus, unde et ipsi primae matri omnium dicitur: 'In doloribus paries.'[2] Si itaque enixam mulierem prohibemus ecclesiam intrare, ipsam ei poenam suam in culpam deputamus.

Baptizare autem uel[a] enixam mulierem uel hoc quod genuerit, si mortis periculo urguetur, uel ipsam hora eadem qua gignit, uel hoc quod gignitur eadem qua natum est, nullo modo prohibetur, quia sancti mysterii gratia, sicut uiuentibus atque discernentibus
p. 55 cum / magna discretione prouidenda est, ita his quibus mors inminet sine ulla dilatione offerenda, ne dum adhuc tempus ad praebendum redemtionis mysterium quaeritur, interueniente paululum mora inueniri non ualeat qui redimatur.

Ad eius uero concubitum uir suus accedere non debet, quoadusque qui gignitur ablactatur. Praua autem in coniugatorum moribus consuetudo surrexit, ut mulieres filios quos gignunt nutrire contemnant, eosque aliis mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant, quod uidelicet ex sola causa incontinentiae uidetur inuentum, quia dum se continere nolunt, despiciunt lactare quos gignunt. Hae itaque, quae filios suos ex praua consuetudine aliis ad nutriendum tradunt, nisi purgationis tempus transierit, uiris suis non debent admisceri, quippe quia et sine partus causa, cum in suetis menstruis detinentur, uiris suis misceri prohibentur, ita ut morte

[a] uel *om. c2*

[1] Levit. 12: 4, 5.

[2] Gen. 3: 16.

out the human race entirely on account of its sin, He deprived man of immortality because of his transgression and yet in his loving-kindness and mercy He preserved man's power of propagating the race after him. For what reason then is that which has been preserved for human nature by the gift of Almighty God a cause for debarring anyone from the grace of holy baptism? In this mystery in which all guilt is utterly blotted out, it would be extremely foolish if a gift of grace could be considered an objection.

When a woman has been delivered, after how many days ought she to enter the church? You know by the teaching of the Old Testament that she should keep away for thirty-three days if the child is a boy and sixty-six days if it is a girl.[1] This, however, must be understood figuratively. For if she enters the church even at the very hour of her delivery, for the purpose of giving thanks, she is not guilty of any sin: it is the pleasure of the flesh, not its pain, which is at fault. But it is in the intercourse of the flesh that the pleasure lies; for in bringing forth the infant there is pain. That is why it was said to the first mother of all: 'In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children.'[2] So if we forbid a woman who has been delivered to enter the church, we reckon her punishment as a sin.

But there is nothing to hinder you from baptizing a woman who has been delivered or her infant either, if there is danger of death, even at the very hour when one is delivered and the other born. For while the grace of the holy mystery is to be discreetly provided for those who are still alive and have understanding, let it be administered without delay to those who are on the point of death for fear that while we are waiting for a suitable time to administer the mystery of redemption, if there should be even a very small interval of delay, the person to be redeemed could no longer be found.

Her husband should not approach his bedfellow until her infant is weaned. But an evil custom has arisen among married people that women scorn to suckle the children they have borne, but hand them over to other women to be suckled; and this presumably has arisen solely as a result of incontinence because, as they will not be continent, they are unwilling to suckle their infants. And so those women who in accordance with this evil custom hand over their children to others to be nourished must not have intercourse with their husbands until the time of purification has passed. For apart from child-birth, women are forbidden from intercourse with their husbands during their ordinary

lex sacra feriat, siquis uir ad menstruatam mulierem accedat.[1] Quae tamen mulier, dum consuetudinem menstruam patitur, prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet, quia ei naturae superfluitas in culpam non ualet reputari, et per hoc quod inuita patitur iustum non est ut ingressu ecclesiae priuetur. Nouimus namque quod mulier, quae fluxum patiebatur sanguinis, post tergum Domini humiliter ueniens uestimenti eius fimbriam tetigit, atque ab ea statim sua infirmitas recessit.[2] Si ergo in fluxu sanguinis posita laudabiliter potuit Domini uestimentum tangere, cur quae menstruam sanguinis patitur, ei non liceat Domini ecclesiam intrare? Sed dices: Illam infirmitas conpulit, has uero de quibus loquimur consuetudo constringit. Perpende autem, frater carissime, quia omne, quod in hac mortali carne patimur ex infirmitate naturae, est digno Dei iudicio post culpam ordinatum; esurire namque, sitire, aestuare, algere, lassescere ex infirmitate naturae est. Et quid est aliud contra famem alimenta, contra sitim potum, contra /
p. 56 aestum auras, contra frigus uestem, contra lassitudinem requiem quaerere, nisi medicamentum quidem contra egritudines explorare? Feminae itaque et menstruus sui sanguinis fluxus egritudo est. Si igitur bene praesumsit, quae uestimentum Domini in languore posita tetigit, quod uni personae infirmanti conceditur, cur non concedatur cunctis mulieribus, quae naturae suae uitio infirmantur?

Sanctae autem communionis mysterium in eisdem diebus percipere non debet prohiberi. Si autem ex ueneratione magna percipere non praesumit, laudanda est; sed si perciperit, non iudicanda. Bonarum quippe mentium est, et ibi aliquo modo culpas suas agnoscere ubi culpa non est, quia saepe sine culpa agitur quod uenit ex culpa; unde etiam cum esuriemus, sine culpa comedimus, quibus ex culpa primi hominis factum est ut esuriamus. Menstrua enim consuetudo mulieribus non aliqua culpa est, uidelicet quae naturaliter accedit; sed tamen quod natura ipsa ita uitiata est, ut etiam sine uoluntatis studio uideatur esse polluta, ex culpa uenit uitium, in quo se ipsa, qualis per iudicium facta sit, humana natura cognoscat, et homo, qui culpam sponte perpetrauit, reatum culpae portet inuitus. Atque ideo feminae cum semet ipsis

[1] Levit. 20: 18. [2] Matth. 9: 20.

periods: so much so that the sacred law condemned to death anyone who approached a menstruous woman.[1] Nevertheless a woman must not be prohibited from entering a church during her usual periods, for this natural overflowing cannot be reckoned a crime: and so it is not fair that she should be deprived from entering the church for that which she suffers unwillingly. For we know that the woman who was suffering from the issue of blood humbly came behind the Lord's back and touched the hem of his garment and immediately her infirmity left her.[2] So if she, when she had an issue of blood, could touch the Lord's garment and win commendation, why is it not lawful for a woman in her periods to enter the Lord's church? But you will say, 'She was driven by her infirmity; but these we speak of are fettered by the natural order of things.' Consider then, most beloved brother, that all that we suffer in this mortal flesh through the infirmity of nature is ordained by the just judgement of God as a result of sin. For hunger and thirst, heat, cold, and weariness are the result of the infirmity of our nature. And if we seek food when hungry, drink when thirsty, fresh air when hot, clothes when cold, and rest when weary, what else are we doing but seeking a remedy for our sicknesses? So a woman's menstruous flow of blood is an infirmity. Therefore if that woman who, in her infirmity, touched our Lord's garment was justified in her boldness, why is it that what was permitted to one was not permitted to all women who are afflicted through the weakness of their natures?

A woman ought not to be forbidden to receive the mystery of the Holy Communion at these times. If, out of deep reverence she does not venture to receive it, that is praiseworthy; but if she has received it she is not to be judged. It is the part of noble minds to acknowledge their faults to some extent even when no fault exists, for an action is often itself faultless, though it originates in a fault. So when we are hungry it is no sin to eat even though our hunger is the result of the sin of the first man. A woman's periods are not sinful, because they happen naturally. But nevertheless, because our nature is itself so depraved that it appears to be polluted even without the consent of the will, the depravity arises from sin, and human nature itself recognizes its depravity to be a judgement upon it; so mankind having wilfully committed sin must bear the guilt of sin though unwillingly. Let women make up their own minds and if they do not venture to approach the

considerent, et si in menstrua consuetudine ad sacramentum dominici corporis et sanguinis accedere non praesumant, de sua recta consideratione laudandae sunt; dum uero percipiendo ex religiosae uitae consuetudine eiusdem mysterii amore rapiuntur, reprimendae, sicut praediximus, non sunt. Sicut enim in Testamento ueteri exteriora opera obseruantur, ita in Testamento nouo non tam quod exterius agitur quam id quod interius cogitatur[a] sollicita intentione adtenditur, ut subtili sententia puniatur. Nam cum multa lex uelut inmunda manducare prohibeat, in euangelio
p. 57 tamen / Dominus dicit: 'Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quae exeunt de ore, illa sunt quae coinquinant hominem',[1] atque paulo post subiecit exponens: 'Ex corde exeunt cogitationes malae.'[2] Vbi ubertim indicatum est, quia illud ab omnipotente Deo pollutum esse in opere ostenditur, quod ex pollutae cogitationis radice generatur. Vnde Paulus quoque apostolus dicit: 'Omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem et infidelibus nihil est mundum',[3] atque mox eiusdem causam coinquinationis adnuntians subiungit: 'Coinquinata sunt enim et mens eorum et conscientia.'[3] Si ergo ei cibus inmundus non est, cui mens inmunda non fuerit, cur, quod munda mente mulier ex natura patitur, ei in inmunditiam reputetur?

Vir autem cum propria coniuge dormiens, nisi lotus aqua, intrare ecclesiam non debet; sed neque lotus intrare statim debet. Lex autem ueteri populo praecepit, ut mixtus uir mulieri et lauari aqua debeat et ante solis occasum ecclesiam non intrare[4] (quod tamen intellegi spiritaliter potest, quia mulieri uir miscetur, quando inlicitae concupiscentiae animus in cogitatione per delectationem[5] coniungitur), quia, nisi prius ignis concupiscentiae a mente deferueat, dignum se congregationi fratrum aestimare non debet, qui se grauari per nequitiam prauae uoluntatis uidet. Quamuis de hac re diuersae hominum nationes diuersa sentiant atque alia custodire uideantur, Romanorum tamen semper ab antiquioribus usus fuit, post ammixtionem propriae coniugis et lauacri purificationem quaerere et ab ingressu ecclesiae paululum reuerenter abstinere. Nec haec dicentes culpam deputamus esse coniugium; sed quia ipsa licita ammixtio coniugis sine uoluntate carnis fieri non potest, a sacri loci ingressu abstinendum est, quia

[a] cogitatus *c2*

[1] Matth. 15: 11. [2] Matth. 15: 19. [3] Tit. 1: 15.

[4] Cf. Levit. 15: 16.

[5] Translating *per delectationem*. The older texts of the *Libellus* read *per deliberationem*, 'with the intention of'.

sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord when in their periods, they are to be praised for their right thinking: but when as the result of the habits of a religious life, they are carried away by the love of the same mystery, they are not to be prevented, as we said before. For as in the Old Testament it is the outward deeds that are observed, so in the New Testament careful heed is paid not so much to what is done outwardly as to what is thought inwardly, so that the punishment may be rendered on subtler grounds. For as the law forbids the eating of many things as unclean, nevertheless in the gospel the Lord said: 'Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man: but that which cometh out of the mouth, that defileth a man.'[1] And shortly afterwards He added in explanation, 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.'[2] Whence it is abundantly clear that that is shown by Almighty God to be polluted indeed which is rooted in a polluted thought. So the Apostle Paul also says: 'Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure.'[3] And further on, declaring the cause of that defilement he adds: 'For even their mind and conscience is defiled.'[3] Therefore if no food is impure to him whose mind is pure, why should that which a pure-minded woman endures from natural causes be imputed to her as uncleanness?

A man who has had intercourse with his wife ought not to enter the church unless he has washed himself; and even when washed he ought not to enter immediately. Now the law commanded the ancient people that when a man had intercourse with a woman he ought to wash himself and should not enter the church before sunset;[4] but this can be explained in a spiritual sense. A man has intercourse with a woman when his mind is united with her in thought in the delights of[5] illicit concupiscence, so unless the fire of concupiscence is first quenched in his mind he should not consider himself worthy of the company of his brethren while he sees himself burdened by the sinfulness of depraved desire. Although different nations think differently in this matter and appear to observe different rules, yet it has always been the custom of the Romans from ancient times, after intercourse with one's own wife to seek purification by washing and reverently to abstain from entering the church for a brief period. In saying this we do not reckon marriage as a sin; but because even lawful intercourse cannot take place without fleshly desire, it is right to abstain from

uoluntas ipsa esse sine culpa nullatenus potest. Non enim de
p. 58 adulterio uel fornicatione sed de / legitimo coniugio natus fuerat, qui dicebat: 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea.'[1] Qui enim in iniquitatibus conceptum se nouerat, a delicto se natum gemebat, quia portat in ramo umorem uitii, quem traxit ex radice. In quibus tamen uerbis non ammixtionem coniugum iniquitatem nominat, sed ipsam uidelicet uoluntatem ammixtionis. Sunt etenim multa quae licita ac legitima, et tamen in eorum actu aliquatenus fedamur, sicut saepe irascendo culpas insequimur et tranquillitatem in nobis animi perturbamus; et cum rectum sit quod agitur, non est tamen adprobabile quod in eo animus perturbatur. Contra uitia quippe delinquentium iratus fuerat, qui dicebat: 'Turbatus est prae ira oculus meus.'[2] Quia enim non ualet nisi tranquilla mens in contemplationis se lucem suspendere, in ira suum oculum turbatum dolebat, quia, dum male acta deorsum insequitur, confundi atque turbari a summorum contemplatione cogebatur. Et laudabilis ergo est ira contra uitium, et tamen molesta, qua[a] turbatum se aliquem reatum incurrisse aestimabat. Oportet itaque legitimam carnis copulam, ut causa prolis sit non uoluntatis, et carnis commixtio creandorum liberorum sit gratia, non satisfactio uitiorum. Siquis uero suam coniugem non cupidine uoluptatis raptus sed solummodo creandorum liberorum gratia utitur, iste profecto siue de ingressu ecclesiae seu de sumendo dominici corporis sanguinisque mysterio suo est iudicio relinquendus, quia a nobis prohiberi non debet accipere, qui in igne positus nescit ardere. Cum uero non amor ortandi subolis sed uoluntas dominatur in opere commixtionis, habent coniuges etiam de sua commixtione quod defleant. Hoc enim eis concedit sancta praedicatio, et tamen de ipsa concessione metu animum concutit. Nam cum Paulus
p. 59 apostolus diceret: 'Qui se continere non / potest, habeat uxorem suam',[3] statim subiungere curauit: 'Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium.'[4] Non enim indulgetur quod licet, quia iustum est: quod igitur indulgere dixit, culpam esse demonstrauit. Vigilanti uero mente pensandum est, quod in

[a] quia *c*

[1] Ps. 50 (51): 7 (5). [2] Ps. 6: 8. [3] 1 Cor. 7: 2, 9.
[4] 1 Cor. 7: 6.

entering a sacred place, for the desire itself can by no means be without sin. The man who said, 'Behold I was conceived in iniquity and in sin my mother brought me forth'[1] was not born of adultery or fornication but of lawful wedlock. He knew himself to have been conceived in iniquity and lamented that he was born of sin: for, like a tree, he bears in the branch the sap of evil which he drew from the root: in these words, however, he does not declare the intercourse of married people to be a sin, but only the desire for intercourse. There are indeed many things which are right and lawful and yet we are to some extent defiled in doing them; thus often by being angry we censure the faults of others and disturb our own peace of mind; though what we do is right, it is nevertheless not to be approved that in so doing our peace of mind is disturbed. He who said, 'My eye was disturbed with anger',[2] had been roused to wrath against the vices of sinners. Since it is only a calm mind that can bask in the light of contemplation, so he was grieved because his eye was disturbed with anger. For while he was censuring evil deeds here below, he was compelled to be confused and disturbed in the contemplation of the highest things. And so anger against sin is praiseworthy and none the less harmful, seeing that he thought that by being perturbed in mind he had incurred some guilt. And so fleshly copulation is lawful when it is for the sake of producing offspring and not of desire; and the fleshly intercourse must be for the sake of producing children and not the satisfaction of vicious instincts. So if anyone approaches his wife, not carried away by lustful desire but only for the sake of getting children, such a man is by all means to be left to his own judgement both in the matter of entering the church and of receiving the mystery of the Lord's Body and Blood; for one who is placed in the fire and yet cannot burn ought not to be hindered by us from receiving. But when it is not the love of getting children but desire which dominates in the act of coition, the couple have cause to lament. Though the holy word of prophecy concedes this, yet the very concession gives them cause to fear. For when the Apostle Paul said, 'Let him who cannot contain himself have his own wife',[3] he took care to add forthwith, 'But this I say by way of indulgence, not of commandment'.[4] For that which is lawful is not granted by way of indulgence, so because he said it was an indulgence he proved it to be an offence. It should be considered carefully that when the Lord

Sina monte Dominus ad populum locuturus prius eundem populum abstinere a mulieribus praecipit.[1] Et si illic, ubi Dominus per creaturam subditam hominibus loquebatur, tanta prouisione est munditia corporis requisita, ut qui uerba Dei perciperent mulieribus mixti non essent, quanto magis mulieres, quae corpus Domini omnipotentis accipiunt, custodire in se munditiam carnis debent, ne ipsa inaestimabilis mysterii magnitudine grauentur? Hinc etiam[a] ad Dauid de pueris suis per sacerdotem dicitur, ut si a mulieribus mundi essent, panes propositionis acciperent; quos omnino non acciperent, nisi prius mundos eos Dauid a mulieribus fateretur.[2] Tunc autem uir, qui post ammixtionem coniugis lotus aqua fuerit, etiam sacrae communionis mysterium ualet accipere, cum ei iuxta praefinitam sententiam etiam ecclesiam licuerit intrare.

VIIII. Interrogatio Augustini: Si post inlusionem, quae per somnium solet accedere, uel corpus Domini quislibet accipere ualeat uel, si sacerdos sit, sacra mysteria celebrare.

Respondit Gregorius: Hunc quidem Testamentum ueteris legis, sicut in superiori capitulo iam diximus, pollutum dicit, et nisi lotum aqua ei usque ad uesperum intrare ecclesiam non concedit.[3] Quod tamen aliter populus spiritalis intellegens sub eodem intellectu accipiet, quo praefati sumus: quia quasi per somnium inludetur, qui temtatus inmunditia ueris imaginibus[4] in cogitatione inquinatur; sed lauandus est aqua, ut culpas cogitationis lacrimis abluat, et nisi prius ignis temtationis reciderit, reum se quasi /
p. 60 usque ad uesperum cognoscat. Sed est in eadem inlusione ualde necessaria discretio, quae subtiliter pensari debeat, ex qua re accedat menti dormientis; aliquando enim ex crapula, aliquando ex naturae superfluitate uel infirmitate, aliquando ex cogitatione contingit. Et quidem cum ex naturae superfluitate uel infirmitate euenerit, omnimodo haec inlusio non est timenda, quia hanc animus nesciens[b] pertulisse magis dolendum est quam fecisse. Cum uero ultra modum appetitus gulae in sumendis alimentis rapitur, atque idcirco umorum receptacula grauantur, habet exinde animus aliquem reatum; non tamen usque ad prohibitionem percipiendi sancti mysterii uel missarum sollemnia celebrandi, cum

[a] etenim *c* [b] *corrected to* animum nescientem *in the Moore MS.*

[1] Ex. 19: 15. [2] 1 Reg. 21: 5. [3] Deut. 23: 10, 11.
[4] For *ueris imaginibus* read *uanis imaginationibus*, 'vain imaginings'.

was about to speak to the people from Mount Sinai he first commanded them to abstain from women.[1] And if such a standard of bodily purity was demanded when the Lord spoke to men through a creature as his substitute, that those who received the words of the Lord were not to approach women, how much more carefully should women who are receiving the Body of the omnipotent Lord preserve the purity of the flesh lest they be weighed down by the greatness of that inestimable Mystery. For this reason also the priest instructed David that if his followers had not approached women, they might receive the shewbread, which they would by no means have received if David had not first declared that they were pure in this respect.[2] A man then who, after intercourse with his wife, has washed, is able to receive the mystery of the Holy Communion, since it is lawful for him, according to what has been said, to enter the church.

IX. Augustine's ninth question. Can anyone receive the Body of the Lord after an illusion such as is wont to occur in a dream; and if he is a priest can he celebrate the holy mysteries?

Gregory answered: The Old Testament, as we have said in an earlier chapter, declares him to be unclean and, unless he has washed, it does not allow him to enter the church until evening.[3] Spiritual people will accept this law but will interpret it differently as we have already explained; for that man is deceived as it were by a dream who, after being tempted with impurity, is defiled in his waking thoughts by real images;[4] and he must be washed with water in the sense that he should wash away the sins of thought with his tears: and unless the fire of temptation has first departed, let him reckon himself guilty until evening, so to speak. But in this same illusion a very necessary distinction must be carefully made as to the reason why it enters into the sleeper's mind; sometimes it happens through gluttony, sometimes through a natural superfluity or weakness, sometimes through the thoughts. And indeed when it happens through a natural superfluity or weakness, the illusion is not in any way to be feared; for though it is a matter of regret that the mind unwittingly suffered it, it did not bring it about. But when a gluttonous appetite carries one away into immoderate eating and the receptacles of the humours are overburdened, then the mind contracts some guilt but not enough to prevent him from partaking of the holy mystery or celebrating the

fortasse aut festus dies exigit aut exhiberi mysterium, pro eo quod sacerdos alius in loco deest, ipsa necessitas conpellit. Nam si adsunt alii qui implere ministerium ualeant, inlusio pro crapula facta a perceptione sacri mysterii prohibere[a] non debet, sed ab immolatione sacri mysterii abstinere, ut arbitror, humiliter debet, si tamen dormientis mentem turpi imaginatione non concusserit. Nam sunt quibus ita plerumque inlusio nascitur, ut eorum animus, etiam in somno corporis positus, turpis imaginationibus non fedetur. Qua in re unum ibi[1] ostenditur ipsa mens rea, non tamen uel suo iudicio libera, cum se etsi dormienti corpore nihil meminit uidisse, tamen in uigiliis corporis meminit in ingluuiem cecidisse. Sin uero ex turpi cogitatione uigilantis oritur inlusio dormientis, patet animo reatus suus; uidet enim a qua radice inquinatio illa
p. 61 processerit, quia quod cogitauit sciens, hoc pertulit / nesciens. Sed pensandum est, ipsa cogitatio utrum suggestione an delectatione uel, quod maius est, peccati consensu acciderit. Tribus enim[b] modis impletur omne peccatum, uidelicet suggestione, delectatione, consensu. Suggestio quippe fit per diabolum, delectatio per carnem, consensus per spiritum; quia et primam culpam serpens suggessit, Eua uelut caro delectata est, Adam uero[c] uelut spiritus consensit;[2] et necessaria est magna discretio, ut inter suggestionem atque delectationem, inter delectationem et consensum iudex sui animus praesideat. Cum enim malignus spiritus peccatum suggerit in mente, si nulla peccati delectatio sequatur, peccatum omnimodo perpetratum non est; cum uero delectare caro coeperit, tunc peccatum incipit nasci; si autem etiam[d] ex deliberatione consentit, tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici. In suggestione igitur peccati si mens[e3] est, in delectatione fit nutrimentum, in consensu perfectio. Et saepe contingit ut hoc quod malignus spiritus seminat in cogitatione, caro in delectationem trahat, nec tamen anima eidem delectationi consentiat. Et cum caro delectare sine animo nequeat, ipse tamen animus carnis

[a] prohiberi *c* [b] etenim *c* [c] uero *om. c* [d] etiam *om. c2* [e] si mens *was early corrected to* semen

solemn rites of the mass, when perhaps either a feast day demands it or necessity compels him to administer the mystery because there is no other priest in the place. If others are present who can fulfil the ministry, an illusion caused by gluttony ought not to prevent one from receiving the sacred mystery, provided that the mind of the sleeper has not been overcome by vile imaginations. I think, however, that he ought humbly to abstain from offering the sacrifice of the holy mystery. There are some whose mind, when it experiences such an illusion even when the body is asleep, is not contaminated by base imaginations. Here one thing is plain,[1] that the mind is guilty and not even cleared by its own judgement, since even though it has no memory of having seen anything while the body was asleep, nevertheless remembers that while the body was awake it fell into gluttony. But if the sleeper's illusion arises from evil thoughts while awake, then the guilt is clear to the mind; for he sees from what root this defilement sprang because what he thought of wittingly, he experienced unwittingly. But it must be considered whether the thought was the result of a mere suggestion or of pleasure, or what is much more serious, of consent to sin. For all sin is committed in three ways, namely by suggestion, pleasure, and consent. The devil makes the suggestion, the flesh delights in it and the spirit consents. It was the serpent who suggested the first sin, Eve representing the flesh was delighted by it, and Adam representing the spirit consented to it:[2] and when the mind sits in judgement on itself it is necessary to make careful distinction between suggestion and delight, between delight and consent. For when an evil spirit suggests a sin to the mind, if no delight in the sin follows then the sin is not committed in any form; but when the flesh begins to delight in it then sin begins to arise. But if the mind deliberately consents, then the sin is seen to be complete. So the seed[3] of sin is in suggestion, the nourishment of sin is in delight, and the maturity is in consent. It often happens that what an evil spirit sows in the thought, the flesh finds delight in, but the spirit nevertheless does not consent to that delight. And since the flesh cannot get delight without the mind, the mind, struggling against the desires of the flesh, is in some ways

[1] For *unum ibi* read *minus sibi*, 'here the mind appears less guilty but nevertheless not cleared' and for *turpis* read *turpibus*. All the variant readings in these notes were kindly supplied to us by Paul Meyvaert.

[2] Gen. 3: 1–6.

[3] Translating *semen*.

uoluptatibus reluctans in delectatione carnali aliquo modo ligatur inuitus, ut ei ex ratione contradicat ne consentiat, et tamen delectatione ligatus sit, sed ligatum se uehementer ingemiscat. Vnde et ille caelestis exercitus praecipuus miles gemebat dicens: 'Video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captiuum me ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis.'[1] Si autem captiuus erat, minime pugnabat; sed et pugnabat; quapropter et captiuus erat, et pugnabat igitur legi mentis, cui lex quae in membris est repugnabat. Si autem pugna-
p. 62 bat, captiuus non erat. Ecce itaque homo est, ut / ita dixerim, captiuus et liber; liber ex iustitia quam diligit, captiuus ex delectatione quam portat inuitus.

XXVIII

HUCUSQUE responsiones beati papae Gregorii ad consulta reuerentissimi antistitis Augustini. Epistulam uero, quam se Arelatensi episcopo fecisse commemorat, ad Uergilium Aetherii successorem[2] dederat; cuius haec forma est:

Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Uergilio coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

Quantus sit affectus uenientibus sponte fratribus inpendendus, ex eo quod plerumque solent caritatis causa inuitari cognoscitur. Et ideo, si communem fratrem Augustinum episcopum ad uos uenire contigerit, ita illum dilectio uestra, sicut decet, affectuose dulciterque suscipiat, ut et ipsum consolationis suae bono refoueat et alios, qualiter fraterna caritas colenda sit, doceat. Et quoniam saepius euenit ut hi, qui longe sunt positi, prius ab aliis quae sunt emendanda cognoscant, siquas fortasse fraternitati uestrae sacerdotum uel aliorum culpas intulerit, una cum eo residentes subtili cuncta inuestigatione perquirite, et ita uos in ea, quae Deum offendunt et ad iracundiam prouocant, districtos ac sollicitos exhibete, ut ad aliorum emendationem et uindicta culpabilem feriat et innocentem falsa opinio non affligat. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

Data die X kalendarum Iuliarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XVIIII post consulatum eiusdem domni nostri anno XVIII indictione IIII.

[1] Rom. 7: 23. [2] See p. 71, n. 2.

unwillingly bound down by carnal delight, so that through reason it refuses to give its consent: and yet it is bound by carnal delight, but vehemently bewails its fetters. It was for this reason that that chief soldier in the heavenly army uttered his complaint saying, 'I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members.'[1] Now if he was a captive he would not fight; but he did fight: therefore he was both a captive and at the same time fought against the law of the mind to which the law that was in his members was opposed: but if he fought he was not a captive. And so here is a man who so to speak is both captive and free: free on account of his love of right, and captive because of the delight which he unwillingly experiences.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SUCH were the answers of the blessed Pope Gregory to the questions of the most reverend Bishop Augustine. The letter which he says he had written to the bishop of Arles was directed to Vergilius, the successor of Etherius.[2] This is the substance of it:

To the most reverend and holy brother Vergilius, my fellow bishop, Gregory, servant of the servants of God.

The fact that we usually invite our brethren because we love them shows how much affection ought to be lavished on those brethren who come uninvited. And so if the brother of us both, Bishop Augustine, should happen to come to you, receive him, beloved, as is fitting, with such kindness and affection that he may be refreshed by your kindness and goodwill and that others may be taught how brotherly love should be practised. And because it very often happens that those who are watching from a distance recognize sooner than those implicated what matters need to be emended, if he should bring to your notice, my brother, the sins committed by bishops and others, you will, in counsel with him, inquire into such affairs with elaborate investigation, showing yourself strict and careful in those matters which offend God and provoke Him to wrath, that the guilty may be punished, the innocent cleared, and others amend their ways. May God keep you safe, most reverend brother.

Given on the 22 June in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor Maurice Tiberius and the eighteenth year after his consulship and in the fourth indiction.

p. 63

XXVIIII

PRAETEREA idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo, quia suggesserat ei multam quidem sibi esse messem sed operarios paucos,[1] misit cum praefatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac Verbi ministros, in quibus primi et praecipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus; et per eos generaliter uniuersa, quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiae necessaria, uasa uidelicet sacra et uestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum et sacerdotalia uel clericilia indumenta, sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices plurimos. Misit etiam litteras, in quibus significat se ei pallium[2] direxisse, simul et insinuat, qualiter episcopos in Brittania constituere debuisset. Quarum litterarum iste est textus:

Reuerentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

Cum certum sit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni regni praemia reseruari, nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritalis operis studio ex remuneratione ualeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia noua Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum sollemnia agenda concedimus, ita ut per loca singula XII episcopos ordines, qui tuae subiaceant dicioni, quatinus Lundoniensis ciuitatis episcopus[3] semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam uero ciuitatem te uolumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse iudicaueris ordinare, ita dumtaxat ut, si eadem ciuitas cum finitimis locis uerbum Dei receperit,
p. 64 ipse quoque XII / episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si uita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere Domino fauente disponimus. Quem tamen tuae fraternitatis uolumus dispositioni subiacere: post obitum uero tuum ita episcopis quos ordinauerit praesit, ut Lundoniensis episcopi nullo modo dicioni subiaceat. Sit uero inter

[1] Matth. 9: 37; Luc. 10: 2.

[2] The pallium is a band of white wool worn by the pope over his shoulders. This was originally conferred as an honour on ecclesiastical dignitaries. But it is here laid down for the first time that every metropolitan must have received the pallium from Rome to enable him to function as archbishop and to appoint and consecrate other bishops in his province. For a fuller account of the pallium see Plummer, II. 49–52.

[3] It is clear that Gregory expected Augustine to make his seat at London rather than Canterbury, which is strange considering that the letter is dated

CHAPTER XXIX

SINCE Bishop Augustine had advised him that the harvest was great and the workers were few,[1] Pope Gregory sent more colleagues and ministers of the word together with his messengers. First and foremost among these were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus; and he sent with them all such things as were generally necessary for the worship and ministry of the Church, such as sacred vessels, altar cloths and church ornaments, vestments for priests and clerks, relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, and very many manuscripts. He also sent a letter in which he announced that he had despatched the pallium[2] to him and at the same time directed how he should organize the bishops in Britain. Here is the text of this letter:

To the most reverend and holy brother Augustine, our fellow-bishop, Gregory, servant of the servants of God.

While it is certain that untold rewards in the eternal kingdom are laid up for those who labour for Almighty God, nevertheless it is necessary that we should bestow rewards and honours upon them, so that they may be encouraged by this recognition to toil more abundantly in their spiritual work. And because the new church of the English has been brought into the grace of Almighty God, through the bounty of the Lord and by your labours, we grant to you the use of the pallium in the church but only for the performance of the solemn rites of the mass: so that you may ordain twelve bishops in various places who are to be subject to your jurisdiction: the bishop of London[3] shall however, for the future, always be consecrated by his own synod and receive the honour of the pallium from that holy and apostolic see which, by the guidance of God, I serve. We wish to send as bishop to the city of York one whom you yourself shall decide to consecrate; yet, always provided that if this city together with the neighbouring localities should receive the Word of the Lord, he is also to consecrate twelve bishops and enjoy the honourable rank of a metropolitan: for it is our intention, God willing, if we live, to give him the pallium too; nevertheless, brother, we wish him to be subject to your authority: but, after your death, he should preside over the bishops he has consecrated, being in no way subject to the authority of the bishop of London. There is, however, to be this distinction in honour, in future, between the

601, four years after Augustine's arrival. It may be that Gregory had seen documents which recorded the presence of British bishops in London and York at councils of the church and so considered these two cities the important centres of ecclesiastical life.

Lundoniae et Eburacae ciuitatis episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus. Communi autem consilio et concordi actione quaeque sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant; unanimiter recte sentiant, et ea quae senserint non sibimet discrepando perficiant.

Tua uero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos quos ordinauerit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacae episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Brittaniae sacerdotes[1] habeat Deo Domino[a] nostro Iesu Christo auctore subiectos, quatinus ex lingua et uita tuae sanctitatis et recte credendi et bene uiuendi formam percipiant, atque officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes ad caelestia, cum Dominus uoluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem custodiat, reuerentissime frater.

Data die x kalendarum Iuliarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno xviiii post consulatum eiusdem domni anno xviii indictione iiii.

XXX

Abeuntibus autem praefatis legatariis, misit post eos beatus pater Gregorius litteras memoratu dignas, in quibus aperte, quam studiose erga saluationem nostrae gentis inuigilauerit, ostendit ita scribens:

Dilectissimo filio Mellito abbati Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei.

p. 65 Post discessum congregationis nostrae, quae tecum est, ualde sumus suspensi redditi, quia nihil de prosperitate uestri itineris audisse nos contigit. Cum ergo Deus omnipotens uos ad reuerentissimum uirum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractaui; uidelicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur, aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum[2] in obsequio ueri Dei debeant commutari, ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consueuit familiarius concurrat. Et quia boues solent in sacrificio

[a] Domino Deo *c2*

[1] It would seem that Gregory had little idea of the political situation in Britain or of the hostility which existed between the Britons and Saxons. Both this and p. 104, n. 3, suggest that Gregory was not in close touch with the mission its in early years.

bishops of London and York, that he who was first consecrated is to be reckoned senior. But let them agree to do whatever has to be done, taking counsel together and acting out of zeal for Christ. Let them judge rightly and with one mind and so carry out their decisions without disagreement.

You, brother, are to have under your subjection those bishops whom you have consecrated as well as those who shall be consecrated by the bishop of York, and not those only but also all the bishops of Britain,[1] under the guidance of our Lord God, Jesus Christ: so that they may see from the words and actions of your Holiness what true faith and good living are like and so, fulfilling their office in faith and righteousness, may attain to the heavenly kingdom when it shall please the Lord. May God keep you safe, most reverend brother.

Given the 22 June in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor Maurice Tiberius, the eighteenth year after his consulship and in the fourth indiction.

CHAPTER XXX

WHEN these messengers had departed, St. Gregory sent after them a letter which is worth recording, in which he plainly showed his eager interest in the salvation of our race. This is what he wrote:

To my most beloved son, Abbot Mellitus, Gregory, servant of the servants of God.

Since the departure of our companions and yourself I have felt much anxiety because we have not happened to hear how your journey has prospered. However, when Almighty God has brought you to our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, tell him what I have decided after long deliberation about the English people, namely that the idol temples of that race should by no means be destroyed, but only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them. For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils[2] to the service of the true God. When this people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God. And because they are in

[2] Our knowledge of Old English heathenism is comparatively limited and Bede is our most important source of information about what he always refers to as 'devil-worship'. The three most important passages on the subject are this letter from Gregory to Mellitus, the account of Edwin's conversion (ii. 13), and a chapter in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* entitled *De Mensibus Anglorum* (*Opp.* VI. 178–9).

daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas inmutari: ut die dedicationis uel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conuiuiis sollemnitatem celebrent, nec diabolo iam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant, ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reseruantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius ualeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere inpossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is, qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus uel passibus, non autem saltibus eleuatur. Sic Israhelitico populo in Aegypto Dominus se quidem innotuit, sed tamen eis sacrificiorum usus, quae diabolo solebat exhibere, in cultu proprio reseruauit, ut eis in suo sacrificio animalia immolare praeciperet,[1] quatinus cor mutantes aliud de sacrificio amitterent, aliud retinerent: ut etsi ipsa essent animalia quae offerre consueuerant, uero tamen Deo haec et non idolis immolantes, iam /
p. 66 sacrificia ipsa non essent.[2] Haec igitur dilectionem tuam praedicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse in praesenti illic positus perpendeat, qualiter omnia debeat dispensare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili.

Data die xv kalend⟨arum August⟩arum[a3] imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno xviiii post consulatum eiusdem domni anno xviii indictione iiii.

XXXI

Quo in tempore misit etiam Augustino epistulam[4] super miraculis, quae per eum facta esse cognouerat, in qua eum, ne per illorum copiam periculum elationis incurreret, his uerbis hortatur:

Scio, frater carissime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem,[b] quam eligi uoluit, magna miracula ostendit: unde necesse est, ut de eodem dono caelesti et timendo gaudeas et gaudendo pertimescas. Gaudeas uidelicet, quia Anglorum animae per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimescas uero, ne inter

[a] *Our authorities give no month, except the Cottonian MS. which has* iuliã.; Augustarum, *accepted by Plummer, is found in twelfth-century copies, if not earlier*
[b] gente *c2*

[1] Levit. 17: 1–9.

[2] Bede tells us (*Opp.* vi. 178) that the name of the eleventh month in Anglo-Saxon times was *Blotmonath* or 'month of sacrifice' because they devoted to their gods the animals they intended to kill before the oncoming of winter.

[3] It is clear that the date of this letter must have been later than the one reproduced in Chapter XXIX.

the habit of slaughtering much cattle as sacrifices to devils, some solemnity ought to be given them in exchange for this. So on the day of the dedication or the festivals of the holy martyrs, whose relics are deposited there, let them make themselves huts from the branches of trees around the churches which have been converted out of shrines, and let them celebrate the solemnity with religious feasts. Do not let them sacrifice animals to the devil, but let them slaughter animals for their own food to the praise of God, and let them give thanks to the Giver of all things for His bountiful provision. Thus while some outward rejoicings are preserved, they will be able more easily to share in inward rejoicings. It is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds: just as the man who is attempting to climb to the highest place, rises by steps and degrees and not by leaps. Thus the Lord made Himself known to the Israelites in Egypt; yet he preserved in his own worship the forms of sacrifice which they were accustomed to offer to the devil and commanded them to kill animals when sacrificing to him.[1] So with changed hearts, they were to put away one part of the sacrifice and retain the other, even though they were the same animals as they were in the habit of offering, yet since the people were offering them to the true God and not to idols, they were not the same sacrifices.[2] These things then, dearly beloved, you must say to our brother so that in his present position he may carefully consider how he should order all things. May God keep you in safety, most beloved son.

Given the 18 July[3] in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor Maurice Tiberius, and in the eighteenth year after his consulship and in the fourth indiction.

CHAPTER XXXI

AT the same time Pope Gregory heard that Augustine had been performing miracles and sent him a letter[4] on the subject, in which he exhorts Augustine not to incur the danger of being elated by their great number:

I know, most beloved brother, that Almighty God, out of love for you has worked great miracles through you for the race which it was his will to have among the chosen. It is therefore necessary that you should rejoice with trembling over this heavenly gift and fear as you rejoice. You will rejoice because the souls of the English are drawn by outward miracles to inward grace: but you will fear lest among these signs

[4] Bede only quotes about a fourth of this letter, the full text of which is to be found in *MGH, Epp.* II. 305–8. It is dated 1 June 601.

signa, quae fiunt, infirmus animus in sui praesumtione se eleuet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etiam debemus, quia discipuli cum gaudio a praedicatione redeuntes, dum caelesti magistro dicerent: 'Domine, in nomine tuo etiam daemonia nobis subiecta sunt', protinus audierunt: 'Nolite gaudere super hoc, sed potius gaudete quia nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.'[1] In priuata enim et temporali laetitia mentem posuerant, qui de miraculis gaudebant: sed de priuato ad communem, de temporali ad aeternam laetitiam reuocantur, quibus dicitur: 'In hoc gaudete, / quia
p. 67 nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.' Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt, sed tamen eorum nomina omnium in caelo tenentur adscripta. Veritatis etenim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent, et in quo finem laetitiae non habent. Restat itaque, frater carissime, ut inter ea, quae operante Domino exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter iudices, ac subtiliter intellegas et temet ipsum quis sis et quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cuius conuersione etiam faciendorum signorum dona percepisti. Et siquando te Creatori nostro seu per linguam siue per operam reminisceris deliquisse, semper haec ad memoriam reuoces, ut surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis signis acceperis, uel accepisti, haec non tibi sed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata sunt.

XXXII

Misit idem beatus papa Gregorius eodem tempore etiam regi Aedilbercto epistulam, simul et dona in diuersis speciebus perplura, temporalibus quoque honoribus regem glorificare satagens, cui gloriae caelestis suo labore et industria notitiam prouenisse gaudebat. Exemplar autem praefatae epistulae hoc est:

Domino gloriosissimo atque praecellentissimo filio Aedilbercto regi Anglorum Gregorius episcopus.

Propter hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum regimina perducit, ut per eos omnibus, quibus praelati fuerint, dona suae
p. 68 pietatis inpendat. Quod in Anglorum / gente factum cognouimus, cui uestra gloria idcirco est praeposita, ut per bona quae uobis concessa sunt, etiam subiectae uobis genti superna beneficia praestarentur. Et

[1] Luc. 10: 17, 20.

which are performed, the weak mind may be raised up by self-esteem and so the very cause by which it is raised to outward honour may lead through vainglory to its inward fall. We ought to remember that when the disciples were returning from their preaching full of joy, they said to their heavenly Master, 'Lord, even the devils are subject to us through thy name.' And forthwith they received the reply, 'In this rejoice not, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven.'[1] They had set their minds on personal and temporal joys when they rejoiced over their own miracles: but they are recalled from private to common joys and from temporal to eternal joys by his words, 'Rejoice in this that your names are written in heaven.' For not all the elect work miracles, but nevertheless all their names are written in heaven. Therefore those who are true disciples ought not to rejoice except in that good thing which they have in common with all the elect and which they will enjoy for ever. So it remains, most dear brother, that amidst those outward deeds which you perform through the Lord's power you should always judge your inner self carefully and carefully note within yourself what you are and how great is the grace shown to that people for whose conversion you have received the gift of working miracles. And if you remember that you have at any time sinned against your Creator either in word or deed, always call this to mind in order that the memory of your guilt may suppress the vainglory which arises in your heart. And whatever power of working miracles you have received or shall receive, consider that these gifts have been conferred not on you, but on those for whose salvation they have been granted you.

CHAPTER XXXII

POPE GREGORY, at the same time also sent a letter to King Æthelberht, as well as numerous gifts of every kind. He was anxious to glorify the king with temporal honours, while at the same time he rejoiced to think that Æthelberht had attained to the knowledge of heavenly glory by Gregory's own labour and industry. This is a copy of the letter:

Bishop Gregory to his most worthy son, the glorious lord Æthelberht, king of the English.

Almighty God raises up certain good men to be rulers over nations in order that he may by their means bestow the gifts of his righteousness upon all those over whom they are set. We realize that this has happened to the English race over whom your Majesty is placed, so that, by means of the blessings granted to you, heavenly benefits may also be

ideo, gloriose fili, eam quam accepisti diuinitus gratiam, sollicita mente custodi; Christianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina; zelum rectitudinis tuae in eorum conuersione multiplica; idolorum cultus insequere; fanorum aedificia euerte; subditorum mores ex magna uitae munditia exhortando, terrendo, blandiendo, corrigendo et boni operis exempla monstrando aedifica, ut illum retributorem inuenias in caelo, cuius nomen atque cognitionem dilataueris in terra. Ipse enim uestrae quoque gloriae nomen etiam posteris gloriosius reddet, cuius uos honorem quaeritis et seruatis in gentibus.

Sic etenim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator Romanam rempublicam a peruersis idolorum cultibus reuocans omnipotenti Deo Domino nostro Iesu Christo secum subdidit, seque cum subiectis populis tota ad eum mente conuertit. Vnde factum est, ut antiquorum principum nomen suis uir ille laudibus uinceret, et tanto in opinione praecessores suos quanto et in bono opere superaret. Et nunc itaque uestra gloria cognitionem unius Dei, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, regibus ac populis sibimet subiectis festinet infundere,[1] ut et antiquos gentis suae reges laudibus ac meritis transeat, et quanto in subiectis suis etiam aliena peccata deterserit, tanto etiam de peccatis propriis ante omnipotentis Dei terribile examen securior fiat.

Reuerentissimus frater noster Augustinus episcopus in monasterii regula edoctus, sacrae scripturae scientia repletus, bonis auctore Deo operibus praeditus, quaeque uos ammonet libenter audite, deuote peragite, studiose in memoria reseruate; quia si uos eum in eo quod pro
p. 69 omnipotenti Deo loquitur auditis, isdem omnipotens Deus hunc / pro uobis exorantem celerius exaudit. Si enim, quod absit, uerba eius postponitis, quando eum omnipotens Deus poterit audire pro uobis, quem uos neglegitis audire pro Deo? Tota igitur mente cum eo uos in feruore fidei stringite, atque adnisum illius uirtute quam uobis diuinitas tribuit adiuuate, ut regni sui uos ipse faciat esse participes, cuius uos fidem in regno uestro recipi facitis[a] et custodiri.

Praeterea scire uestram gloriam uolumus quia, sicut in scriptura sacra ex uerbis Domini omnipotentis agnoscimus, praesentis mundi iam terminus iuxta est, et sanctorum regnum uenturum est, quod nullo umquam poterit fine terminari. Adpropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa inminent, quae antea non fuerunt, uidelicet inmutationes aeris, terroresque de caelo, et contra ordinationem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terraemotus per loca:[2] quae

[a] faciatis *c2*

[1] It would seem that Gregory was aware of Æthelberht's position as' Bretwalda'. (Cf. p. 150, n. 1.)

[2] Matth. 24: 7; Marc. 13: 8; Luc. 21: 11. For an interesting note on contemporary belief in the approaching end of the world see Plummer, II. 62.

bestowed upon your subjects. So, my most illustrious son, watch carefully over the grace you have received from God and hasten to extend the Christian faith among the people who are subject to you. Increase your righteous zeal for their conversion; suppress the worship of idols; overthrow their buildings and shrines; strengthen the morals of your subjects by outstanding purity of life, by exhorting them, terrifying, enticing, and correcting them, and by showing them an example of good works; so that you may be rewarded in heaven by the One whose name and knowledge you have spread on earth. For He whose honour you seek and maintain among the nations will also make your glorious name still more glorious even to posterity.

It was thus that Constantine, the most religious emperor, converted the Roman State from the false worship of idols and subjected it and himself to Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, turning to Him with all his heart, together with the nations under his rule. So it came about that he transcended in renown the reputation of former princes and surpassed his predecessors as much in fame as he did in good works. And now let your Majesty hasten to instil the knowledge of the one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into the kings and nations subject to you,[1] that you may surpass the ancient kings of your race in praise and merit, and since you have caused others among your subjects to be cleansed from their sins, so you yourself may become less anxious about your own sins before the dread judgement of Almighty God.

Our most reverend brother Bishop Augustine, who was brought up under a monastic Rule, is filled with the knowledge of the holy scriptures and endowed with good works through the grace of God; so whatever counsel he gives you, listen to it gladly, follow it earnestly and keep it carefully in mind. If you listen to him as he speaks on behalf of Almighty God, that same Almighty God will listen to him more readily as he prays for you. But if, which God forbid, you neglect his words, how can Almighty God listen to him when he speaks on your behalf, seeing that you fail to listen to him when he speaks on God's behalf? So ally yourself to him with all your heart in fervent faith and aid his efforts with that vigour which God has bestowed on you, so that He may make you share in His kingdom, if you cause His faith to be accepted in your kingdom.

Besides, we would wish your Majesty to know that the end of the world is at hand, as we learn from the words of Almighty God in the holy scriptures; and the kingdom of the saints which knows no end is near. As the end of the world approaches, many things threaten which have never happened before; these are changes in the sky and terrors from the heavens, unseasonable tempests, wars, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes in divers places.[2] Not all these things will come about in

tamen non omnia nostris diebus uentura sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequentur. Vos itaque, siqua ex his euenire in terra uestra cognoscitis, nullo modo uestrum animum perturbetis; quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, et uenturo Iudici in bonis actibus inueniamur esse praeparati. Haec nunc, gloriose fili, paucis locutus sum, ut cum Christiana fides in regno uestro excreuerit, nostra quoque apud uos locutio latior excrescat, et tanto plus loqui libeat, quanto se in mente nostra gaudia de gentis uestrae perfecta conuersione multiplicant.

Parua autem exenia transmisi, quae uobis parua non erunt, cum a uobis ex beati Petri apostoli fuerint benedictione suscepta. Omnipotens itaque Deus in uobis gratiam suam, quam coepit, perficiat,[1] atque uitam
p. 70 uestram et hic per multorum annorum curricula extendat, et post / longa tempora in caelestis uos patriae congregatione recipiat. Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat, domine fili.

Data die x kalendarum Iuliarum imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno XVIIII post consulatum eiusdem domni anno XVIII indictione IIII.

XXXIII

AT Augustinus, ubi in regia ciuitate sedem episcopalem, ut praediximus, accepit, recuperauit in ea, regio fultus adminiculo, ecclesiam[2] quam inibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse didicerat, et eam in nomine sancti Saluatoris Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi sacrauit, atque ibidem sibi habitationem statuit et cunctis successoribus suis. Fecit autem et monasterium non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientem, in quo eius hortatu Aedilberct ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli[3] a fundamentis construxit ac diuersis donis ditauit, in qua et[a] ipsius Augustini et omnium episcoporum Doruuernensium, simul et regum Cantiae poni corpora possent. Quam tamen ecclesiam non ipse Augustinus sed successor eius Laurentius consecrauit.

Primus autem eiusdem monasterii abbas Petrus presbiter fuit, qui legatus Galliam missus demersus est in sinu maris, qui uocatur Amfleat, et ab incolis loci ignobili traditus sepulturae; sed

[a] et *om. c2*

[1] Phil. 1: 6.

[2] The church is the present cathedral, which Bede states to have dated back to Roman times though no traces now remain. The dedication to the Saviour was the original one but it is now known as Christchurch. (Taylor, I. 148.)

[3] The monastery, of which considerable remains are still to be seen outside

our days, but they will all follow after our days. So if you see any of these things happening in your land, do not be troubled in mind; for these signs of the end of the world are sent in advance to make us heedful about our souls, watching for the hour of death, so that when the Judge comes we may, through our good works, be found prepared. I have said these things briefly, my distinguished son, but when the Christian faith increases in your kingdom, our discourses to you will become more abundant and we shall be ready to speak more fully in proportion as the joys of our heart are multiplied by the complete conversion of your race.

I am sending you some small gifts which will not be small to you, because you will receive them with the blessing of St. Peter the Apostle. And may Almighty God fulfil the grace which He has begun in you[1] and prolong your life here for many years, and in due time receive you into the fellowship of the heavenly country. May the grace of God keep your excellency in safety, my lord and son.

Given the 22 June, in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most religious emperor, Maurice Tiberius Augustus, the eighteenth year after his consulship and in the fourth indiction.

CHAPTER XXXIII

AFTER Augustine had, as we said before, received his episcopal see in the royal city, he with the help of the king restored a church in it,[2] which, as he was informed, had been built in ancient times by the hands of Roman believers. He dedicated it in the name of the holy Saviour, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ; and there he established a dwelling for himself and all his successors. He also founded a monastery not far from the city, to the east, in which Æthelberht, encouraged by him, built from its foundations the church of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and endowed it with various gifts, so that the bodies of Augustine himself and all the bishops of Canterbury and the kings of Kent might be placed in it.[3] The church was consecrated, not by Augustine but by his successor Laurence.

The first abbot of this monastery was the priest Peter, who was sent on a mission to Gaul and was drowned in a bay of the sea known as *Amfleat* (Ambleteuse). He was given an unworthy burial

Canterbury, was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul to preserve the association with Rome where the bodies of those apostles were buried. It was later known as St. Augustine's. (Clapham, pp. 17 ff. and Taylor, I. 134–42.)

omnipotens Deus ut qualis meriti uir fuerit demonstraret, omni
p. 71 nocte / supra sepulchrum eius lux caelestis apparuit, donec animaduertentes uicini, qui uidebant, sanctum fuisse uirum qui ibi esset sepultus, et inuestigantes unde uel quis esset, abstulerunt corpus, et in Bononia ciuitate iuxta honorem tanto uiro congruum in ecclesia posuerunt.

XXXIIII

His temporibus regno Nordanhymbrorum praefuit rex fortissimus et gloriae cupidissimus Aedilfrid,[1] qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit Brettonum, ita ut Sauli quondam regi Israheliticae gentis conparandus uideretur, excepto dumtaxat hoc, quod diuinae erat religionis ignarus. Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis uel subiugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum aut habitabiles fecit. Cui merito poterat illud, quod benedicens filium patriarcha in personam Saulis dicebat, aptari: 'Beniamin lupus rapax; mane comedet praedam et uespere diuidet spolia.'[2] Vnde motus eius profectibus Aedan rex Scottorum,[3] qui Brittaniam inhabitant, uenit contra eum cum inmenso et forti exercitu; sed cum paucis uictus aufugit. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo, qui dicitur Degsastan, id est Degsa lapis,[4] omnis pene eius est caesus exercitus. In qua etiam pugna Theodbald frater Aedilfridi cum omni illo, quem ipse ducebat, exercitu peremtus est. Quod uidelicet bellum Aedil-
p. 72 frid anno ab incarnatione Domini DCIII, regni autem / sui, quod XX et IIII annis tenuit, anno XI perfecit, porro anno Focatis, qui tum Romani regni apicem tenebat, primo. Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Brittania aduersus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in proelium uenire audebat.

[1] Grandson of Ida and the first king of Bernicia (ii. 1). Bede speaks almost with enthusiasm of his conquest of the Irish tribes to the north and the British tribes to the west of his territory. The phrase 'most eager for glory' reminds one of the OE word 'domgeorn' and kindred words used in such Anglo-Saxon poems as *The Wanderer* and *Judith* to describe the typical heroic warrior. The whole chapter may well have been influenced by some lost heroic poem celebrating the deeds of Æthelfrith.

[2] Gen. 49: 27. Saul belonged to the tribe of Benjamin.

by the inhabitants of the place but, in order that Almighty God might show how worthy a man he was, a heavenly light appeared every night above his grave until at last the people of the neighbourhood noticed it. They saw that it was a saint who had been buried there; so, after making inquiries as to who he was and whence he came, they removed his body and put it in a church in Boulogne with all the honour due to so great a man.

CHAPTER XXXIV

At this time Æthelfrith, a very brave king and most eager for glory,[1] was ruling over the kingdom of Northumbria. He ravaged the Britons more extensively than any other English ruler. He might indeed be compared with Saul who was once king of Israel, but with this exception, that Æthelfrith was ignorant of the divine religion. For no ruler or king had subjected more land to the English race or settled it, having first either exterminated or conquered the natives. To him, in the character of Saul, could fittingly be applied the words which the patriarch said when he was blessing his son, 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey and at night shall divide the spoil.'[2] For this reason Aedan,[3] king of the Irish living in Britain, aroused by his successes, marched against him with an immensely strong army; but he was defeated and fled with few survivors. Indeed, almost all his army was cut to pieces in a very famous place called *Degsastan*,[4] that is the stone of Degsa. In this fight Theobald, Æthelfrith's brother, was killed together with all his army. Æthelfrith brought this war to an end in the year of our Lord 603, and the eleventh year of his reign, which lasted for twenty-four years. It was also the first year of the reign of Phocas who was then Roman emperor. From that time no Irish king in Britain has dared to make war on the English race to this day.

[3] Aedan, son of Gabran, was king of the Irish of Dalriada in Scotland. See p. 18, n. 1.

[4] The site of the battle is not certainly known, though it is usually identified with Dawston Rigg in Liddesdale.

LIBER SECVNDVS

Haec continentur in libro secundo historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum:

I. De obitu beati papae Gregorii.

II. Vt Augustinus Brettonum episcopos pro pace catholica, etiam miraculo caelesti coram eis facto, monuerit, quaeue illos spernentes ultio secuta sit.

III. Vt idem Mellitum ac Iustum episcopos fecerit, et de obitu ipsius.

IIII. Vt Laurentius cum coepiscopis suis Scottos unitatem sanctae ecclesiae maxime in pascha obseruando sequi monuerit, et ut Mellitus Romam uenerit.

V. ⟨Vt⟩[a] defunctis Aedilbercto et Sabercto regibus successores eorum idolatriam resuscitarint, ob quod et Mellitus ac Iustus a Brittania discesserint.

VI. Vt correptus ab apostolo Petro Laurentius Eadbaldum regem ad Christum conuerterit, qui mox Mellitum et Iustum ad praedicandum reuocauerit.

VII. Vt Mellitus episcopus flammas ardentis suae ciuitatis orando restinxerit.[b]

VIII. Vt Bonifatius papa Iusto successori eius pallium et epistulam miserit.

VIIII. De imperio regis Eduini, et ut ueniens ad euangelizandum ei Paulinus primo filiam eius cum aliis fidei Christianae sacramentis imbuerit.

X. Vt papa Bonifatius eundem regem missis litteris sit hortatus ad fidem.

XI. Vt coniugem ipsius per epistulam salutis illius sedulam agere curam monuerit.

XII. Vt Eduini per uisionem quondam sibi exuli ostensam sit ad credendum prouocatus.

XIII. Quale consilium idem cum primatibus suis de percipienda fide Christi habuerit, et ut pontifex eius suas aras profanauerit.

XIIII. Vt idem Eduini cum sua gente fidelis sit factus, et ubi Paulinus baptizauerit.

XV. Vt prouincia Orientalium Anglorum fidem Christi susceperit.

[a] ut *has no MS. authority* [b] restrinxerit *c2*

BOOK II

Here are the contents of the second book of the history of the Church of the English people.

1. Concerning the death of the blessed Pope Gregory.
2. How Augustine gave warning to the British bishops on the subject of catholic peace and also performed a miracle in their presence; and the vengeance which overtook them because they despised him.
3. How he consecrated Mellitus and Justus bishops; and about his death.
4. How Laurence and his fellow bishops warned the Irish about preserving the unity of the holy Church, especially in the matter of keeping Easter; and how Mellitus went to Rome.
5. How, on the deaths of Æthelberht and Sæberht, their successors restored idolatry; for which reason Mellitus and Justus left Britain.
6. How Laurence was reproved by the apostle Peter and converted King Eadbald to Christ; and how the king recalled Mellitus and Justus.
7. How Bishop Mellitus, when his city was on fire, extinguished the flames by his prayers.
8. How Pope Boniface sent the pallium and a letter to Justus, the successor of Mellitus.
9. About Edwin's reign and how Paulinus came to preach the gospel to him; how he first administered the sacraments of the Christian faith to Edwin's daughter as well as to others.
10. How Pope Boniface sent a letter urging the king to embrace the faith.
11. How he sent a letter to Edwin's wife urging her to use her best endeavours for his salvation.
12. How Edwin was encouraged to believe by a vision which he had once seen when in exile.
13. How he took counsel with his chief men about receiving the faith of Christ; and how their chief priest profaned his own altars.
14. How King Edwin and his nation became believers; and where Paulinus baptized them.
15. How the kingdom of the East Angles received the faith of Christ.

XVI. Vt Paulinus in prouincia Lindissi praedicauerit, et de qualitate regni Eduini.

XVII. Vt idem ab Honorio papa exhortatorias litteras acceperit, qui etiam Paulino pallium miserit.

XVIII. Vt Honorius, qui Iusto in episcopatum Doruuernis[a] ecclesiae successit, ab eodem papa Honorio pallium et litteras acceperit.

XVIIII. Vt primo idem Honorius et post Iohannes litteras genti Scottorum pro pascha simul et pro Pelagiana heresi miserit.

XX. Vt occiso Eduine Paulinus Cantiam rediens Hrofensis ecclesiae praesulatum susceperit.

INCIPIT IPSE LIBER LEGE FELICITER

[a] Doruuernensis *c2*

16. How Paulinus preached in the kingdom of Lindsey; and about the character of Edwin's reign.

17. How Edwin received a letter of encouragement from Pope Honorius, who also sent Paulinus the pallium.

18. How Honorius, who succeeded Justus as bishop of the church at Canterbury, received the pallium and also a letter from Pope Honorius.

19. How Pope Honorius and afterwards Pope John sent letters to the Irish about the observance of Easter and about the Pelagian heresy.

20. How, after Edwin was killed, Paulinus returned to Kent and became bishop of the church at Rochester.

BEGINNING OF BOOK II GOOD LUCK TO THE READER!

p. 73

I

His temporibus, id est anno dominicae incarnationis DCV, beatus papa Gregorius,[1] postquam sedem Romanae[a] et apostolicae ecclesiae XIII annos menses sex et dies decem gloriosissime rexit, defunctus est, atque ad aeternam regni caelestis sedem translatus. De quo nos conuenit, quia nostram, id est Anglorum, gentem de potestate Satanae[2] ad fidem Christi sua industria conuertit, latiorem in nostra historia ecclesiastica facere sermonem. Quem recte nostrum appellare possumus et debemus apostolum quia, cum primum in toto orbe gereret pontificatum et conuersis iamdudum ad fidem ueritatis esset praelatus ecclesiis, nostram gentem eatenus idolis mancipatam Christi fecit ecclesiam, ita ut apostolicum illum de eo liceat nobis proferre sermonem quia, etsi aliis non est apostolus, sed tamen nobis est; nam signaculum apostolatus eius nos sumus in Domino.[3]

Erat autem natione Romanus, ex patre Gordiano, genus a proauis non solum nobile sed et religiosum ducens.[4] Denique Felix eiusdem apostolicae sedis quondam episcopus, uir magnae gloriae in Christo et ecclesia, eius fuit atauus. Sed ipse nobilitatem
p. 74 religionis non minore quam parentes et cognati uirtute / deuotionis exercuit. Nobilitatem uero illam, quam ad saeculum uidebatur habere, totam ad nanciscendam supernae gloriam dignitatis diuina gratia largiente conuertit. Nam mutato repente habitu saeculari monasterium petiit, in quo tanta perfectionis gratia coepit conuersari ut, sicut ipse postea flendo solebat adtestari, animo illius labentia cuncta subteressent, ut rebus omnibus quae uoluuntur

[a] Romanae sedem *c2*

---

[1] The popularity of Gregory the Great in England is attested not only by Bede but by his contemporary Aldhelm and by many writers and chroniclers who followed them. Cf. Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great', (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), p. 1. There were altars dedicated to him at Whitby, York, and Canterbury. It is clear that his memory was honoured, not only in Kent but in monasteries such as Whitby and Malmesbury, whose first generation had strong Irish connexions. The seventeenth canon of *Clovesho* in 747 ordained that the feast of 'our father Gregory' should be kept on 12 March. The earliest extant Life was written by an anonymous monk of Whitby, a little work which has some claim to be the earliest piece of Latin writing of the Anglo-Saxon period. Cf. *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. B. Colgrave

CHAPTER I

ABOUT this time, in the year of our Lord 605, Pope St. Gregory,[1] who had reigned in great glory over the apostolic Roman see for thirteen years, six months, and ten days, died and was taken up to reign for ever in the kingdom of heaven. Well indeed may we, the English nation converted by his efforts from the power of Satan[2] to the faith of Christ, give a somewhat full account of him in our *History of the Church*. We can and should by rights call him our apostle, for though he held the most important see in the whole world and was head of Churches which had long been converted to the true faith, yet he made our nation, till then enslaved to idols, into a Church of Christ, so that we may use the apostle's words about him, 'If he is not an apostle to others yet at least he is to us, for we are the seal of his apostleship in the Lord.'[3]

He was of Roman race, his father's name being Gordianus. He traced his descent from ancestors who were not only noble but also devout.[4] Felix, for example, who was once bishop of the apostolic see and a man of great reputation both in Christ and in the Church, was his forefather. That ancestral tradition of religion he followed with the same religious devotion as his parents and kinsmen, while the noble position which was accounted his, according to the standards of the world, was by God's grace entirely sacrificed to winning glory and honour of a higher kind. He promptly renounced his secular habit and entered a monastery, in which he proceeded to live with such grace and perfection—as he used afterwards to declare with tears—that his soul was then above all transitory things; and that he rose superior to all things

(Lawrence, Kansas, 1967). Bede's information is based partly on the *Liber Pontificalis*, partly on Gregory's own works, particularly his Epistle to Bishop Leander of Seville which he prefixed to his *Commentary on Job* usually known as the *Moralia*, and also on the Prologue to his *Dialogues*. From all these Bede borrows verbally. Gregory was born about 540, was elected pope in 590, and died in 604. Bede does not seem to have known the Whitby Life which contains a number of stories about Gregory afterwards universally known and told there for the first time but unused by Bede. The Whitby author also knows the name of Gregory's mother (Sylvia).

[2] Act. 26: 18.

[3] 1 Cor. 9: 2.

[4] Bede is very fond of this comparison between nobility of ancestry and nobility of life. Cf. ii. 7 (Mellitus); iii. 19 (Furseus); iv. 9 (a Barking nun); iv. 20 (Æthelthryth); v. 10 (Tilmon).

emineret, ut nulla nisi caelestia cogitare soleret, ut etiam retentus corpore ipsa iam carnis claustra contemplatione transiret, ut mortem quoque, quae pene cunctis poena est, uidelicet ut ingressum uitae et laboris sui praemium amaret. Haec[a] autem ipse de se non profectum iactando uirtutum sed deflendo potius defectum, quem sibi per curam pastoralem incurrisse uidebatur, referre consuerat. Denique tempore quodam, secreto cum diacono suo Petro conloquens, enumeratis animi sui uirtutibus priscis mox dolendo subiunxit: 'At nunc ex occasione curae pastoralis[1] saecularium hominum negotia patitur, et post tam pulchram quietis suae speciem terreni actus puluere fedatur, cumque se pro condiscensione multorum ad exteriora sparserit, etiam cum interiora appetit, ad haec procul dubio minor redit. Perpendo itaque quid tolero, perpendo quid amisi, dumque intueor illud quod perdidi, fit hoc grauius quod porto.'

Haec quidem sanctus uir ex magnae humilitatis intentione dicebat; sed nos credere decet nihil eum monachicae perfectionis perdidisse occasione curae pastoralis, immo potiorem tunc sumsisse profectum de labore conuersionis multorum quam de propriae[b] quondam quiete conuersationis habuerat; maxime quia et pontificali functus officio domum suam monasterium facere curauit, et dum primo de monasterio / abstractus ad ministerium
p. 75 altaris ordinatus atque Constantinopolim apocrisiarius ab apostolica sede directus est, non tamen in terreno conuersatus palatio propositum uitae caelestis intermisit. Nam quosdam fratrum ex monasterio suo, qui eum gratia germanae caritatis ad regiam urbem secuti sunt, in tutamentum coepit obseruantiae regularis habere; uidelicet ut eorum semper exemplo, sicut ipse scribit, ad orationis placidum litus quasi anchorae fune restringeretur, cum incessabili causarum saecularium inpulsu fluctuaret, concussamque saeculi actibus mentem inter eos cotidie per studiosae lectionis roboraret alloquium. Horum ergo consortio non solum a terrenis est munitus incursibus, uerum etiam ad caelestis exercitia uitae magis magisque succensus.

[a] hoc *c2* [b] propria *c2*

[1] Gregory seems to have been the first to popularize the distinction between the contemplative and active life, which was much discussed in the Middle Ages. Cf. *Homilies on Ezechiel*, II. 2; *PL* LXXVI, 952–4. The generally accepted doctrine was that the contemplative life was superior, though Bede insisted on the importance of manual labour for all contemplatives. Cf. the story of Owine (iv. 3 and p. 339, n. 6).

subject to change. He used to think nothing but thoughts of heaven, so that, even though still imprisoned in the body, he was able to pass in contemplation beyond the barriers of the flesh. He loved death, which in the eyes of almost everybody is a punishment, because he held it to be the entrance to life and the reward of his labours. He used to relate all this, not boasting over his progress towards moral perfection, but rather bewailing the loss which he seemed to have incurred as the result of his pastoral cares. Once, for instance, when he was talking privately with his deacon Peter and enumerating the former virtues of his soul, he added mournfully that now on account of his pastoral cares, he had to trouble himself with the business of men of this world, and after the enjoyment of peace so lovely, he was soiled by the dust of earthly activities.[1] After dissipating his strength on outward things by descending to the affairs of all and sundry, even when he sought the things of the spirit, he inevitably returned to them impaired. 'I realize', he said, 'what I endure and what I have lost; and when my mind turns to what I have lost, then what I endure becomes so much the more burdensome.'

The holy man said all this in a spirit of great humility. We need not believe, however, that he had lost any of his monastic perfection by reason of his pastoral cares. It would appear that he profited more by his efforts over the conversion of many than he had done from the quiet retirement of his earlier way of life. This was largely because, while fulfilling his pontifical duties, he turned his own house into a monastery; and when he was first taken from the monastery and was ordained to the ministry of the altar, having been sent to Constantinople as delegate of the apostolic see, he never ceased from his heavenly manner of life, though he had to live in an earthly palace. He even used some of the brothers from his monastery who had followed him out of brotherly love to the royal city to protect him in his observance of the Rule. Thus, as he himself writes, through their unremitting example he could bind himself, as it were by an anchor cable, to the calm shores of prayer, while he was being tossed about on the ceaseless tide of secular affairs. So his mind, shaken by worldly business, could be strengthened by the encouragement derived from daily reading and contemplation in their company. By their fellowship he was thus not only defended against worldly assaults, but was also encouraged more and more to the activities of the heavenly life.

Nam hortati sunt eum ut librum beati Iob magnis inuolutum obscuritatibus mystica interpretatione discuteret; neque negare potuit opus quod sibi fraternus amor multis utile futurum inponebat, sed eundem librum, quomodo iuxta litteram intellegendus, qualiter ad Christi et ecclesiae sacramenta referendus, quo sensu unicuique fidelium sit aptandus,[1] per XXX et V libros expositionis miranda ratione perdocuit. Quod uidelicet opus in regia quidem urbe apocrisiarius inchoauit, Romae autem iam pontifex factus expleuit. Qui cum adhuc esset regia in urbe positus, nascentem ibi nouam heresim de statu nostrae resurrectionis cum ipso, quo exorta est, initio iuuante se gratia catholicae ueritatis attriuit. Siquidem Eutycius[a] eiusdem urbis episcopus[2] dogmatizabat corpus nostrum in illa resurrectionis gloria inpalpabile, uentis aerique subtilius esse futurum; quod ille audiens, et ratione ueritatis et
p. 76 exemplo dominicae resurrectionis probauit hoc dogma / orthodoxae fidei omnimodis esse contrarium. Catholica etenim fides habet, quod corpus nostrum illa inmortalitatis gloria sublimatum subtile quidem sit per effectum spiritalis potentiae, sed palpabile per ueritatem naturae, iuxta exemplum dominici corporis, de quo a mortuis suscitato dicit ipse discipulis: 'Palpate et uidete, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.'[3] In cuius adsertione fidei uenerabilis pater Gregorius in tantum contra nascentem heresim nouam laborare contendit, tanta hanc instantia, iuuante etiam piissimo imperatore Tiberio Constantino,[4] conminuit, ut nullus exinde sit inuentus qui eius resuscitator existeret.

Alium quoque librum conposuit egregium, qui uocatur Pastoralis,[5] in quo manifesta luce patefecit, quales ad ecclesiae regimen adsumi, qualiter ipsi rectores uiuere, qua discretione singulas quasque audientium instruere personas, et quanta consideratione propriam cotidie debeant fragilitatem pensare. Sed et Omelias euangelii numero XL conposuit, quas[b] in duobus codicibus aequa

[a] Euthycius *c2* [b] quos *m*

[1] This illustrates Bede's theory of a threefold interpretation of scripture: the historical or literal, the allegorical or mystical, the tropological or moral. See Plummer, I. lxii. See also B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 1 ff.

[2] Patriarch of Constantinople, dying in 582, aged 70. These views which Gregory considered heretical were developed in his old age. He is said to have recanted them on his deathbed. His Life was written by his disciple Eustathius. Bede borrows this account from Gregory's *Moralia*, *PL*, lxxv. 1077.

[3] Luc. 24: 39.

They urged him to unfold by spiritual interpretation the book of Job, a work which is shrouded in great obscurity. Nor could he refuse the task imposed on him by his loving brethren, seeing that it was likely to be of great use to many. So in thirty-five books of exposition he taught in a marvellous manner the literal meaning of the book, its bearing on the mysteries of Christ and the Church, and the sense in which it applies to each of the faithful.[1] He began this work while he was delegate in the royal city (Constantinople) and finished it after he was made pope at Rome. While he was still in the royal city, helped by the grace of the catholic truth, he crushed at its birth a new heresy which arose there concerning our state at the resurrection. Eutychius,[2] the bishop of the city, taught that our body in its resurrection glory, would be impalpable and more subtle than wind or air. When Gregory heard this he proved both by sound reasoning and by the example of our Lord's resurrection that this dogma was contrary in every particular to the orthodox belief. For the catholic faith maintains that our body, while it is indeed exalted by the glory of immortality and made subtle by the effectual working of the spirit, is palpable by the reality of its nature as was our Lord's body, concerning which he said to his disciples, when it had been raised from the dead, 'Handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see me have.'[3] The venerable father Gregory strove so earnestly in his declaration of the faith against this new-born heresy and, with the help of the most religious emperor Tiberius Constantine,[4] suppressed it with such resolution, that no one has since been found to resuscitate it.

He composed another remarkable book called the *Pastoral Care*,[5] in which he set forth in the clearest manner what sort of persons should be chosen to rule the Church and how these rulers ought to live; with how much discrimination they should instruct different types of listeners and how earnestly they ought each day to reflect on their own frailty. He composed forty *Homilies on the Gospel*, which he divided into two volumes of equal size, and

[4] Tiberius II, emperor of the East who reigned from 578–82. He was a tolerant and enlightened Christian ruler.

[5] The *Pastoral Care* or *Regula Pastoralis* was well known to Bede and in his *Letter to Egbert* he urged him to use it (Plummer, I. 406). Alfred the Great in some verses attached to his English translation states that Augustine brought a copy to England. See E. van Kirk Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York, 1942), p. 110, and K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 144–5.

sorte distinxit. Libros etiam Dialogorum IIII fecit,[1] in quibus rogatu Petri diaconi sui uirtutes sanctorum, quos in Italia clariores nosse uel audire poterat, ad exemplum uiuendi posteris collegit ut, sicut in libris expositionum suarum quibus sit uirtutibus insudandum edocuit, ita etiam descriptis sanctorum miraculis quae uirtutum earundem sit claritas ostenderet. Primam quoque et ultimam Ezechielis prophetae partem, quae uidebantur obscuriores, per Omelias XX et duas, quantum lucis intus habeant, demonstrauit; excepto libello Responsionum, quem ad interrogationes sancti Augustini primi Anglorum gentis episcopi scripsit, ut et supra docuimus, totum ipsum libellum his inserentes
p. 77 his/toriis; libello quoque Synodico,[2] quem cum episcopis Italiae de necessariis ecclesiae causis utillimum conposuit, et familiaribus ad quosdam litteris. Quod eo magis mirum est tot eum ac tanta condere uolumina potuisse, quod omni pene iuuentutis suae tempore, ut uerbis ipsius loquar,[3] crebris uiscerum doloribus cruciabatur, horis momentisque omnibus fracta stomachi uirtute lassiscebat, lentis quidem sed tamen continuis febribus anhelabat. Verum inter haec, dum sollicitus pensaret quia scriptura teste 'Omnis filius qui recipitur flagellatur',[4] quo malis praesentibus durius deprimebatur, eo de aeterna certius praesumtione respirabat.

Haec quidem de inmortali eius sint dicta ingenio, quod nec tanto corporis potuit dolore restingui. Nam alii quidam pontifices construendis ornandisque auro uel argento ecclesiis operam dabant, hic autem totus erga animarum lucra uacabat. Quicquid pecuniae habuerat, sedulus hoc dispergere ac dare pauperibus curabat, ut iustitia eius maneret in saeculum saeculi et cornu eius exaltaretur in gloria,[5] ita ut illud beati Iob ueraciter dicere posset: 'Auris audiens beatificabat me, et oculus uidens testimonium reddebat mihi, quod liberassem pauperem uociferantem et pupillum cui non esset adiutor. Benedictio perituri super me ueniebat, et

[1] Gregory's four books of *Dialogues*, written about 594, were extremely popular and had much influence all through the Middle Ages. They take the form of narrative told by Gregory to his friend Peter the Deacon. The second book is, apart from the *Rule*, almost our only source of information about the life of St. Benedict of Nursia, while the fourth book deals with visions of the after-life which Bede and most of the later writers of saints' Lives and similar works used very considerably. In fact one may regard it as the chief Western source of those

made four books of *Dialogues*[1] in which, at the request of Peter his deacon, he collected the virtues of the most famous saints he knew or could learn of in Italy, as an example of life to posterity: as in his expository works he taught what virtues men ought to strive after, so, by describing the miracles of the saints, he showed how glorious those virtues are. He also showed in twenty-two homilies how much inner light is to be found within the most obscure sections of the prophet Ezekiel, namely the first part and the last. There is also a useful Synodal book[2] which he composed in collaboration with the bishops of Italy, dealing with some of the Church's vital problems, together with familiar letters to certain individuals, not to mention the book of answers to the questions of St. Augustine, the first bishop of the English race, which I have described above and of which the whole is included in this *History*. It is all the more wonderful that he was able to produce so many books and of such length since almost continually throughout his early manhood he had been, to use his own words,[3] tortured with frequent pains in the bowels and every moment of the day he was exhausted by a weakness of the internal organs, and his breathing was affected by a low but unremitting fever. Yet always amid these troubles, when he carefully reflected on the testimony of the scriptures that, 'He scourgeth every son whom he receiveth',[4] the more severely he was oppressed by present evils, the more surely he was refreshed by eternal hope.

This much may be said of his immortal spirit, which could not be quenched by so much bodily pain. Other popes applied themselves to the task of building churches and adorning them with gold and silver, but he devoted himself entirely to winning souls. Whatever money he had, he took diligent care to distribute it and give to the poor, that his righteousness might endure for ever and his horn be exalted with honour,[5] so that the words of the blessed Job might truly be said of him: 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me and when the eye saw me it gave witness to me because I delivered the poor that cried and the fatherless also that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon

visions of heaven, hell, and purgatory which formed an important genre in medieval literature and reached its highest point in Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

[2] This *Libellus Synodicus* as Paul Meyvaert has shown (*Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. XII, 2 (1961), 298 f.) deals with the acts of the Roman synod of 595 referred to by Bede in his *Chronica Maiora*.

[3] *PL*, LXXV. 515. [4] Hebr. 12: 6. [5] Ps. 111 (112): 9.

cor uiduae consolatus sum. Iustitia indutus sum, et uestiui me sicut uestimento et diademate iudicio meo. Oculus fui caeco et pes claudo. Pater eram pauperum, et causam quam nesciebam diligentissime inuestigabam. Conterebam molas iniqui, et de dentibus illius auferebam praedam.'[1] Et paulo post 'Si negaui' inquit 'quod uolebant pauperibus, et oculos uiduae expectare feci; si comedi /
p. 78 bucellam meam solus, et non comedit pupillus ex ea; quia ab infantia mea creuit mecum miseratio, et de utero matris meae egressa est mecum.'[2]

Ad cuius pietatis et iustitiae opus pertinet etiam hoc, quod nostram gentem per praedicatores, quos huc direxit, de dentibus antiqui hostis eripiens aeternae libertatis fecit esse participem; cuius fidei et saluti congaudens, quamque digna laude commendans, ipse dicit in expositione beati Iob: 'Ecce lingua Brittaniae, quae nihil aliud nouerat quam barbarum[a] frendere, iamdudum in diuinis laudibus Hebreum coepit alleluia resonare. Ecce quondam tumidus, iam substratus sanctorum pedibus seruit Oceanus, eiusque barbaros motus, quos terreni principes edomare ferro nequiuerant, hos pro diuina formidine sacerdotum ora simplicibus uerbis ligant, et qui cateruas pugnantium infidelis nequaquam metueret, iam nunc fidelis humilium linguas timet. Quia enim perceptis caelestibus uerbis, clarescentibus quoque miraculis, uirtus ei diuinae cognitionis infunditur, eiusdem diuinitatis terrore refrenatur, ut praue agere metuat ac totis desideriis ad aeternitatis gratiam uenire concupiscat.'[3] Quibus uerbis beatus Gregorius hoc quoque declarat, quia sanctus Augustinus et socii eius non sola praedicatione uerborum sed etiam caelestium ostensione signorum gentem Anglorum ad agnitionem ueritatis perducebant.

Fecit inter alia beatus papa Gregorius ut in ecclesiis sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli super corpora eorum missae celebrarentur; sed et in ipsa missarum celebratione tria uerba maximae perfectionis plena superadiecit:[4] 'Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.'

p. 79 Rexit autem ecclesiam temporibus imperatorum Mauricii et Focatis. Secundo autem eiusdem Focatis anno transiens ex hac uita migrauit ad ueram, quae in caelis est, uitam. Sepultus uero

[a] barbara (*probably*) *c2*

[1] Job 29: 11–17. [2] Job 31: 16–18. [3] *PL*, LXXVI. 411.

[4] Gregory's addition to the Canon of the Mass quoted here Bede borrowed from the *Liber Pontificalis*. The three petitions were added to the prayer before the consecration which begins, *Hanc igitur*.

me and I consoled the widow's heart. I put on righteousness and I clothed myself with my judgement as with a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor and the cause which I knew not, I diligently searched out. I broke the jaws of the wicked and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.'[1] And again a little further on he says, 'If I have withheld their desire from the poor or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; if I have eaten my morsel myself alone and the fatherless has not eaten thereof; for from my youth my compassion grew up with me and from my mother's womb it came forth with me.'[2]

To his works of piety and justice this also belongs, that he snatched our race from the teeth of the ancient foe and made them partakers of everlasting freedom by sending us preachers. Rejoicing in their faith and commending them with worthy praise he says in his commentary on the blessed Job: 'Lo, the mouth of Britain, which once only knew how to gnash its barbarous teeth, has long since learned to sing the praises of God with the alleluia of the Hebrews. See how the proud Ocean has become a servant, lying low now before the feet of the saints, and those barbarous motions, which earthly princes could not subdue with the sword, are now, through the fear of God, repressed with a simple word from the lips of priests; and he who, as an unbeliever, did not flinch before troops of warriors, now, as a believer, fears the words of the humble. For having received the heavenly Word and being enlightened by miracles as well, he is filled with the grace and the knowledge of God. He is restrained by the fear of God so that he dreads to do evil and with all his heart he longs to attain to everlasting grace.'[3] In these words St. Gregory also declares that St. Augustine and his companions led the English race to the knowledge of the truth, not only by preaching the Word but also by showing heavenly signs.

Amongst other things Pope St. Gregory arranged that masses should be celebrated in the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul over their bodies. And in the celebration of the mass, he added three quite perfect petitions,[4] 'Dispose our days in peace, and command that we be saved from eternal damnation, and that we be numbered among the flock of thine elect'.

He ruled the Church during the days of the Emperors Maurice and Phocas. He departed this life in the second year of Phocas and passed to the true life in heaven. His body was buried in the

est corpore in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ante secretarium[1] die quarto iduum Martiarum, quandoque in ipso cum ceteris sanctae ecclesiae pastoribus resurrecturus in gloria, scriptumque in tumba ipsius epitaphium huiusmodi:

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumtum,
Reddere quod ualeas uiuificante Deo.
Spiritus astra petit, loeti nil iura nocebunt,
Cui uitae alterius mors magis ipsa uia est.
Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra sepulchro,
Qui innumeris semper uiuit ubique bonis.
Esuriem dapibus superauit, frigora ueste,
Atque animas monitis texit ab hoste sacris,
Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,
Esset ut exemplum mystica uerba loquens.
Ad Christum Anglos conuertit pietate magistra,
Adquirens fidei agmina gente noua.
Hic labor, hoc studium, haec tibi cura, hoc pastor agebas,
Vt Domino offerres plurima lucra gregis.
Hisque Dei consul factus laetare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum iam sine fine tenes.

Nec silentio praetereunda opinio, quae de beato Gregorio traditione maiorum ad nos usque perlata est,[2] qua uidelicet ex causa admonitus tam sedulam erga salutem nostrae gentis curam gesserit. Dicunt quia die quadam, cum aduenientibus nuper mercatoribus multa uenalia in forum fuissent conlata, multi ad emendum confluxissent, et ipsum Gregorium inter alios aduenisse,
p. 80 ac uidisse inter alia pueros uenales / positos candidi corporis ac uenusti uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia. Quos cum aspiceret, interrogauit, ut aiunt, de qua regione uel terra essent adlati; dictumque est quia de Brittania insula, cuius incolae talis essent aspectus. Rursus interrogauit utrum idem insulani Christiani, an paganis adhuc erroribus essent inplicati. Dictum est quod essent pagani. At ille, intimo ex corde longa trahens suspiria, 'Heu, pro dolor!' inquit 'quod tam lucidi uultus homines tenebrarum auctor possidet, tantaque gratia frontispicii mentem ab interna gratia uacuam gestat!' Rursus ergo interrogauit, quod esset

[1] *Secretarium* is used in medieval Latin both of the room in which bishops conducted their business and of a sacristy. The Whitby *Life* says that Gregory was buried *ante eius officii secretarium* which suggests the former meaning. Bede however seems to use the word in the sense of a sanctuary. Cf. iii. 14 and iii. 26. Here he is borrowing from the *Liber Pontificalis*.

church of St. Peter the Apostle, before the sanctuary,[1] on 12 March; and in that body he will one day rise again in glory together with the other pastors of the Church. His epitaph written on his tomb runs as follows:

> Earth, take this corse—'tis dust of thine own dust:
> When God shall give new life, restore thy trust.
> Star-bound his soul: for Death's writ does not run
> Where grave's but gateway to life new-begun.
> A great high-priest this sepulchre inherits,
> Who lives for ever by uncounted merits;
> Hunger with meat, winter with clothes he ended,
> Souls with sound learning from the foe defended;
> Whate'er he taught, himself fulfilled in act—
> Mystic his words, but his example fact.
> Anglia to Christ at piety's dictation
> He turned, won thousands from an unknown nation.
> Thus that great shepherd laboured, thus he wrought;
> To increase his Master's flock was all his thought.
> Take thy reward in triumph and in joy,
> Who in God's council sit'st eternally!

We must not fail to relate the story about St. Gregory which has come down to us as a tradition of our forefathers.[2] It explains the reason why he showed such earnest solicitude for the salvation of our race. It is said that one day, soon after some merchants had arrived in Rome, a quantity of merchandise was exposed for sale in the market place. Crowds came to buy and Gregory too amongst them. As well as other merchandise he saw some boys put up for sale, with fair complexions, handsome faces, and lovely hair. On seeing them he asked, so it is said, from what region or land they had been brought. He was told that they came from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were like that in appearance. He asked again whether those islanders were Christians or still entangled in the errors of heathenism. He was told that they were heathen. Then with a deep-drawn sigh he said, 'Alas that the author of darkness should have men so bright of face in his grip, and that minds devoid of inward grace should bear so graceful an outward form.' Again he asked for the name of the race. He was told that

[2] This story which Bede says is traditional is found in a shorter and slightly different form in the Whitby *Life*. Both authors are probably quoting from different forms of the oral tradition.

uocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: 'Bene' inquit; 'nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa prouincia, de qua isti sunt adlati?' Responsum est quia Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales. At ille 'Bene' inquit 'Deiri, de ira eruti et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?' Responsum est quod Aelle diceretur.[1] At ille adludens ad nomen ait: 'Alleluia, laudem Dei Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.' Accedensque ad pontificem Romanae et apostolicae sedis (nondum enim erat ipse pontifex factus) rogauit ut genti Anglorum in Brittaniam aliquos uerbi ministros, per quos ad Christum conuerteretur, mitteret; se ipsum paratum esse in hoc opus Domino cooperante perficiendum, si tamen apostolico papae hoc ut fieret placeret. Quod dum perficere non posset quia, etsi pontifex concedere illi quod petierat uoluit, non tamen ciues Romani, ut tam longe ab urbe secederet, potuere per-
p. 81 mittere, mox ut ipse pontificatus officio functus / est, perfecit opus diu desideratum, alios quidem praedicatores mittens sed ipse praedicationem ut fructificaret suis exhortationibus ac precibus adiuuans. Haec iuxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus, historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere oportunum duximus.

II

INTEREA Augustinus adiutorio usus Aedilbercti regis conuocauit ad suum colloquium episcopos siue doctores proximae Brettonum prouinciae in loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustinaes Ac, id est Robur Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum[a] et Occidentalium Saxonum appellatur,[2] coepitque eis fraterna admonitione suadere, ut pace catholica secum habita communem euangelizandi gentibus pro Domino laborem susciperent. Non enim paschae diem dominicum suo tempore sed a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam obseruabant, quae conputatio LXXXIIII

[a] Wicciorum *c2*

they were called *Angli*. 'Good', he said, 'they have the face of angels, and such men should be fellow-heirs of the angels in heaven'. 'What is the name', he asked, 'of the kingdom from which they have been brought?' He was told that the men of the kingdom were called *Deiri*. '*Deiri*', he replied, '*De ira!* good! snatched from the wrath of Christ and called to his mercy. And what is the name of the king of the land?' He was told that it was Ælle;[1] and playing on the name, he said, 'Alleluia! the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts.' So he went to the bishop of Rome and of the apostolic see, for he himself had not yet been made pope, and asked him to send some ministers of the word to the race of the Angles in Britain to convert them to Christ. He added that he himself was prepared to carry out the task with the help of the Lord provided that the pope was willing. But he was unable to perform this mission, because although the pope was willing to grant his request, the citizens of Rome could not permit him to go so far away from the city. Soon after he had become pope, he fulfilled the task which he had long desired. It is true that he sent other preachers, but he himself helped their preaching to bear fruit by his encouragement and prayers. I have thought it proper to insert this story into this Church *History*, based as it is on the tradition which we have received from our ancestors.

CHAPTER II

MEANWHILE Augustine, making use of the help of King Æthelberht, summoned the bishops and teachers of the neighbouring British kingdom to a conference at a place which is still called in English *Augustinæs Ác*, that is Augustine's oak, on the borders of the Hwicce and the West Saxons.[2] He proceeded to urge them with brotherly admonitions, that they should preserve catholic peace with him and undertake the joint labour of evangelizing the heathen for the Lord's sake. They did not keep Easter Sunday at the proper time, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of

[1] Ælle, the first king of Deira, began to reign according to the *ASC* (MSS. A, B, C, and E) in 560. The F MS. makes the year 559.

[2] The site is unknown but the kingdom of the Hwicce included Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and the western half of Warwickshire. Theodore made it into a separate diocese with its seat at Worcester and so it became the medieval diocese of Worcester.

annorum circulo continetur;[1] sed et alia plurima unitati ecclesiasticae[a] contraria faciebant. Qui cum longa disputatione habita neque precibus neque hortamentis neque increpationibus Augustini ac sociorum eius adsensum praebere uoluissent, sed suas potius traditiones uniuersis quae per orbem sibi in Christo concordant ecclesiis praeferrent, sanctus pater Augustinus hunc laboriosi ac longi certaminis finem fecit, ut diceret: 'Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare facit unianimes in domu Patris sui,[2] ut ipse nobis insinuare caelestibus signis dignetur, quae sequenda traditio, quibus sit uiis ad ingressum regni illius properandum.
p. 82 Adducatur / aliquis eger, et per cuius preces fuerit curatus, huius fides et operatio Deo deuota atque omnibus sequenda credatur.' Quod cum aduersarii, inuiti licet, concederent, adlatus est quidam de genere Anglorum oculorum luce priuatus. Qui cum oblatus Brettonum sacerdotibus nil curationis uel sanationis horum ministerio perciperet, tandem Augustinus iusta necessitate conpulsus flectit genua sua ad Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi,[3] deprecans ut uisum caeco quem amiserat restitueret, et per inluminationem unius hominis corporalem in plurimorum corde fidelium spiritalis gratiam lucis accenderet. Nec mora, inluminatur caecus, ac uerus summae lucis praeco ab omnibus praedicatur Augustinus. Tum Brettones confitentur quidem intellexisse se ueram esse uiam iustitiae quam praedicaret Augustinus, sed non se posse absque suorum consensu ac licentia priscis abdicare moribus; unde postulabant ut secundo synodus pluribus aduenientibus fieret.

Quod cum esset statutum, uenerunt, ut perhibent, VII Brettonum episcopi[4] et plures uiri doctissimi, maxime de nobilissimo

[a] ecclesiae *c2*

[1] The controversy over the correct date of Easter occupies what seems to modern readers an inordinate amount of space throughout the *History*. But it is necessary to remember that the whole Christian calendar depends on the date of the Easter feast. Therefore differences of usage were a constant reminder of the division of the Catholic Church; it was also an outward sign of refusal to accept the rulings of Rome and her claim to authority over the Western Churches; finally Bede himself was deeply interested in the question for its own sake. The two points at issue between the Celtic and Roman Churches were: first what are the days of the moon between which Easter Sunday may be celebrated; secondly, how can one know the exact day on which the Paschal full moon falls. The Celtic Church said that Easter Sunday might be celebrated between the fourteenth and twentieth day of the moon, the Roman Church, between the fifteenth and twenty-first. The second question was answered by the adoption of cycles: the Roman Church about 457 adopted a cycle drawn up by Victorius of Aquitaine

the lunar month; this reckoning is based on an 84-year cycle.[1] They did other things too which were not in keeping with the unity of the Church. After a long dispute they were unwilling, in spite of the prayers, exhortations, and rebukes of Augustine and his companions to give their assent, preferring their own traditions to those in which all the churches throughout the world agree in Christ. The holy father Augustine brought the long and wearisome struggle to an end by saying, 'Let us pray God who makes men to be of one mind in his Father's house[2] to vouchsafe to show us by heavenly signs which tradition is to be followed and by what paths we must hasten to enter his kingdom. Let some sick man be brought, and let the faith and practice of him by whose prayers he is healed be considered as in accordance with God's will and proper for us all to follow.' His adversaries agreed unwillingly and a man of English race was brought forward who was blind. He was presented to the British bishops, but no healing or benefit was obtained from their ministry. Then Augustine, compelled by genuine necessity, prayed, bowing his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,[3] that he would restore his lost sight to the blind man and, through the bodily enlightenment of one man, would bring the grace of spiritual light to the hearts of many believers. At once the blind man's sight was restored and all acknowledged Augustine to be a true herald of the heavenly light. Then the Britons confessed that they realized that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine preached but that they could not disown their former customs without the consent and approval of their own people. They therefore asked that a conference should be held for a second time and that more should attend.

When this had been decided upon, it is related that seven British bishops[4] and many learned men came, chiefly from their

comprising 532 years, from A.D. 28–559. Later the Roman Church adopted the cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, which ran for nineteen-year periods. Apparently, from this passage and v. 21, the Celtic Church used an older 84-year cycle. There is some evidence that they were familiar also with the Victorian cycle.

[2] Ps. 67 (68): 7. [3] Eph. 3: 14.

[4] Bede does not mention whether these bishops ruled over dioceses. The whole question of Celtic dioceses at this time is shrouded in obscurity. Patrick is said to have appointed bishops in considerable numbers whose task was to ordain clergy, consecrate churches, baptize, confirm, and give spiritual guidance. See L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932), p. 227. See also p. 224, n. 1.

eorum monasterio quod uocatur lingua Anglorum Bancornaburg,[1] cui tempore illo Dinoot abbas praefuisse narratur. Qui ad praefatum ituri[a] concilium uenerunt primo ad quendam uirum sanctum ac prudentem, qui apud eos anachoreticam ducere uitam solebat, consulentes an ad praedicationem Augustini suas deserere traditiones deberent. Qui respondebat: 'Si homo Dei est, sequimini illum.' Dixerunt: 'Et unde hoc possumus probare?' At ille 'Dominus' inquit 'ait: Tollite iugum meum super uos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.[2] Si ergo Augustinus ille mitis est et humilis corde, credibile est quia iugum Christi et ipse
p. 83 portet et / uobis portandum offerat; sin autem inmitis ac superbus est, constat quia non est de Deo, neque nobis eius sermo curandus.' Qui rursus aiebant: 'Et unde uel hoc dinoscere ualemus?' 'Procurate' inquit 'ut ipse prior cum suis ad locum synodi adueniat, et si uobis adpropinquantibus adsurrexerit, scientes quia famulus Christi est, obtemperanter illum audite; sin autem uos spreuerit nec coram uobis adsurgere uoluerit, cum sitis numero plures, et ipse spernatur a uobis.' Fecerunt ut dixerat, factumque est ut uenientibus illis sederet Augustinus in sella. Quod illi uidentes mox in iram conuersi sunt, eumque notantes superbiae cunctis quae dicebat contradicere laborabant. Dicebat autem eis quia[b] 'in multis quidem nostrae consuetudini, immo uniuersalis ecclesiae contraria geritis; et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare uultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi quo Deo renascimur iuxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae conpleatis,[3] ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum uerbum Domini praedicetis,[c] cetera quae agitis, quamuis moribus nostris contraria, aequanimiter cuncta tollerabimus.' At illi nihil horum se facturos neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant, conferentes adinuicem quia 'si modo nobis adsurgere noluit,

[a] ituri ad praefatum *c2* [b] quod *c2* [c] predicetis uerbum Domini *c2*

[1] The monastery at Bangor Iscoed was one of the best known on British soil. Notice the importance of the hermit in the story, even greater than that of Abbot Dinoot himself. The hermit in the Celtic Church was considered to have reached the highest stage of Christian development. Even Bede, speaking of Cuthbert's hermit life, says that he was now 'held worthy to rise to the repose of divine contemplation' (*VP*, chapter 17). Bede adds that crowds came to seek his advice (*VP*, chapter 22).

[2] Matth. 11: 29.

most famous monastery which the English call *Bancornaburg* (Bangor Iscoed).[1] At that time it is said to have been ruled over by Abbot Dinoot. As they were about to set out for the conference, they went first to a certain holy and prudent man who lived as a hermit among them to consult him as to whether they ought to forsake their own traditions at the bidding of Augustine. He answered, 'If he is a man of God, follow him.' They replied, 'But how can we tell?' He answered, 'The Lord said: Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.[2] If this Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, it is to be supposed that he himself bears the yoke of Christ and is offering it to you to bear; but if he is harsh and proud, it follows that he is not from God and we have no need to regard his words.' Once more they said, 'But how can we know even this?' He said, 'Contrive that he and his followers arrive first at the meeting place and, if he rises on your approach, you will know that he is a servant of Christ and will listen to him obediently; but if he despises you and is not willing to rise in your presence, even though your numbers are greater, you should despise him in return.' They did as he had said. Now it happened that Augustine remained seated while they were coming in; when they saw this, they forthwith became enraged and, setting him down as a proud man, strove to contradict everything he said. Then he said to them, 'You do many things which are contrary to our customs or rather to the customs of the universal Church; nevertheless, if you are willing to submit to me in three points, we will gladly tolerate all else that you do, even though it is contrary to our customs. The three points are: to keep Easter at the proper time; to perform the sacrament of baptism, whereby we are born again to God, according to the rites of the holy Roman and apostolic Church;[3] and to preach the word of the Lord to the English people in fellowship with us.' They answered that they would do none of these things nor would they accept him as their archbishop, saying between themselves that if he was even unwilling to rise at their approach now, he

[3] How the Celtic rite of baptism differed from the Roman rite is not known. The other obvious difference of practice was the form of tonsure adopted. The Western or Petrine form used by the Roman Church was a circlet of hair around the shaven crown which symbolized the crown of thorns. The Celtic tonsure seems to have left the hair long at the back while the front was shaved bare. It is quite possible that this was similar to the druidic tonsure, which would have unpleasant associations for the stricter Roman school (see also p. 548, n. 5).

quanto magis, si ei subdi coeperimus, iam nos pro nihilo contemnet.' Quibus uir Domini Augustinus fertur minitans praedixisse[1] quia, si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi, et si nationi Anglorum noluissent uiam uitae praedicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita per omnia, ut praedixerat, diuino agente iudicio patratum est.

p. 84 Siquidem post haec ipse, de quo diximus, rex Anglo/rum fortissimus Aedilfrid collecto grandi exercitu ad Ciuitatem Legionum, quae a gente Anglorum Legacaestir,[2] a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur, maximam gentis perfidae stragem dedit. Cumque bellum acturus uideret sacerdotes eorum, qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente conuenerant, seorsum in tutiore loco consistere, sciscitabatur qui essent hi quidue acturi illo conuenissent. Erant autem plurimi eorum de monasterio Bancor, in quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum praepositis sibi rectoribus monasterium diuisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum uiuere solebant.[3] Horum ergo plurimi ad memoratam aciem, peracto ieiunio triduano, cum aliis orandi causa conuenerant, habentes defensorem nomine Brocmailum, qui eos intentos precibus a barbarorum gladiis protegeret. Quorum causam aduentus cum intellexisset rex Aedilfrid, ait: 'Ergo si aduersum nos ad Deum suum clamant, profecto et ipsi, quamuis arma non ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui aduersis nos inprecationibus persequuntur.' Itaque in hos primum arma uerti iubet, et sic ceteras nefandae militiae copias non sine magno exercitus sui damno deleuit. Extinctos in ea pugna ferunt de his qui ad orandum uenerant uiros circiter mille ducentos, et solum L fuga esse lapsos. Brocmail ad primum hostium aduentum cum suis terga uertens, eos quos defendere debuerat inermes ac nudos ferientibus gladiis reliquit. Sicque completum est presagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamuis ipso iam multo ante tempore ad caelestia

[1] Augustine's attitude throughout the conference does not seem very tactful. In any case the Britons would hardly have been very ready to accept as an archbishop one so closely associated with the hated Saxon conqueror, even if his attitude had been much more conciliatory.

[2] Modern Chester. After this battle it was desolate right up to Alfred's time; see *ASC*, *s.a.* 893.

would despise them much more if they were to begin to give way to him. It is said that Augustine, the man of God, warned them with threats[1] that, if they refused to accept peace from their brethren, they would have to accept war from their enemies; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they would one day suffer the vengeance of death at their hands. This, through the workings of divine judgement, came to pass in every particular as he had foretold.

For later on, that very powerful king of the English, Æthelfrith, whom we have already spoken of, collected a great army against the city of the legions which is called *Legacæstir*[2] by the English and more correctly *Caerlegion* (Chester) by the Britons, and made a great slaughter of that nation of heretics. When he was about to give battle and saw their priests, who had assembled to pray to God on behalf of the soldiers taking part in the fight, standing apart in a safer place, he asked who they were and for what purpose they had gathered there. Most of them were from the monastery of Bangor, where there was said to be so great a number of monks that, when it was divided into seven parts with superiors over each, no division had less than 300 men, all of whom were accustomed to live by the labour of their hands.[3] After a three days' fast, most of these had come to the battle in order to pray with the others. They had a guard named Brocmail, whose duty it was to protect them against the barbarians' swords while they were praying. When Æthelfrith heard why they had come he said, 'If they are praying to their God against us, then, even if they do not bear arms, they are fighting against us, assailing us as they do with prayers for our defeat.' So he ordered them to be attacked first and then he destroyed the remainder of their wicked host, though not without heavy losses. It is said that in this battle about twelve hundred men were slain who had come to pray and only fifty escaped by flight. Brocmail and his men at the first enemy attack turned their backs on those whom they should have defended, leaving them unarmed and helpless before the swords of their foes. Thus the prophecy of the holy Bishop Augustine was fulfilled, although he had long been translated to the heavenly

[3] Several of the Celtic monasteries were very large. St. Comgall of Bangor, St. Brendan of Clonfert, and St. Finnian of Clonard are each said to have had 3,000 disciples living with them. L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 73 ff.

p. 85 regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultione / sentirent perfidi, quod oblata sibi perpetuae salutis consilia spreuerant.[a1]

III

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCIIII Augustinus Brittaniarum archiepiscopus ordinauit duos episcopos, Mellitum uidelicet et Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad praedicandum prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum qui Tamense fluuio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis Lundonia ciuitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium; in qua uidelicet gente tunc temporis Saberct nepos Aedilbercti ex sorore Ricula regnabat, quamuis sub potestate positus eiusdem Aedilbercti qui omnibus, ut supra dictum est, usque ad terminum Humbrae fluminis Anglorum gentibus imperabat. Vbi uero et haec prouincia uerbum ueritatis praedicante Mellito accepit, fecit rex Aedilberct in ciuitate Lundonia ecclesiam sancti Pauli apostoli, in qua locum sedis episcopalis et ipse et successores eius haberent. Iustum uero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinauit in ciuitate Dorubreui, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofaescaestrae cognominat; distat autem a Doruuerni milibus passuum ferme XXIIII ad occidentem. In qua rex Aedilberct ecclesiam beati Andreae apostoli fecit;[2] qui etiam episcopis utriusque huius ecclesiae dona multa, sicut et Doruuernensis, obtulit, sed et territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum, qui erant cum episcopis, adiecit.

p. 86 Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus eius foras iuxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cuius supra meminimus, quia necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox uero ut dedicata est, intro inlatum et in porticu[3]

[a] spreuerunt *c2*

[1] While Bede is always friendly towards the Irish and Picts, this story in which he shows no sympathy for the slaughtered monks reflects his deep sense of the sin of the Britons in refusing to have any dealings with their Saxon fellow Christians. The story is also possibly told as an example of Augustine's prophetic powers. The gift of prophecy together with the power to work miracles both had their place in the Life of the typical saint.

[2] The remains of Æthelberht's church were uncovered in 1889 but little except rubble foundations survive. It had a stilted apse, like the Canterbury churches, and traces of a triple arcade leading into the choir such as were also

kingdom, namely that those heretics would also suffer the vengeance of temporal death because they had despised the offer of everlasting salvation.[1]

CHAPTER III

In the year of our Lord 604 Augustine, archbishop of Britain, consecrated two bishops, namely Mellitus and Justus. He consecrated Mellitus to preach in the province of the East Saxons, which is divided from Kent by the river Thames and borders on the sea to the east. Its chief city is London, which is on the banks of that river and is an emporium for many nations who come to it by land and sea. At that time Sæberht, nephew of Æthelberht and son of his sister Ricule, ruled over the nation although he was under the dominion of Æthelberht's who, as already said, held sway over all the English nations as far as the Humber. After this race had accepted the word of truth through the preaching of Mellitus, King Æthelberht built the church of the apostle St. Paul in the city of London, in which Mellitus and his successors were to have their episcopal seat. Augustine consecrated Justus in Kent itself, in the city of *Dorubrevis* which the English call *Hrofæscæstræ* (Rochester), after one of their former chiefs whose name was Hrof. It is about twenty-four miles west of Canterbury and in it King Æthelberht built the church of the apostle St. Andrew;[2] he later bestowed many gifts on the bishops of each of these churches and that of Canterbury; and he also added both lands and possessions for the maintenance of the bishops' retinues.

On the death of our father Augustine, a man beloved of God, his body was buried outside but close to the church of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul mentioned already, for it was not yet either finished or consecrated. But as soon as it was consecrated, the body was carried inside and honourably buried in the chapel[3] on the

found at Lyminge, Reculver, and Bradwell-on-Sea. Clapham, pp. 21–22, figs. 7 and 8 and pls. 2 and 3, and Taylor, II. 518–19.

[3] The word *porticus* is used frequently in Bede and in other contemporary writers such as Eddius. It seems to mean a separate chapel opening out from the nave or the chancel, the doorway leading into it being usually small; they were often used as burial chambers. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury (later St. Augustine's) had *porticus* on the north and south sides, as excavations have revealed. Clapham, fig. 6 and pp. 18 ff., and Taylor, I. 13, 134–9.

illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est; in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumulata praeter duorum tantummodo, id est Theodori et Berctualdi, quorum in ipsa ecclesia posita sunt, eo quod praedicta porticus plura capere nequiuit. Habet haec in medio pene sui[a] altare in honore beati papae Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agendae eorum sollemniter celebrantur. Scriptum uero est in tumba eiusdem Augustini epitaphium huiusmodi: 'Hic requiescit domnus Augustinus Doruuernensis archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Aedilberctum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et conpletis in pace diebus officii sui defunctus est septima kalendas Iunias eodem rege regnante.'[1]

IIII

Successit Augustino in episcopatum Laurentius, quem ipse idcirco adhuc uiuens ordinauerat,[2] ne se defuncto status ecclesiae tam rudis uel ad horam pastore destitutus uacillare inciperet. In quo et exemplum sequebatur primi pastoris ecclesiae, hoc est /
p. 87 beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, qui fundata Romae ecclesia Christi Clementem sibi adiutorem euangelizandi, simul et successorem consecrasse perhibetur. Laurentius archiepiscopi gradu potitus strenuissime fundamenta ecclesiae, quae nobiliter iacta uidit, augmentare atque[b] ad profectum debiti culminis et crebra uoce sanctae exhortationis et continuis piae operationis exemplis prouehere curauit. Denique non solum nouae, quae de Anglis erat collecta, ecclesiae curam gerebat, sed et ueterum Brittaniae incolarum necnon et Scottorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Brittaniae proximam incolunt,[3] populis pastoralem inpendere sollicitudinem

[a] sui pene *c2* [b] et *c2*

[1] Bede does not mention the exact year of St. Augustine's death but it must have been either 604 or 605, probably the latter.

[2] It was laid down by canon law that no successor to a bishopric should be elected or designated during the reign of his predecessor. But this rule was sometimes broken when there was good reason. Thus, two bishops were appointed to the East Anglian diocese while Bisi was still alive but infirm (iv. 5).

north side. In it the bodies of all succeeding archbishops have been buried with the exception of two, Theodore and Berhtwold, whose bodies were placed in the church itself because there was no more room in the chapel. Almost in the middle of the chapel is an altar dedicated in honour of the pope St. Gregory, at which a priest of that place celebrates a solemn mass in their memory every Saturday. This is the epitaph inscribed on Augustine's tomb: 'Here lies the most reverend Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, who was formerly sent hither by St. Gregory, bishop of Rome; being supported by God in the working of miracles, he led King Æthelberht and his nation from the worship of idols to faith in Christ and ended the days of his office in peace; he died on the twenty-sixth day of May during the reign of the same king.'[1]

CHAPTER IV

AUGUSTINE was succeeded in the episcopate by Laurence, whom he had consecrated during his lifetime[2] lest, when he was dead, the church, being in so raw a condition, might begin to falter if deprived of its shepherd even for an hour. Herein he followed the example of the first pastor of the Church, St. Peter, chief of the apostles, who, when the Church of Christ was founded at Rome, is said to have consecrated Clement to help him in evangelistic work and at the same time to be his successor. When Laurence had acquired the rank of archbishop, he strove to build up the foundations of the church which had been so magnificently laid and to aise it to its destined height; this he did by frequent words of holy exhortation and by continually setting a pattern of good works. For example, he not only undertook the charge of the new Church which had been gathered from among the English, but he also endeavoured to bestow his pastoral care upon the older inhabitants of Britain as well as upon those Irish who live in Ireland, which is an island close to Britain.[3] He came to realize that in Ireland, as well

Oftfor was consecrated bishop of the Hwicce in place of Bosel, who was too ill to act (iv. 23). St. John of Beverley consecrated his priest Wilfrid to be bishop of York when he was unable to act (v. 6). Pope Zacharias in 743 sternly refused Boniface's request that he might place a successor in his see, though he relented later. (Tange, nos. 50, 51, 80.)

[3] Bede distinguishes between the Irish (*Scotti*) who lived in Scotland after the Dalriada expedition and those still living in Ireland. See p. 16, n. 1.

curabat. Siquidem ubi Scottorum in praefata ipsorum patria, quomodo et Brettonum in ipsa Brittania, uitam ac professionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis esse cognouit, maxime quod paschae sollemnitatem non suo tempore celebrarent sed, ut supra docuimus, a quarta decima luna usque ad uicesimam dominicae resurrectionis diem obseruandum esse putarent, scripsit cum coepiscopis suis exhortatoriam ad eos epistulam, obsecrans eos et contestans unitatem pacis et catholicae obseruationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, ecclesia Christi tenere. Cuius uidelicet epistulae principium hoc est:

Dominis carissimis fratribus episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam Laurentius Mellitus et Iustus episcopi, serui seruorum Dei.

Dum nos sedes apostolica more suo, sicut in uniuerso orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad praedicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quae Brittania nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus, credentes quod iuxta morem uniuersalis ecclesiae ingrederentur, in magna reuerentia sanctitatis tam Brettones
p. 88 quam Scottos uenerati sumus; sed cognoscentes / Brettones, Scottos meliores putauimus. Scottos uero per Daganum episcopum[1] in hanc, quam superius memorauimus, insulam, et Columbanum abbatem[2] in Gallis[a] uenientem nihil discrepare a Brettonibus in eorum conuersatione didicimus. Nam Daganus episcopus ad nos ueniens non solum cibum nobiscum sed nec in eodem hospitio, quo uescebamur, sumere uoluit.

Misit idem Laurentius cum coepiscopis suis etiam Brettonum sacerdotibus litteras suo gradui condignas, quibus eos in unitate catholica confirmare satagit. Sed quantum haec agendo profecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant.

His temporibus uenit Mellitus Lundoniae episcopus Romam, de necessariis ecclesiae Anglorum cum apostolico papa Bonifatio tractaturus. Et cum idem papa reuerentissimus cogeret synodum episcoporum Italiae, de uita monachorum et quiete ordinaturus,

[a] Galliis *c2*

[1] As P. Grosjean has shown (*Analecta Bollandiana*, LXIV (1946), 235–6), this can hardly be Dagan of Inber Doilh as is generally supposed. This man was apparently never a bishop, for his name occurs under 13 September in the *Martyrology of Tallaght* which is most careful to distinguish between saints as bishops, priests, or deacons, and he is not named bishop. It is more likely to have been a certain Dagan, a bishop, who appears under 12 March in the same martyrology. The complete refusal of the British Church to have any dealings with the Roman party is illustrated in a letter from Aldhelm written about 705 to Geraint, king of Devon and Cornwall. Aldhelm alleges that the British not

as in Britain, the life and profession of the people was not in accordance with church practice in many things. He noticed especially that they did not celebrate the festival of Easter at the proper time but, as we have said before, held that the day of the Lord's resurrection should be observed from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the paschal moon. So he wrote a letter of exhortation in conjunction with his fellow bishops, beseeching and warning them to keep the unity of peace and of catholic observance with the Church of Christ which is scattered over the whole world. This is the beginning of the letter:

To our most beloved brethren the bishops and abbots throughout the whole realm of Ireland, Bishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, servants of the servants of God.

The apostolic see, according to its custom in all parts of the world, directed us to preach to the heathen in these western regions, and it was our lot to come to this island of Britain; before we knew them we held the holiness both of the Britons and of the Irish in great esteem, thinking that they walked according to the customs of the universal Church: but on becoming acquainted with the Britons, we still thought that the Irish would be better. But now we have learned from Bishop Dagan[1] when he came to this island and from Abbot Columban[2] when he came to Gaul that the Irish did not differ from the Britons in their way of life. For when Bishop Dagan came to us he refused to take food, not only with us but even in the very house where we took our meals.

This Laurence with his fellow bishops also sent a letter, of a sort befitting his rank, to the British priests, striving to bring them into catholic unity. But the present state of affairs shows how little he succeeded.

About this time Mellitus, bishop of London, went to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface about the needs of the English Church. The holy father had summoned a synod[3] of the bishops of Italy

only refused to eat with them but even threw any food they had touched to the pigs and dogs. Any Briton consorting with them had to do penance for forty days. *MGH, Auct. Ant.* xv. 480 ff.

[2] He was the Irish saint who began the long line of missionary migrations to the Continent. He left Ireland with twelve companions and, passing through England, reached Burgundy in 590 or 591. There he founded the monastery of Luxeuil and established his famous rule. He was driven from Burgundy by Brunhild in 610, and after many wanderings reached Bobbio, where he died in 615. He was a firm upholder of the Celtic Easter and tonsure, and argued bitterly with the Gaulish clergy. His Life was written by Jonas who entered Bobbio in 618 (*MGH, SRM* iv. 1–156).

[3] Nothing further seems to be known of this synod.

et ipse Mellitus inter eos adsedit anno octauo imperii Focatis principis, indictione XIII, tertio die kalendarum Martiarum, ut quaeque erant regulariter decreta, sua quoque auctoritate subscribens confirmaret, ac Brittaniam rediens secum Anglorum ecclesiis mandanda atque obseruanda deferret, una cum epistulis quas idem pontifex Deo dilecto archiepiscopo Laurentio et clero uniuerso, similiter et Aedilbercto regi atque genti Anglorum direxit. Hic est Bonifatius quartus a beato Gregorio Romanae urbis episcopo, qui inpetrauit a Focate principe donari ecclesiae Christi templum Romae, quod Pantheon uocabatur ab antiquis,[1] quasi simulacrum esset omnium deorum; in quo ipse, eliminata omni spurcitia, fecit ecclesiam sanctae Dei genetricis atque omnium martyrum Christi, ut, exclusa multitudine daemonum, multitudo ibi sanctorum memoriam haberet.

p. 89

V

ANNO ab incarnatione dominica DCXVI, qui est annus uicesimus primus ex quo Augustinus cum sociis ad praedicandum genti Anglorum missus est, Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum post regnum temporale, quod L et sex annis gloriosissime tenuerat, aeterna caelestis regni gaudia subiit. Qui tertius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis australibus eorum prouinciis, quae Humbrae fluuio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur a borealibus, imperauit; sed primus omnium caeli regna conscendit. Nam primus imperium huiusmodi Aelli rex Australium Saxonum; secundus Caelin rex Occidentalium Saxonum, qui lingua ipsorum Ceaulin uocabatur; tertius, ut diximus, Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum; quartus Reduald rex Orientalium Anglorum, qui etiam uiuente Aedilbercto eidem suae genti ducatum praebebat, obtenuit; quintus Aeduini rex Nordanhymbrorum gentis, id est eius quae ad borealem Humbrae fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui[a] Brittaniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter et Brettonum, populis praefuit, praeter Cantuariis tantum, necnon et Meuanias Brettonum insulas, quae inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam sitae sunt,

[a] quae *m*

[1] The Pantheon still stands, the only ancient Roman building which preserves complete its original walls and vaulting. Boniface IV dedicated it on 13 May 609 to St. Mary and the Martyrs. It is popularly known as Santa Maria Rotonda from its shape. The dedication date of the church was observed as the Feast of All Saints, until the latter was transferred to 1 November.

to draw up regulations concerning monastic life and harmony. Mellitus himself took his place among them in the eighth year of the Emperor Phocas, on 27 February and in the thirteenth indiction in order that he might subscribe to the formal decisions and ratify them by his authority, bringing them back with him to Britain for the information of the English Churches and for their observance. The pope also sent with them letters written to Archbishop Laurence, the beloved of God, and to all the clergy, as well as a letter to King Æthelberht and to the English people. St. Boniface was the fourth bishop of Rome after St. Gregory. He obtained for the Church of Christ from the Emperor Phocas the gift of the temple at Rome anciently known as the Pantheon[1] because it represented all the gods. After he had expelled every abomination from it, he made a church of it dedicated to the holy Mother of God and all the martyrs of Christ, so that, when the multitudes of devils had been driven out, it might serve as a shrine for a multitude of saints.

CHAPTER V

In the year of our Lord 616, the twenty-first year after Augustine and his companions had been sent to preach to the English nation, King Æthelberht of Kent, after ruling his temporal kingdom gloriously for fifty-six years, entered upon the eternal joys of the heavenly kingdom. He was the third English king to rule over all the southern kingdoms, which are divided from the north by the river Humber and the surrounding territory; but he was the first to enter the kingdom of heaven. The first king to hold the like sovereignty was Ælle, king of the South Saxons; the second was Cælin, king of the West Saxons, known in their own language as Ceawlin; the third, as we have said, was Æthelberht, king of Kent; the fourth was Rædwald, king of the East Angles, who even during the lifetime of Æthelberht was gaining the leadership for his own race; the fifth was Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, the nation inhabiting the district north of the Humber. Edwin had still greater power and ruled over all the inhabitants of Britain, English and Britons alike, except for Kent only. He even brought under English rule the Mevanian Islands (Anglesey and Man) which lie between England and Ireland and belong to the Britons. The sixth

Anglorum subiecit imperio; sextus Osuald, et ipse Nordanhym; brorum rex Christianissimus, hisdem finibus regnum tenuit- septimus Osuiu frater eius, aequalibus pene terminis regnum
p. 90 nonnullo tempore cohercens, Pictorum / quoque atque Scottorum gentes, quae septentrionales Brittaniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit ac tributarias fecit.[1] Sed haec postmodum.

Defunctus uero est rex Aedilberct die XXIIII mensis Februarii post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei, atque in porticu sancti Martini intro ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sepultus, ubi et Berctae regina condita est. Qui inter cetera bona quae genti suae consulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi iudiciorum iuxta exempla Romanorum cum consilio sapientium constituit;[2] quae conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur et obseruantur ab ea. In quibus primitus posuit, qualiter id emendare deberet, qui aliquid rerum uel ecclesiae uel episcopi uel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret, uolens scilicet tuitionem eis, quos et quorum doctrinam susceperat, praestare. Erat autem idem Aedilberct filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa, cuius pater Oeric cognomento Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare, cuius pater Hengist, qui cum filio suo Oisc inuitatus a Uurtigerno Brittaniam primus intrauit, ut supra retulimus.

At uero post mortem Aedilbercti, cum filius eius Eadbald regni gubernacula suscepisset, magno tenellis ibi adhuc ecclesiae crementis detrimento fuit. Siquidem non solum fidem Christi recipere noluerat, sed et fornicatione pollutus est tali, qualem nec inter gentes auditam apostolus testatur,[3] ita ut uxorem patris haberet. Quo utroque scelere occasionem dedit ad priorem uomitum reuertendi[4] his qui sub imperio sui parentis, uel fauore uel timore regio, fidei et castimoniae iura susceperant. Nec supernae flagella districtionis perfido regi[5] castigando et corrigendo defuere;
p. 91 nam crebra / mentis uaesania et spiritus inmundi inuasione premebatur.

[1] This is Bede's famous list of the kings who held the *imperium* or overlordship over the Saxon kingdoms. In the *ASC* they are called *Bretwaldan*. Except of course for the Northumbrian kings, Edwin and Oswald, the *imperium* did not extend north of the Humber. Bede mentions no one later than Oswiu, though he implies that Æthelbald of Mercia later gained the leadership (v. 23). See F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 204.

[2] Æthelberht's code of laws is still extant (see *EHD*, I. 357). The codifying of laws was undoubtedly due to Roman example and influence but there is no sign of any such influence in the content of the laws. While all the continental Germanic peoples wrote their laws in Latin, the English laws of Kent and other kingdoms are mostly in the vernacular. These Kentish laws in their original form seem to be the earliest documents written down in the English language.

to rule within the same bounds was Oswald, the most Christian king of the Northumbrians, while the seventh was his brother Oswiu who for a time held almost the same territory. The latter overwhelmed and made tributary even the tribes of the Picts and Irish who inhabit the northern parts of Britain;[1] but of this more later.

King Æthelberht died on 24 February, twenty-one years after he had accepted the faith, and was buried in the chapel of St. Martin, within the church of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, where his queen, Bertha, also lies. Among other benefits which he conferred upon the race under his care, he established with the advice of his counsellors a code of laws after the Roman manner.[2] These are written in English and are still kept and observed by the people. Among these he set down first of all what restitution must be made by anyone who steals anything belonging to the church or the bishop or any other clergy; these laws were designed to give protection to those whose coming and whose teaching he had welcomed. Now Æthelberht was the son of Eormenric, the son of Octa, the son of Oeric whose surname was Oisc, whence the kings of Kent were known as *oiscingas*. Oisc's father was Hengest who with his son Oisc first entered Britain at the invitation of Vortigern, as related above.

But after the death of Æthelberht, when his son Eadbald had taken over the helm of state, there followed a severe setback to the tender growth of the Church. Not only had he refused to receive the faith of Christ but he was polluted with such fornication as the apostle declares to have been not so much as named among the Gentiles,[3] in that he took his father's wife. By both of these crimes he gave the occasion to return to their own vomit[4] to those who had accepted the laws of faith and continence during his father's reign either out of fear of the king or to win his favour. The apostate[5] king, however, did not escape the scourge of divine punishment in chastisement and correction; for he was afflicted by frequent fits of madness and possessed by an unclean spirit.

Unfortunately they have come down to us in no earlier form than the twelfth century *Textus Roffensis*. [3] 1 Cor. 5: 1. [4] 2 Pet. 2: 22.

[5] In a sense it is unfair to call Eadbald an apostate as he had never been a Christian. Marriage with a stepmother was in the Germanic tradition and Augustine's famous fifth question (i. 27) deals with this very point. The *ASC*, *s.a.* 616 (MSS. E, F), describes him as following heathen customs in marrying her. When he became a Christian he put her away (see p. 155).

Auxit autem procellam huiusce perturbationis etiam mors Sabercti regis Orientalium Saxonum, qui ubi regna perennia petens tres suos filios, qui pagani perdurauerant, regni temporalis heredes reliquit,[1] coeperunt illi mox idolatriae, quam uiuente eo aliquantulum intermisisse uidebantur, palam seruire, subiectisque populis idola colendi liberam dare licentiam. Cumque uiderent pontificem, celebratis in ecclesia missarum sollemniis, eucharistiam populo dare, dicebant, ut uulgo fertur, ad eum barbara inflati stultitia: 'Quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro Saba (sic namque eum appellare consuerant)[2] dabas, et populo adhuc dare in ecclesia non desistis?' Quibus ille respondebat: 'Si uultis ablui fonte illo salutari, quo pater uester ablutus est, potestis etiam panis sancti, cui ille participabat, esse participes; sin autem lauacrum uitae contemnitis, nullatenus ualetis panem uitae percipere.' At illi 'Nolumus' inquiunt 'fontem illum intrare, quia nec opus illo nos habere nouimus, sed tamen pane illo refici uolumus.' Cumque diligenter ac saepe ab illo essent admoniti nequaquam ita fieri posse, ut absque purgatione sacrosancta quis oblationi[a] sacrosanctae communicaret, ad ultimum furore commoti aiebant: 'Si non uis adsentire nobis in tam facili causa quam petimus, non poteris iam in nostra prouincia demorari.'

Et expulerunt eum, ac de suo regno cum suis abire iusserunt. Qui expulsus inde uenit Cantiam, tractaturus cum Laurentio et Iusto coepiscopis, quid in his esset agendum. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset ut omnes patriam redeuntes libera ibi mente Domino[b] deseruirent, quam inter rebelles fidei /
p. 92 barbaros sine fructu residerent. Discessere itaque primi Mellitus et Iustus atque ad partes Galliae secessere, ibi rerum finem exspectare disponentes.[3] Sed non multo tempore reges, qui praeconem a se ueritatis expulerant, daemonicis cultibus inpune seruiebant. Nam egressi contra gentem Geuissorum[4] in proelium

[a] oblatione *c2* [b] Domino mente *c2*

[1] The division of a kingdom between two or more successors, usually brothers, who shared the kingdom on equal terms is to be found not only here in Essex but also among the Hwicce (iv. 13), Sussex (iv. 15), and Kent (v. 23). The Franks and other Germanic races tended to do the same. Later on Oswiu and his son Alhfrith shared the throne of Northumbria but unsuccessfully (iii. 25).

On the death of Sæberht, king of the East Saxons, the tempest of troubles became yet more violent, for when he departed to the eternal kingdom he left three sons as heirs to his temporal kingdom[1] who had all remained heathen. They quickly began to practise openly the idolatry which, during their father's lifetime, they had apparently given up to some extent and they allowed their subjects to worship idols. There is a story that when they saw the bishop, who was celebrating solemn mass in church, give the Eucharist to the people, they said to him, puffed up as they were with barbarian pride, 'Why do you not offer us the white bread which you used to give to our father Saba'[2] (for so they used to call him) 'and yet you still give it to the people in church?' The bishop answered them, 'If you are willing to be cleansed in the same font of salvation as your father was, you may also partake of the holy bread as he did. But if you despise its life-giving waters, you certainly shall not receive the bread of life.' They answered, 'We will not enter the font because we know that we have no need of it, but all the same we wish to be refreshed by the bread.' In vain were they warned earnestly and often that this could not be done and that without that holy cleansing no one could share in the sacred oblation; at last in their rage they exclaimed, 'If you will not oblige us in so trifling a matter as this, you cannot remain in our kingdom.'

So they expelled him and ordered him and his companions to leave the realm. After he had been driven out, he went to Kent to consult with his fellow bishops Laurence and Justus as to what ought to be done in these circumstances. It was decided by common consent that they should all return to their own country and serve God with a free conscience, rather than remain fruitlessly among these barbarians who had rebelled against the faith. So first of all Mellitus and Justus departed to Gaul, there to await the outcome of events.[3] But not for long did the kings who had driven away the herald of truth worship their devils unpunished. They went out to fight against the Gewisse[4] and they and all their army

[2] Saba is the familiar shortening of Sæberht. It is a type common in Old English as, for example, Ceola for Ceolfrith and Eda for Edwin, etc.

[3] The Roman bishops seem to have fled from their sees rather quickly when things went wrong. So Paulinus fled from Northumbria never to return after Edwin's death. He was, however, responsible for the safety of Æthelburh.

[4] This was an ancient name for the West Saxons. The Old English version of the *History* never uses the term, always substituting the term West Saxon.

omnes pariter cum sua militia corruerunt; nec, licet auctoribus perditis, excitatum ad scelera uulgus potuit recorrigi atque ad simplicitatem fidei et caritatis, quae est in Christo, reuocari.

VI

CUM uero et Laurentius Mellitum Iustumque secuturus ac Brittaniam esset relicturus, iussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, de qua frequenter iam diximus, stratum parari.[1] In quo, cum post multas preces ac lacrimas ad Deum pro statu ecclesiae fusas ad quiescendum membra posuisset atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secretae noctis flagellis artioribus afficiens sciscitabatur apostolica districtione, quare gregem quem sibi ipse crediderat relinqueret, uel cui pastorum oues Christi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse dimitteret.[2] 'An mei' inquit 'oblitus es exempli, qui pro paruulis Christi, quos mihi in indicium suae dilectionis commendauerat, uincula uerbera carceres adflictiones ipsam postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis,[3] ab infidelibus et inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli?' His beati Petri flagellis simul et
p. 93 exhorta/tionibus animatus, famulus Christi Laurentius mox mane facto uenit ad regem et, retecto uestimento, quantis esset uerberibus laceratus ostendit. Qui multum miratus, et inquirens quis tanto uiro tales ausus esset plagas infligere, ut audiuit quia suae causa salutis episcopus ab apostolo Christi tanta esset tormenta plagasque perpessus, extimuit multum, atque anathematizato omni idolatriae cultu, abdicato conubio non legitimo, suscepit fidem Christi, et baptizatus ecclesiae rebus, quantum ualuit, in omnibus consulere ac fauere curauit.

Misit etiam Galliam et reuocauit Mellitum ac Iustum, eosque ad suas ecclesias libere instituendas redire praecepit. Qui post annum ex quo abierant[a] reuersi sunt, et Iustus quidem ad ciuitatem Hrofi, cui praefuerat, rediit; Mellitum uero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus seruire gaudentes. Non enim tanta erat ei quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam

[a] abierunt *c2*

[1] This vision is an example of a very common type of miracle in which the suppliant visits the shrine of a saint or other holy person by night, sleeps at the shrine, and is granted a vision of the saint, who heals him or gives him knowledge of the future and advice. The practice was known in classical times as 'incubatio' and later passed over into the Christian Church. See J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *s.v.* 'incubatio'.

perished together. But though the instigators perished, the people, once they had been encouraged to do evil, could not be converted and recalled to the simplicity of faith and love which is in Christ.

CHAPTER VI

Now when Laurence was about to follow Mellitus and Justus and to leave Britain, he ordered a bed to be prepared for him that night in the church of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which we have frequently mentioned.[1] After he had poured forth many prayers and tears to God for the state of the Church, he lay down to rest and slept. As he slept the blessed prince of the apostles appeared to him and in the dead of night scourged him hard and long. Then St. Peter asked him with apostolic severity why he had left the flock which he himself had entrusted to him; or to what shepherd he would commit the sheep of Christ when he ran away and left them in the midst of wolves.[2] Then he added, 'Have you forgotten my example? For the sake of the little ones whom Christ himself entrusted to me as a token of his love, I endured chains, blows, imprisonment, and every affliction. Finally I suffered death, even the death of the cross,[3] at the hands of infidels and enemies of Christ that I might be crowned with Him.' Deeply moved by the scourgings and exhortations of St. Peter, Christ's servant Laurence went to the king as soon as morning had come, drew back his robe and showed him the marks of his stripes. The king was amazed and asked who had dared to inflict such injuries on so great a man. When he heard that it was for the sake of his salvation that the bishop had suffered such torments and wounds at the hands of the apostle of Christ, he was greatly afraid. So he banned all idolatrous worship, gave up his unlawful wife, accepted the Christian faith, and was baptized; and thereafter he promoted and furthered the interests of the Church to the best of his ability.

He also sent to Gaul and recalled Mellitus and Justus, bidding them return and govern their churches in freedom. They came back one year after they had left, Justus returning to Rochester over which he had formerly ruled. But the people of London refused to receive Mellitus, preferring to serve idolatrous high priests. For King Eadbald had less royal power than his father had

[2] Matth. 10: 16; Joh. 10: 12. [3] Phil. 2: 8, 9.

nolentibus ac contradicentibus paganis antistitem suae posset ecclesiae reddere. Verumtamen ipse cum sua gente, ex quo ad Dominum conuersus est, diuinis se studuit mancipare praeceptis. Denique et in monasterio beatissimi apostolorum principis ecclesiam sanctae Dei genetricis fecit, quam consecrauit archiepiscopus Mellitus.[1]

VII

Hoc enim regnante rege beatus archiepiscopus Laurentius regnum caeleste conscendit, atque in ecclesia et monasterio sancti apostoli Petri iuxta prodecessorem suum Augustinum sepultus est, die quarto nonarum Februariarum. Post quem Mellitus, qui erat Lundoniae / episcopus, sedem Doruuernensis ecclesiae tertius ab
p. 94 Augustino suscepit; Iustus autem adhuc superstes Hrofensem regebat ecclesiam. Qui cum magna ecclesiam Anglorum cura ac labore gubernarent, susceperunt scripta exhortatoria a pontifice Romanae et apostolicae sedis Bonifatio, qui post Deusdedit ecclesiae praefuit, anno incarnationis dominicae DCXVIIII. Erat autem Mellitus corporis quidem infirmitate, id est podagra-grauatus, sed mentis gressibus sanis[a] alacriter terrena quaeque transiliens atque ad caelestia semper amanda petenda et quaerenda peruolans. Erat carnis origine nobilis, sed culmine mentis nobilior.

Denique ut unum uirtutis eius, unde cetera intellegi possint, testimonium referam, tempore quodam ciuitas Doruuernensis per culpam incuriae igni correpta crebrescentibus coepit flammis consumi.[2] Quibus cum nullo aquarum iniectu posset aliquis obsistere, iamque ciuitatis esset pars uastata non minima, atque ad episcopium furens se flamma dilataret, confidens episcopus in diuinum, ubi humanum deerat, auxilium iussit se obuiam saeuientibus et huc illucque uolantibus ignium globis efferri.[b] Erat autem eo loci,[c] ubi flammarum impetus maxime incumbebat,

[a] sanus *c2* [b] efferri ignium globis *c2* [c] loco *c2*

and was unable to restore the bishop to his church against the will and consent of the heathen. Nevertheless after he and his race had turned to the Lord, they strove to follow God's commandments, and in the monastery of the blessed chief of the apostles he built a church dedicated to the holy Mother of God, which was afterwards consecrated by Archbishop Mellitus.[1]

CHAPTER VII

DURING this king's reign, the blessed Archbishop Laurence entered the heavenly kingdom and was buried on 2 February in the church and monastery of St. Peter the Apostle near to his predecessor Augustine. Thereupon Mellitus who was bishop of London succeeded to the see of Canterbury, the third after Augustine. Justus, who was still living, ruled over the church at Rochester. While guiding the English Church with great care and energy they received letters of exhortation from Rome from Pope Boniface, who had succeeded Deusdedit in the year of our Lord 619. Now Mellitus suffered from a bodily infirmity, the gout, yet in mind he was sound and active enough; indeed he leapt lightly over all earthly affairs and flew towards those heavenly concerns which he had always loved, pursued, and sought after. He was noble by birth but nobler still in loftiness of spirit.

I will relate, for example, one instance of his power from which the rest may be inferred. On a certain occasion the city of Canterbury had been carelessly set on fire and was rapidly being consumed by the growing blaze.[2] It could not be quenched by throwing water on it and no small part of the city had already been destroyed, while the raging fire was spreading towards the bishop's house. Mellitus, trusting in divine help since human aid had failed, ordered them to carry him into the path of the furious flames where tongues of fire were flying about hither and thither. The

[1] This church lay immediately to the east of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. All that is left now is the base of the west wall. It was partly destroyed in the eleventh century to make room for Abbot Wulfric's rotunda. See Clapham, p. 19 and fig. 49, and Taylor, I. 135–41.

[2] The wooden buildings of Anglo-Saxon and later times were subject to fires particularly where the hearth was open and in the midst of the room or hall. A number of miracles related by Bede and other writers of saints' Lives are concerned with the quenching of fires. In this paragraph Bede borrows a few phrases from the account of a similar miracle related by Gregory in *Dialogues*, I. 6.

martyrium beatorum quattuor Coronatorum.[1] Ibi ergo perlatus obsequentum manibus episcopus coepit orando periculum infirmus abigere, quod firma fortium manus multum laborando nequiuerat. Nec mora, uentus, qui a meridie flans urbi incendia sparserat, contra meridiem reflexus primo uim sui furoris a lesione locorum, quae contra erant, abstraxit, ac mox funditus quiescendo flammis pariter sopitis atque extinctis conpescuit. Et quia uir Dei igne diuinae caritatis fortiter ardebat, quia tempestates potestatum aeriarum a sua suorumque lesione crebris orationibus uel exhor-
p. 95 tationibus repellere / consuerat, merito uentis flammisque mundialibus praeualere et, ne sibi suisque nocerent, obtinere poterat.

Et hic ergo, postquam annis quinque rexit ecclesiam, Eadbaldo regnante migrauit ad caelos, sepultusque est cum patribus suis in saepedicto monasterio et ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXIIII die octauo kalendarum Maiarum.

VIII

CUI statim successit in pontificatum Iustus, qui erat Hrofensis ecclesiae episcopus. Illi autem ecclesiae Romanum pro se consecrauit episcopum, data sibi ordinandi episcopos auctoritate a pontifice Bonifatio, quem successorem fuisse Deusdedit supra meminimus. Cuius auctoritatis ista est forma:

Dilectissimo fratri Iusto Bonifatius.

Quam deuote quamque etiam uigilanter pro Christi euangelio elaborauerit uestra fraternitas, non solum epistulae a uobis directae tenor, immo indulta desuper operi uestro perfectio indicauit. Nec enim omnipotens Deus aut sui nominis sacramentum aut uestri fructum laboris deseruit, dum ipse praedicatoribus euangelii fideliter repromisit; 'Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem mundi.'[2] Quod specialiter iniuncto uobis ministerio eius clementia demonstrauit, aperiens corda gentium ad suscipiendum praedicationis uestrae singulare mysterium. Magno enim praemio fatigiorum uestrorum delectabilem cursum bonitatis suae suffragiis inlustrauit, dum

[1] The bodies of five martyrs from Pannonia, said to be stonemasons who suffered in the persecutions of Diocletian, were brought to Rome and buried in a cemetery there. The relics of four of them were translated to a church which was dedicated to them. A church with the same dedication still stands on the Coelian Hill. They were the patrons at a later time of stonemasons' guilds; and the dedication may have seemed appropriate for a stone building which was being put up by builders more used to wooden construction.

[2] Matth. 28: 20.

church of the Four Crowned Martyrs[1] stood just where the fury of the flames was at its height; the bishop was carried to this spot by his followers, and, weak as he was, proceeded to avert by his prayers the peril which had defeated strong men in spite of all their efforts. Immediately the south wind, which had spread the conflagration over the city, veered round to the north and first of all prevented the fury of the flames from destroying those places which were in its path; then it soon ceased entirely and there was a calm, while the flames also sank and died out. So brightly did the man of God burn with the fire of divine love, so often had he repelled the stormy powers of the air from harming him and his people by his prayers and exhortations, that it was right for him to be able to prevail over earthly winds and flames and to ensure that they should not injure him or his people.

He, too, after ruling over the church for five years went to heaven during Eadbald's reign and was buried with his fathers in the monastery and church of the blessed chief of the apostles so often mentioned, on 24 April in the year of our Lord 624.

CHAPTER VIII

JUSTUS, bishop of the church of Rochester, immediately succeeded Mellitus in the archbishopric. He consecrated Romanus, bishop of Rochester, in his own place, having been granted licence to consecrate bishops by Pope Boniface whom we have referred to above as the successor to Deusdedit. This is the form of the licence:

Boniface to our most beloved brother Justus.

The devotion and indeed the vigilance, my dear brother, with which you have toiled for the gospel of Christ are known to us not only from the contents of your letter but still more from the successful fruition which heaven has bestowed upon your work. Almighty God has not failed either to uphold the honour of his name or to grant fruit to your labours, in accordance with his faithful promise to those who preach the gospel, 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'[2] This promise he has in his mercy specially fulfilled in the ministry he has given you, opening the hearts of the Gentiles to receive the wondrous mystery of the gospel you preach. For by his grace and favour he has crowned the gratifying progress of your toils with a great reward, and he has prepared an abundant harvest for the faithful employment of

creditorum uobis talentorum fidelissimae negotiationis officiis uberem fructum inpendens ei quod signare[a] possetis multiplicatis generationi-
p. 96 bus praeparauit. / Hocque etiam illa uobis repensatione conlatum est, qua iniuncto ministerio iugiter persistentes laudabili patientia redemtionem gentis illius exspectastis, et uestris, ut proficerent, meritis eorum est saluatio propinata, dicente Domino: 'Qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit.'[1] Saluati ergo estis spe patientiae et tollerantiae uirtute, ut infidelium corda naturali ac superstitioso morbo purgata sui consequerentur misericordiam Saluatoris. Susceptis namque apicibus filii nostri Adulualdi[2] regis repperimus, quanta sacri eloquii eruditione eius animum ad uerae conuersionis et indubitatae fidei credulitatem fraternitas uestra perduxerit. Qua ex re de longanimitate clementiae caelestis certam adsumentes fiduciam, non solum suppositarum ei gentium plenissimam salutem, immo quoque uicinarum, uestrae praedicationis ministerio credimus subsequendam, quatinus, sicut scriptum est, consummati operis uobis merces a retributore omnium bonorum Domino tribuatur, et uere 'per omnem terram exisse sonum eorum, et in fines orbis terrae uerba ipsorum'[3] uniuersalis gentium confessio, suscepto Christianae sacramento fidei, protestetur. Pallium praeterea per latorem praesentium fraternitati tuae benignitatis studiis inuitati direximus, quod uidelicet tantum in sacrosanctis celebrandis mysteriis utendi licentiam inperauimus:[b4] concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes episcoporum exigente oportunitate, Domini praeueniente misericordia, celebrare, ita ut Christi euangelium plurimorum adnuntiatione in omnibus gentibus, quae necdum conuersae sunt, dilatetur. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas hoc, quod sedis apostolicae humanitate percepit, intemerata mentis sinceritate seruare, intendens cuius rei similitudine tam praecipuum indumentum umeris tuis baiulandum susceperis. Talemque te Domini implorata clementia exhibendum stude, ut indulti muneris praemia non cum reatitudine sed
p. 97 cum / commodis animarum ante tribunal summi et uenturi Iudicis repraesentes. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.

[a] *For* ei quod signare *Plummer suggests* quod ei resignare

[b] inperauimus 'we bid you'; *so all our authorities. Clearly a scribal error for* inpertiuimus 'we confer upon you', *probably in Bede's copy of the document*

those talents entrusted to you, having bestowed on you what you can hand back to him in the form of a multitude of souls born again. This is conferred upon you in compensation for the praiseworthy patience with which you have awaited the redemption of that nation, continually persevering in your appointed mission: and salvation has been bestowed upon them so that they too might profit by your merits. For our Lord says, 'He that endureth to the end shall be saved.'[1] You have been saved by your patient hope and courageous endurance in the work of cleansing the hearts of unbelievers from their inherent disease of superstition, so that they might win the mercy of the Saviour. We have learnt from the letters received from our son King Eadbald[2] how you, brother, by your learning and holy eloquence have guided his soul to the assurance of true conversion and a state of real faith. For this reason and because we have complete faith in the longsuffering mercy of God, we are certain that the result of your ministry will be the complete conversion not only of the peoples subject to him, but also of their neighbours. In this way, as it is written, you will receive the reward of a finished task from the Lord and Giver of all good things: and indeed all nations will confess having received the mystery of the Christian faith and will declare in truth that 'their sound is gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.'[3] Moved by your zeal we are sending you a pallium by the bearer of this present letter and confer upon[4] you permission to use it only when celebrating the sacred mysteries. We also grant you the privilege of consecrating bishops as occasion demands and as the Lord in his mercy guides you: so that the gospel of Christ may be spread abroad by the preaching of many among all those peoples who are not yet converted. And, my brother, see to it that with unimpaired integrity of heart you preserve what you have received through the favour of the apostolic see, remembering the significance of this honourable vestment which you have been given to wear on your shoulders. Seek God's mercy and study to show yourself such that, before the tribunal of the great Judge who is to come, you may display this honour which has been granted you, not only without stain or guilt, but also enriched by your reward of souls converted. May God keep you safe, most beloved brother.

[1] Matth. 10: 22.

[2] This and the form *Audubaldi* (ii. 10) are the attempts on the part of Boniface's scribe to latinize the name Eadbald; a correction has been made in L.

[3] Ps. 18 (19): 5; Rom. 10: 18.

[4] Translating *inpertiuimus*.

VIIII

QUO tempore etiam gens Nordanhymbrorum, hoc est ea natio Anglorum quae ad aquilonalem Humbrae fluminis plagam habitabat, cum rege suo Eduine[1] uerbum fidei praedicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus, suscepit. Cui uidelicet regi, in auspicium suscipiendae fidei et regni caelestis, potestas etiam terreni creuerat imperii, ita ut quod nemo Anglorum ante eum, omnes Brittaniae fines, qua uel ipsorum uel Brettonum prouinciae habitabant, sub dicione acciperet. Quin et Meuanias insulas, sicut et supra docuimus, imperio subiugauit Anglorum; quarum prior, quae ad austrum est, et situ amplior et frugum prouentu atque ubertate felicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum et ultra spatium tenet.

Huic autem genti occasio fuit percipiendae fidei, quod praefatus rex eius cognatione iunctus est regibus Cantuariorum, accepta in coniugem Aedilbergae filia Aedilbercti regis, quae alio nomine Tatae uocabatur. Huius consortium cum primo ipse missis procis a fratre eius Eadbaldo, qui tunc regno Cantuariorum praeerat, peteret, responsum est non esse licitum Christianam uirginem pagano in coniugem dari, ne fides et sacramenta caelestis regis
p. 98 consortio profanarentur regis / qui ueri Dei cultus esset prorsus ignarus. Quae cum Eduino uerba nuntii referrent, promisit se nil[a] omnimodis contrarium Christianae fidei, quam uirgo colebat, esse facturum; quin potius permissurum ut fidem cultumque suae religionis cum omnibus, qui secum uenissent, uiris siue feminis, sacerdotibus seu ministris, more Christiano seruaret. Neque abnegauit se etiam eandem subiturum esse religionem, si tamen examinata a prudentibus sanctior ac Deo dignior posset inueniri.

Itaque promittitur uirgo, atque Eduino mittitur, et iuxta quod dispositum fuerat, ordinatur episcopus uir Deo dilectus Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret, eamque et comites eius, ne paganorum possent societate pollui, cotidiana et[b] exhortatione et sacramentorum caelestium celebratione confirmaret.

[a] nihil *c2* [b] et *om. c2*

[1] The fifth in Bede's list of *Bretwaldan* (ii. 5). He was the son of Ælle. After his father's death he lived in exile to avoid Æthelfrith's persecution. According to Welsh tradition he first lived with Cadfan, king of Gwynedd, though if this is true it is surprising that he was not brought up as a Christian. Afterwards he went to Rædwald, king of the East Angles, who restored him to the throne of Northumbria by defeating and slaying Æthelfrith at the battle by the river Idle in 616 (ii. 12).

CHAPTER IX

AT this time the Northumbrian race, that is the English race which dwelt north of the river Humber, together with their king Edwin,[1] also accepted the word of faith through the preaching of Paulinus already mentioned. The king's earthly power had increased as an augury that he was to become a believer and have a share in the heavenly kingdom. So, like no other English king before him, he held under his sway the whole realm of Britain, not only English kingdoms but those ruled over by the Britons as well. He even brought the islands of Anglesey and Man under his power as we have said before. The former of these, which is to the south, is larger in size and more fruitful, containing 960 hides according to the English way of reckoning, while the latter has more than 300.

The occasion of the conversion of this race was that Edwin became related to the kings of Kent, having married King Æthelberht's daughter Æthelburh, who was also called Tate. When he first sent ambassadors to ask her in marriage from her brother Eadbald, who was then King of Kent, the answer was that it was not lawful for a Christian maiden to be given in marriage to a heathen for fear that the faith and mysteries of the heavenly King might be profaned by a union with a king who was an utter stranger to the worship of the true God. When Edwin heard the messengers' reply he promised that he would put no obstacles of any kind in the way of the Christian worship which the maiden practised; on the other hand, he would allow her and all who came with her, men and women, priests or retainers, to follow the faith and worship of their religion after the Christian manner; nor did he deny the possibility that he might accept the same religion himself if, on examination, it was judged by his wise men to be a holier worship and more worthy of God.

Thereupon the maiden was betrothed and sent to Edwin and, in accordance with the agreement, Paulinus, a man beloved of God, was consecrated bishop to accompany her and to make sure by daily instruction and the celebration of the heavenly sacraments that she and her companions were not polluted by contact with the heathen.

Ordinatus est autem Paulinus episcopus a Iusto archiepiscopo sub die XII kalendarum Augustarum anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXXV, et sic cum praefata uirgine ad regem Eduinum quasi comes copulae carnalis aduenit, sed ipse potius toto animo intendens ut gentem, quam adibat, ad agnitionem ueritatis aduocans iuxta uocem apostoli uni uero sponso uirginem castam exhiberet Christo.[1] Cumque in prouinciam uenisset, laborauit multum ut et eos, qui secum uenerant,[a] ne a fide deficerent Domino adiuuante contineret, et aliquos, si forte posset, de paganis ad fidei gratiam praedicando conuerteret. Sed, sicut apostolus ait, quamuis multo tempore illo laborante in uerbo, 'Deus saeculi huius excaecauit mentes infidelium, ne eis fulgeret inluminatio euangelii gloriae Christi.'[2]

Anno autem sequente uenit in prouinciam quidam sicarius
p. 99 uocabulo Eumer, missus a rege Occidentalium / Saxonum nomine Cuichelmo,[b3] sperans se regem Eduinum regno simul et uita priuaturum; qui habebat sicam bicipitem toxicatam, ut si ferri uulnus minus ad mortem regis sufficeret, peste iuuaretur ueneni. Peruenit autem ad regem primo die paschae iuxta amnem Deruentionem, ubi tunc erat uilla regalis, intrauitque quasi nuntium domini sui referens; et cum simulatam legationem ore astuto uolueret, exsurrexit repente et euaginata sub ueste sica impetum fecit in regem. Quod cum uideret Lilla minister regi amicissimus,[4] non habens scutum ad manum quo regem a nece defenderet, mox interposuit corpus suum ante ictum pungentis; sed tanta ui hostis ferrum infixit, ut per corpus militis occisi etiam regem uulneraret. Qui cum mox undique gladiis inpeteretur, in ipso tumultu etiam alium de militibus, cui nomen Fordheri, sica nefanda peremit.

Eadem autem nocte sacrosancta dominici paschae pepererat regina filiam regi, cui nomen Eanfled; cumque idem rex praesente Paulino episcopo gratias ageret diis suis pro nata sibi filia, econtra episcopus gratias coepit agere Domino Christo, regique astruere, quod ipse precibus suis apud illum obtenuerit, ut regina sospes et absque dolore graui subolem procrearet. Cuius uerbis delectatus

[a] uenerunt *c2* [b] Quichelmo *c2*

[1] 2 Cor. 11: 2. [2] 2 Cor. 4: 4.

[3] Son of Cynegisl and apparently joint-heir with him. He died in 636.

[4] A member of the *comitatus* and so pledged to give his life for his lord, if necessity arose (cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 14). So Ecgfrith's bodyguard were slain to a man around their lord after Nechtausmere (*VP*, chapter 27), and that of Æthelhere after the battle of Winwæd (iii. 24).

Paulinus was consecrated bishop by Archbishop Justus, on 21 July in the year of our Lord 625, and so in the princess's train he came to Edwin's court, outwardly bringing her to her marriage according to the flesh. But more truly his whole heart was set on calling the people to whom he was coming to the knowledge of the truth; his desire was to present it, in the words of the apostle, as a pure virgin to be espoused to one husband, even Christ.[1] On his arrival in the kingdom he set vigorously to work, not only, with the Lord's help, to prevent those who had come with him from lapsing from the faith, but also to convert some of the heathen, if he could, to grace and faith by his preaching. But although he toiled hard and long in preaching the word, yet as the apostle says, 'The god of this world blinded the minds of them that believed not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should shine unto them.'[2]

The following year there came to the kingdom an assassin whose name was Eomer, who had been sent by Cwichelm,[3] king of the West Saxons, hoping to deprive King Edwin of his kingdom and his life. He carried a short sword, double-edged and smeared with poison, to ensure that if the sword wound was not enough to kill the king, the deadly poison would do its work. He came on Easter Day to the king's hall which then stood by the river Derwent. He entered the hall on the pretence of delivering a message from his lord, and while the cunning rascal was expounding his pretended mission, he suddenly leapt up, drew the sword from beneath his cloak, and made a rush at the king. Lilla, a most devoted thegn, saw this, but not having a shield in his hand to protect the king from death, he quickly interposed his own body to receive the blow. His foe thrust the weapon with such force that he killed the thegn and wounded the king as well through his dead body. Swords were drawn and the assassin was at once attacked from every quarter, but in the tumult he slew with his hideous weapon yet another of the king's retainers named Forthhere.

On the same night, the holy night of Easter Day, the queen had borne the king a daughter named Eanflæd. The king, in the presence of Bishop Paulinus, gave thanks to his gods for the birth of his daughter; but the bishop, on the other hand, began to thank the Lord Christ and to tell the king that it was in answer to his prayers to God that the queen had been safely delivered of a child, and without great pain. The king was delighted with his

rex promisit se abrenuntiatis idolis Christo seruiturum, si uitam sibi et uictoriam donaret pugnanti aduersus regem, a quo homicida ille, qui eum uulnerauerat, missus est; et in pignus promissionis implendae,[a] eandem filiam suam Christo consecrandam Paulino episcopo adsignauit, quae baptizata est die sancto Pentecostes[1] prima de gente Nordanhymbrorum cum XI aliis de familia eius.

p. 100 Quo tempore curatus a uulnere sibi pridem inflicto, rex collecto exercitu uenit aduersus gentem Occidentalium Saxonum, ac bello inito uniuersos, quos in necem suam conspirasse didicerat, aut occidit aut in deditionem recepit. Sicque uictor in patriam reuersus, non statim et inconsulte sacramenta fidei Christianae percipere uoluit, quamuis nec idolis ultra seruiuit, ex quo se Christo seruiturum esse promiserat; uerum primo diligentius ex tempore et ab ipso uenerabili uiro Paulino rationem fidei ediscere et cum suis primatibus, quos sapientiores nouerat, curauit conferre, quid de his agendum arbitrarentur. Sed et ipse, cum esset uir natura sagacissimus, saepe diu solus residens ore quidem tacito sed in intimis cordis multa secum conloquens, quid sibi esset faciendum, quae religio seruanda, tractabat.

X

Quo tempore exhortatorias ad fidem litteras a pontifice sedis apostolicae Bonifatio accepit,[2] quarum ista est forma:

Exemplar epistulae beatissimi et apostolici papae urbis Romanae ecclesiae Bonifatii directae uiro glorioso Eduino regi Anglorum.

Viro glorioso Eduino regi Anglorum Bonifatius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei.

Licet summae diuinitatis potentia humanae locutionis officiis explanari non ualeat, quippe quae sui magnitudine ita inuisibili atque inuestigabili aeternitate consistit, ut haec nulla ingenii sagacitas, quanta sit, conprehendere dissererequ sufficiat, quia tamen eius humanitas

p. 101 ad insinua/tionem sui reseratis cordis ianuis quae de semet ipsa proferetur secreta humanis mentibus inspiratione clementer infundit, ad adnuntiandam[b] uobis plenitudinem fidei Christianae sacerdotalem curauimus sollicitudinem prorogare, ut perinde Christi euangelium,

[a] inplendae promissionis *c2* [b] adnuntiandum *c2*

[1] See p. 62, n. 1.

[2] For a discussion of the dating of this letter and the letter to Æthelburh in the next chapter and its bearing upon the date of Paulinus' mission see D. P. Kirby, 'Bede and Northumbrian Chronology', *EHR*, LXXVIII (1963), 514–27.

words, and promised that if God would grant him life, and victory over the king who had sent the assassin who wounded him, he would renounce his idols and serve Christ; and as a pledge that he would keep his word, he gave his infant daughter to Bishop Paulinus to be consecrated to Christ. She was baptized on the holy day of Pentecost,[1] the first of the Northumbrian race to be baptized, together with eleven others of his household.

When in due course the king had been healed of his wound, he summoned his army and marched against the West Saxons. During the course of the campaign he either slew all whom he discovered to have plotted his death or forced them to surrender. So he returned victorious to his own country; but he was unwilling to accept the mysteries of the Christian faith at once and without consideration, even though he no longer worshipped idols after he had promised that he would serve Christ. But first he made it his business, as opportunity occurred, to learn the faith systematically from the venerable Bishop Paulinus, and then to consult with the counsellors whom he considered the wisest, as to what they thought he ought to do. He himself being a man of great natural sagacity would often sit alone for long periods in silence, but in his innermost thoughts he was deliberating with himself as to what he ought to do and which religion he should adhere to.

CHAPTER X

AT that time he received a letter from Boniface,[2] bishop of the apostolic see, exhorting him to accept the faith. It ran as follows:

Copy of the letter of the most blessed and apostolic pope of the Church of the city of Rome, Boniface, addressed to the most illustrious Edwin, king of the English.

To Edwin, the illustrious king of the English, Bishop Boniface, servant of the servants of God.

Human speech can never explain the power of the most high God, consisting as it does in its own invisible, unsearchable, and eternal greatness, so that no wisdom can comprehend or express how great it is. Yet, in His goodness, He opens the doors of the heart so that He Himself may enter, and by His secret inspiration pours into the human heart a revelation of Himself. So we have undertaken to extend our pastoral responsibilities so far as to declare to you the fullness of the

quod Saluator noster omnibus praecepit gentibus praedicari, uestris quoque sensibus inserentes, salutis uestrae remedia propinentur. Supernae igitur maiestatis clementia, quae cuncta solo uerbo praeceptionis suae condidit et creauit, caelum uidelicet et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, dispositis ordinibus quibus subsisterent coaeterni Verbi sui consilio et Sancti Spiritus unitate dispensans, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam ex limo terrae plasmatum constituit, eique tantam praemii praerogatiuam indulsit, ut eum cunctis praeponeret atque seruato termino praeceptionis aeternitatis subsistentia praemuniret. Hunc ergo Deum Patrem Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, quod est indiuidua Trinitas, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum humanum genus,[1] quippe ut creatorem omnium atque factorem suum, salutifera confessione fide ueneratur et colit: cui etiam summitates imperii rerumque potestates submissae sunt, quia eius dispositione omnium praelatio regnorum conceditur.[a] Eius ergo bonitatis misericordia totius creaturae suae dilatandi subdi[b] etiam in extremitate terrae positarum gentium corda frigida Sancti Spiritus feruore in sui quoque agnitione mirabiliter est dignata succendere.

Quae enim in gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi[2] regis gentibusque ei subpositis inlustratione clementia Redemtoris fuerit operata, plenius ex uicinitate locorum uestram gloriam conicimus cognouisse. Eius ergo mirabile donum et in uobis certa spe caelesti longanimitate conferri[c] confidimus: cum profecto gloriosam coniugem uestram, quae uestri corporis pars esse dinoscitur, aeternitatis praemio per sacri baptismatis
p. 102 regenerationem inluminatam agnouimus. / Vnde praesenti stilo gloriosos uos adhortandos cum omni affectu intimae caritatis curauimus, quatinus abominatis idolis eorumque cultu spretisque fanorum fatuitatibus et auguriorum deceptabilibus blandimentis,[3] credatis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem eiusque Filium Iesum Christum et Spiritum Sanctum, ut credentes, a diabolicae captiuitatis nexibus sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitatis cooperante potentia absoluti, aeternae uitae possitis esse participes.

Quanta autem reatitudinis culpa teneantur obstricti hi, qui idolatriarum perniciosissimam superstitionem colentes amplectuntur, eorum quos colunt exempla perditionis insinuant, unde de eis per Psalmistam dicitur: 'Omnes dii gentium daemonia, Dominus autem caelos fecit',[4] et iterum: 'Oculos habent et non uident, aures habent et non audient, nares habent et non odorabunt, manus habent et non palpabunt, pedes

[a] *So the corrector of the Leningrad MS.; our authorities are divided between* concedetur *and* concederetur

[b] *This phrase appears to have no grammatical construction;* dilatandae suboli *might mean* 'for the extension of his family', *but is not a very likely correction. Other defects in the Latin of this document are pointed out in Plummer's notes; some of them are probably original*

[c] conferre *c2*

Christian faith, so that we may bring to your notice the Gospel of Christ, which our Saviour has bidden us preach to all the nations, and so that the means of salvation may be put before you. Thus the goodness of the Divine Majesty who, by his word of command alone, made and created all things, both heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them, ordaining the orders in which they subsist, and who, by the counsel of the co-eternal Word in the unity of the Holy Spirit, has made man in His own image and likeness, fashioning him out of clay, has also granted him the high privilege and distinction of placing him over all things, so that if he keeps within the bounds of God's commands, he may be granted eternal life. This God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, an undivided Trinity, is adored and worshipped through faith and confession unto salvation by all the human race, from the rising to the setting of the sun,[1] as the Maker of all things and its own Creator. To Him also the greatest empires and the powers of the world are subject, because it is by His disposition that all rule is bestowed. It has pleased Him therefore, in His mercy and loving-kindness towards all His creation to melt, by the fire of His Holy Spirit, the frozen hearts of races even in the far corners of the earth to knowledge of Himself, and that in a marvellous manner.

We suppose that your Majesty is fully aware of what has been accomplished by the mercy of the Redeemer in the enlightenment of our illustrious son King Eadbald[2] and the nations which are subject to him, for your lands are close to one another. We confidently trust that, through the mercy of heaven, this wonderful gift will also be conferred upon you and more especially as we learn that your illustrious consort, who is indeed one flesh with you, has been enlightened by the gift of eternal life through the regeneration of holy baptism. So we have undertaken in this letter to exhort your Majesty with all affection and deepest love, to hate idols and idol worship, to spurn their foolish shrines and the deceitful flatteries of their soothsaying,[3] and to believe in God the Father Almighty and in his Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, so that you may be freed from the devil's fetters and, by the power of the holy and undivided Trinity, become a partaker of eternal life.

The great guilt of those who cling to the pernicious superstitions of idolatrous worship is seen in the damnable form of their gods. Of these the psalmist says, 'All the gods of the nations are devils; but the Lord made the heavens.'[4] And again, 'Eyes have they but they see not; they have ears but they hear not; noses have they but they smell not; they

[1] Mal. 1: 11.

[2] See p. 151, n. 5.

[3] Tacitus describes the Germanic people as being given to divination and casting lots (*Germania*, chapter 10).

[4] Ps. 95 (96): 5.

habent et non ambulabunt; similes ergo efficiuntur his, qui spem suae confidentiae ponunt in eis.'[1] Quomodo enim iuuandi quemlibet possunt habere uirtutem hi qui ex corruptibili materia inferiorum etiam subpositorumque tibi manibus construuntur; quibus uidelicet artificium humanum adcommodans eis inanimatam membrorum similitudinem contulisti: qui, nisi a te motae[a] fuerint, ambulare non poterunt, sed tamquam lapis in uno loco posita, ita constructi nihilque intellegentiae habentes ipsaque insensibilitate obruti nullam neque ledendi neque iuuandi facultatem adepti sunt? Qua ergo mentis deceptione eos deos,
p. 103 quibus uos ipsi imaginem corporis / tradidistis, colentes sequimini, iudicio discreto repperire non possumus.

Vnde oportet uos, suscepto signo sanctae crucis, per quod humanum genus redemtum est, execrandam diabolicae uersutiae supplantationem, qui diuinae bonitatis operibus inuidus aemulusque consistit, a cordibus uestris abicere, iniectisque manibus hos, quos eatenus materiae conpage uobis deos fabricastis, confringendos diminuendosque summopere procurate. Ipsa enim eorum dissolutio corruptioque, quae numquam uiuentem spiritum habuit, nec sensibilitatem a suis factoribus potuit quolibet modo suscipere, uobis patenter insinuet, quam nihil erat quod eatenus colebatis, dum profecto meliores uos, qui spiritum uiuentem a Domino percepistis, eorum constructioni nihilominus existatis, quippe quos Deus omnipotens ex primi hominis, quem plasmauit, cognatione, deductis per saecula innumerabilibus propaginibus, pullulare constituit. Accedite ergo ad agnitionem eius qui uos creauit, qui in uobis uitae insufflauit spiritum, qui pro uestra redemtione Filium suum unigenitum misit, ut uos ab originali peccato eriperet, et ereptos de potestate nequitiae diabolicae prauitatis caelestibus praemiis muneraret.

Suscipite[b] uerba praedicatorum et euangelium Dei, quod uobis adnuntiant, quatinus credentes, sicut saepius dictum est, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in Iesum Christum eius Filium[c] et Spiritum Sanctum et inseparabilem Trinitatem, fugatis daemoniorum sensibus expulsaque a uobis sollicitatione uenenosi et deceptibilis hostis, per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum renati,[2] ei cui credideritis in splendore gloriae sempiternae cohabitare eius opitulatione munificentiae[d] ualeatis.
p. 104 Praeterea benedictionem protectoris uestri beati Petri apostolorum principis uobis direximus, id est camisia cum ornatura in auro una et lena Anciriana una: quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria uestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum.

[a] *So Bede's copy of the letter; in the Leningrad MS. it is corrected to* moti
[b] suscipite ergo *c2*
[c] Filium eius *c2*
[d] *So the corrector of the Leningrad MS.; Bede's copy of the document read* munificentia. *Plummer adopts* opitulante, *as suggested in many later MSS.*

have hands but they handle not; feet have they but they walk not; and those who put their trust in them therefore become like them.'[1] How can they have power to help anyone, when they are made from corruptible material by the hands of your own servants and subjects and, by means of such human art, you have provided them with the inanimate semblance of the human form? They cannot walk unless you move them, but are like a stone fixed in one place, and, being so constructed, have no understanding, are utterly insensible, and so have no power to harm or help. We cannot understand in any way how you can be so deluded as to worship and follow those gods to whom you yourselves have given the likeness of the human form.

So you should take upon you the sign of the holy cross, by which the human race has been redeemed, and cast out of your hearts the accursed wiles and cunning of the devil, who is the jealous foe of the works of God's goodness. Then set your hand vigorously to the task of breaking and destroying the gods which up till now you have fashioned from material substances. In fact the very destruction and decay of those things which have never had the breath of life nor could by any means acquire understanding from their makers, should show you clearly the worthless nature of what you have worshipped up to now. You may certainly consider yourselves who have received the breath of life from the Lord to be better made than they. For Almighty God has appointed your descent through many ages and countless generations, from the first man he created. So come to the knowledge of Him who created you and breathed into you the breath of life, who sent His only-begotten Son for your redemption and to save you from original sin, so that He might deliver you from the power of the devil's perversity and wickedness, and bestow heavenly rewards upon you.

Accept the teaching of the preachers and the gospel of God which they proclaim to you, so that, as we have often said, you may believe in God the Father Almighty and in Jesus Christ His Son and the Holy Spirit, the indivisible Trinity. Then when you have put to flight devilish thoughts and driven from you the temptations of the venomous and deceitful foe, having been born again by water and the Holy Spirit,[2] may you through his bountiful aid dwell with Him in whom you have believed, in the splendour of eternal glory.

We are sending you the blessing of your protector, St. Peter, chief of the apostles, in the form of a robe embroidered with gold and a garment from Ancyra, asking your Majesty to accept these gifts in the same spirit of goodwill as that in which they were sent by us.

[1] Ps. 113 (115): 5–8.
[2] Joh. 3: 5.

XI

AD coniugem quoque illius Aedilbergam huiusmodi litteras idem pontifex misit:

Exemplar epistulae beatissimi et apostolici Bonifatii papae urbis Romae directae Aedilbergae reginae Eduini regis.

Dominae gloriosae filiae Aedilbergae reginae Bonifatius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei.

Redemptoris nostri benignitas humano generi, quod pretiosi sanguinis sui effusione a uinculis diabolicae captiuitatis eripuit, multae prouidentiae, quibus saluaretur, propinauit remedia, quatinus sui nominis agnitionem diuerso modo gentibus innotescens, Creatorem suum suscepto Christianae fidei agnoscerent sacramento. Quod equidem in uestrae gloriae sensibus caelesti conlatum munere mystica regenerationis uestrae purgatio patenter innuit. Magno ergo largitatis dominicae beneficio mens nostra gaudio exultauit, quod scintillam orthodoxae religionis in uestri dignatus est conuersione succendere, ex qua re non solum gloriosi coniugis uestri immo totius gentis subpositae uobis intellegentiam in amore sui facilius inflammaret.

Didicimus namque referentibus his, qui ad nos gloriosi filii nostri Audubaldi regis laudabilem conuersionem nuntiantes peruenerunt,
p. 105 quod etiam uestra gloria, Chri/stianae fidei suscepto mirabili sacramento, piis et Deo placitis iugiter operibus enitescat, ab idolorum etiam cultu seu fanorum auguriorumque inlecebris se diligenter abstineat, et ita in amore Redemtoris sui inmutilata deuotione persistens inuigilet, ut ad dilatandam Christianam fidem incessabiliter non desistat operam commodare: cumque de glorioso coniuge uestro paterna caritas sollicite perquisisset, cognouimus quod eatenus abominandis idolis seruiens, ad suscipiendam uocem praedicatorum suam distulerit oboedientiam exhibere. Qua ex re non modica nobis amaritudo congesta est ab eo, quod pars corporis uestri ab agnitione summae et indiuiduae Trinitatis remansit extranea. Vnde paternis officiis uestrae gloriosae Christianitati nostram commonitionem non distulimus conferendam, adhortantes quatinus, diuinae inspirationis imbuta subsidiis, inportune et oportune[1] agendum non differas, ut et ipse Saluatoris nostri Domini Iesu Christi cooperante potentia Christianorum numero copuletur, ut perinde intemerato societatis foedere iura teneas maritalis consortii; scriptum namque est 'Erunt duo in carne una.'[2] Quomodo ergo unitas uobis

CHAPTER XI

THE Pope also sent a letter to King Edwin's consort Æthelburh to this effect:

Copy of the letter of the most blessed and apostolic pope of the church of the city of Rome, Boniface, addressed to Æthelburh, King Edwin's queen.

To his daughter the most illustrious lady, Queen Æthelburh, Bishop Boniface, servant of the servants of God.

Our Redeemer, in His goodness, has here furnished providential means of salvation for the human race, freeing us from the bonds of enslavement to the devil, by shedding His precious blood: so that when He had made his name known in various ways to the Gentiles, they might acknowledge their Creator by accepting the mystery of the Christian faith. And this has plainly been conferred on your Majesty's own soul, by the gift of God in your mystical purification and regeneration. Our heart has been greatly rejoiced by the goodness and bounty of the Lord, because He has deigned to kindle by your conversion the spark of orthodox religion; that thereby He could the more easily inflame with His love not only the mind of your illustrious husband but of all the nation that is subject to you.

We have been informed by those who came to tell us of the happy conversion of our illustrious son King Eadbald, that your Majesty, who had also accepted the wondrous mystery of the Christian faith, continually shines in pious works pleasing to God and diligently avoids the worship of idols and the enticements of shrines and soothsaying; that, with unimpaired devotion, you occupy yourself so much with the love of your Redeemer that you never cease from lending your aid in spreading the Christian faith. But when, in our fatherly love, we inquired earnestly about your illustrious husband, we learned that he was still serving abominable idols and hesitated to hear and obey the words of the preachers. This caused us no small grief, that he who is one flesh with you should remain a stranger to the knowledge of the supreme and undivided Trinity. Therefore we do not hesitate, in accordance with our fatherly duty, to send a warning to your Christian Highness; we urge you that, being imbued with the Holy Spirit, you should not hesitate, in season and out of season,[1] to labour so that, through the power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, he may be added to the number of the Christians, so that you may thereby enjoy the rights of marriage in undefiled union. For it is written, 'They twain shall be one flesh':[2] how then can it be said that there is unity between you if he

[1] 2 Tim. 4: 2. [2] Matth. 19: 5.

coniunctionis inesse dici poterit, si a uestrae fidei splendore, interpositis detestabilis erroris tenebris, ille remanserit alienus?

Vnde orationi continuae insistens a longanimitate caelestis clementiae inluminationis ipsius beneficia inpetrare non desinas, ut uidelicet quos copulatio carnalis affectus unum quodammodo corpus exhibuisse monstratur, hos quoque unitas fidei etiam post huius uitae transitum in perpetua societate conseruet. Insiste ergo, gloriosa filia, et summis conatibus duritiam cordis ipsius religiosa diuinorum praeceptorum insinuatione mollire summopere dematura, infundens sensibus eius quantum sit praeclarum quod credendo suscepisti mysterium, quantumue sit admirabile quod renata praemium consequi meruisti. Frigidi-
p. 106 tatem cordis ipsius Sancti Spiritus adnuntiatione / succende, quatinus amoto torpore perniciosissimi cultus diuinae fidei calor eius intellegentiam tuorum[a] adhortationum frequentatione succendat, ut profecto sacrae scripturae testimonium per te expletum indubitanter perclareat: 'Saluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.'[1] Ad hoc enim misericordiam dominicae pietatis consecuta es, ut fructum fidei creditorumque tibi beneficiorum Redemtori tuo multiplicem resignares. Quod equidem, suffragante praesidio benignitatis ipsius, ut explere ualeas, adsiduis non desistimus precibus postulare.

His ergo praemissis, paternae uobis dilectionis exhibentes officia hortamur, ut nos reperta portitoris occasione de his, quae per uos superna potentia mirabiliter in conuersatione coniugis uestri summissaeque uobis gentis dignatus fuerit operari, prosperis quantocius nuntiis releuetis,[b] quatinus sollicitudo nostra, quae de uestri uestrorumque omnium animae salute optabilia desideranter exspectat, uobis nuntiantibus releuetur, inlustrationemque diuinae propitiationis in uobis diffusam opulentius agnoscentes, hilari confessione largitori omnium bonorum Deo et beato Petro apostolorum principi uberes merito gratias exsoluamus.

Praeterea benedictionem protectoris uestri beati Petri apostolorum principis uobis direximus, id est speculum argenteum et pectine[2c] eboreum inauratum, quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria uestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum.

XII

HAEC quidem memoratus papa Bonifatius de salute regis Eduini
p. 107 ac gentis ipsius litteris agebat. Sed et / oraculum caeleste, quod

[a] *So apparently Bede's text; the correction to* tuarum *was made very early*
[b] reueletis *c2*
[c] *So Bede's text of the letter; later MSS. write* pectinem

continues a stranger to your shining faith, seeing that the darkness of detestable error remains between you?

So, applying yourself continually to prayer, do not cease to pray to God to grant him, in His longsuffering mercy, the benefits of His illumination: so that those who have been united by the bonds of earthly marriage may also, when this life has passed, be for ever united in the bonds of faith. Therefore, my illustrious daughter, persevere with all your might to soften his hard heart as soon as possible, by piously teaching him God's commandments. Pour into his mind a knowledge of the greatness of the mystery in which you have believed and the wonder of the reward which, by the new birth, you have been accounted worthy to receive. Inflame his cold heart by teaching him about the Holy Spirit, so that he may lose that numbness which an evil religion produces and so that the warmth of divine faith may, through your frequent exhortations, kindle his understanding. Then the testimony of holy scripture will be clearly and abundantly fulfilled in you: 'The unbelieving husband shall be saved by the believing wife.'[1] For this reason you have obtained the mercy of the Lord, in order that you might restore to your Redeemer an abundant harvest of faith in return for the benefits bestowed upon you. We never cease to pray that, with God's merciful help, you may fulfil this task. We have mentioned these matters, prompted by our duty and our fatherly love for you: now we urge you that as soon as a messenger is available you should, with all speed, comfort us with the good news of the wonders which the Almighty has seen fit to work through you, in the conversion of your husband and of the peoples subject to him; so that our anxiety for the salvation of the souls of you all may be set at rest by your letter. Then, as we see the enlightenment of God's redemption more widely spread among you, we may give our abundant thanks, as is right, in joyful acknowledgement to God the giver of all good things and to St. Peter, chief of the apostles.

As well as the blessing of St. Peter, chief of the apostles and your protector, we send a silver mirror and an ivory comb[2] adorned with gold. We beseech your Majesty to accept it in the same kindly spirit as that in which it is sent.

CHAPTER XII

SUCH was the letter Pope Boniface wrote concerning the salvation of King Edwin and his race. But a heavenly vision which God in His mercy had deigned to reveal to Edwin when he was once in

[1] 1 Cor. 7: 14.
[2] Translating *pectinem*.

illi quondam exulanti apud Redualdum regem Anglorum[1] pietas diuina reuelare dignata est, non minimum ad suscipienda uel intellegenda doctrinae monita salutaris sensum iuuit illius. Cum ergo uideret Paulinus difficulter posse sublimitatem animi regalis ad humilitatem uiae salutaris et suscipiendum mysterium uiuificae crucis inclinari, ac pro salute illius simul et gentis cui praeerat et uerbo exhortationis apud homines et apud diuinam pietatem uerbo deprecationis ageret, tandem, ut uerisimile uidetur, didicit in spiritu, quod uel quale esset oraculum regi quondam caelitus ostensum.[2] Nec exinde distulit, quin continuo regem ammoneret explere uotum, quod in oraculo sibi exhibito se facturum promiserat, si temporis illius erumnis exemtus ad regni fastigia perueniret.

Erat autem oraculum huiusmodi. Cum persequente illum Aedilfrido, qui ante eum regnauit, per diuersa occultus loca uel regna multo annorum tempore profugus uagaretur, tandem uenit ad Redualdum, obsecrans ut uitam suam a tanti persecutoris insidiis tutando seruaret. Qui libenter eum excipiens promisit se quae petebatur esse facturum. At postquam Aedilfrid in hac eum prouincia apparuisse et apud regem illius familiariter cum sociis habitare cognouit, misit nuntios qui Redualdo pecuniam multam pro nece eius offerrent; neque aliquid profecit. Misit secundo, misit tertio, et copiosiora argenti dona offerens et bellum insuper illi, si contemneretur, indicens. Qui uel minis fractus uel corruptus muneribus cessit deprecanti, et siue occidere se Eduinum seu
p. 108 legatariis tradere promisit. Quod ubi / fidissimus quidam amicus illius animaduertit,[a] intrauit cubiculum quo dormire disponebat (erat enim prima hora noctis), et euocatum foras, quid erga eum agere rex promisisset, edocuit, et insuper adiecit: 'Si ergo uis, hac ipsa hora educam te de hac prouincia, et ea in loca introducam, ubi numquam te uel Reduald uel Aedilfrid inuenire ualeant.' Qui ait: 'Gratias quidem ago beniuolentiae tuae; non tamen hoc facere possum quod suggeris, ut pactum quod cum tanto rege inii ipse primus irritum faciam, cum ille mihi nil mali fecerit, nil adhuc inimicitiarum intulerit. Quin potius, si moriturus sum, ille me

[a] animaduerteret *c2*

[1] Rædwald is described in ii. 5 as the fourth of the *Bretwaldan*. His dates are uncertain but extend from the end of the sixth century up to at least 616. His court must have been magnificent for it is quite possible that some of the remarkable finds discovered in the buried ship at Sutton Hoo may have belonged to him. See *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial* (London, 1947). For an attempt to show that the burial may have been Rædwald's own cenotaph see C. Hawkes, 'Sutton Hoo: Twenty-five Years after', *Antiquity*, XXXVIII (1964), 252–6. His efforts to establish a compromise between heathendom and Christianity are described in ii. 15.

exile at the court of Rædwald,[1] king of the Angles, helped him in no small measure to understand and accept in his heart the counsels of salvation. Paulinus saw how difficult it was for the king's proud mind to turn humbly to the way of salvation and accept the mystery of the life-giving cross; yet he continued to labour for the salvation of the king and also the people he ruled, uttering words of exhortation to men as well as words of prayer to the merciful Lord. At length, as seems most probable, he was shown in spirit the nature of the vision which God had once revealed to the king.[2] Nor did he lose any time in warning the king to fulfil the vows which, when he saw the vision, he had undertaken to perform if he should be delivered from the trouble he was then in and should ascend the royal throne.

This was his vision: when he was being persecuted by his predecessor Æthelfrith, he wandered secretly as a fugitive for many years through many places and kingdoms, until at last he came to Rædwald and asked him for protection against the plots of his powerful persecutor. Rædwald received him gladly, promising to do what he asked. But when Æthelfrith learned that he had been seen in that kingdom and was living on intimate terms with the king among his retainers, he sent messengers offering Rædwald large sums of money to put Edwin to death. But it had no effect. He sent a second and third time, offering even larger gifts of silver and further threatening to make war on him if Rædwald despised his offer. The king, being either weakened by his threats or corrupted by his bribes, yielded to his request and promised either to slay Edwin or to give him up to the messengers. A very faithful friend of Edwin's found this out and entered his room where he was preparing to sleep, for it was the first hour of the night. He called him outside and told him what the king had promised to do with him, adding, 'If you are willing I will take you from this kingdom this very hour and guide you to a place where neither Rædwald nor Æthelfrith will ever be able to find you.' Edwin answered, 'I thank you for your goodwill, but I cannot do what you say, as I should have to be the first to break the compact which I made with this great king; he has done me no wrong nor shown any enmity towards me so far. If I am to die,

[2] This same vision is related more briefly in the Whitby *Life of St. Gregory*. There it is made clear that the stranger was Paulinus himself. According to Bede's version the mysterious stranger was a spirit.

magis quam ignobilior quisque morti tradat. Quo enim nunc fugiam, qui per omnes Brittaniae prouincias tot annorum temporumque curriculis uagabundus hostium uitabam insidias?' Abeunte igitur amico, remansit Eduini solus foris, residensque mestus ante palatium, multis coepit cogitationum aestibus affici, quid ageret quoue pedem uerteret nescius.

Cumque diu tacitis mentis angoribus et caeco carperetur igni,[1] uidit subito intempesta nocte silentio adpropinquantem sibi hominem uultus habitusque incogniti; quem uidens, ut ignotum et inopinatum non parum expauit. At ille accedens salutauit eum, et interrogauit quare illa hora, ceteris quiescentibus et alto sopore pressis, solus ipse mestus in lapide peruigil sederet. At ille uicissim sciscitabatur, quid ad eum pertineret, utrum ipse intus an foris noctem transigeret. Qui respondens ait: 'Ne me aestimes tuae mestitiae et insomniorum et forinsecae ac solitariae sessionis causam nescire; scio enim certissime qui es et quare maeres et quae uentura tibi in proximo mala formidas. Sed dicito mihi, quid
p. 109 mer/cedis dare uelis ei, siqui sit, qui his te meroribus absoluat, et Redualdo suadeat ut nec ipse tibi aliquid mali faciat, nec tuis te hostibus perimendum tradat.' Qui cum se omnia quae posset huic tali pro mercede beneficii daturum esse responderet, adiecit ille: 'Quod si etiam regem te futurum extinctis hostibus in ueritate promittat, ita ut non solum omnes tuos progenitores sed et omnes, qui ante te reges in gente Anglorum fuerant, potestate transcendas?' At Eduini constantior interrogando factus non dubitauit promittere, quin ei, qui tanta sibi beneficia donaret, dignis ipse gratiarum actionibus responderet. Tum ille tertio 'Si autem' inquit 'is qui tibi tanta taliaque dona ueraciter aduentura praedixerit, etiam consilium tibi tuae salutis ac uitae melius atque utilius quam aliquis de tuis parentibus aut cognatis umquam audiuit, ostendere potuerit, num ei obtemperare et monita eius salutaria suscipere consentis?' Nec distulit Eduini, quin continuo polliceretur in omnibus se secuturum doctrinam illius, qui se tot ac tantis calamitatibus ereptum ad regni apicem proueheret. Quo accepto responso, confestim is qui loquebatur cum eo inposuit

let me rather die by his hand than at the hands of some meaner person. Whither am I now to fly seeing that I have been wandering for long years throughout all the kingdoms of Britain, trying to avoid the snares of my enemies?' So his friend went away, but Edwin remained alone outside, sitting sadly in front of the palace with his mind in a tumult, not knowing what to do or which way to turn.

He remained long in silent anguish of spirit and 'consumed with inward fire',[1] when suddenly at dead of night, he saw a man silently approach him whose face and attire were strange to him. When he saw this unexpected stranger, he was not a little alarmed. But the stranger approached and greeted him, asking why he was sitting so sadly upon a stone, watchful and alone, when everyone else was resting and fast asleep. Edwin asked in return what concern it was of his, whether he passed the night indoors or out. The stranger replied, 'Do not think I am unaware of the cause of your sorrow and sleeplessness and why you sit alone outside, for I know quite well who you are and why you grieve and the ills which you fear will soon come upon you. But tell me what reward you are willing to give to anyone who would free you from these troubles and persuade Rædwald not to do you any wrong himself nor give you over to your enemies to perish.' Edwin answered that he would give such a person all that he was able in return for such a service. 'And what', said the stranger, 'if he assured you that your enemies would be destroyed and that you would be a king who surpassed in power not only all your ancestors, but also all who have reigned before you over the English?' Edwin, encouraged by his questions, did not hesitate to promise that he would be suitably grateful to anyone who offered him such benefits. Then he asked him a third time, 'If the one who truly foretold all these great and wonderful benefits could also give you better and more useful counsel as to your salvation and your way of life than any of your parents and kinsmen ever heard, would you consent to obey him and to accept his saving advice?' Edwin did not hesitate to promise at once that he would follow in every particular the teaching of that one who could rescue him from so many troubles and raise him to the throne. Upon this answer the one who was speaking to him immediately laid his right hand on

[1] A Virgilian echo from *Aeneid* iv. 2. These Virgilian echoes are not infrequent in Bede. See i. 8; ii. 13; iii. 11; iv. 9; iv. 26; v. 12.

dexteram suam capiti eius dicens: 'Cum hoc ergo tibi signum aduenerit, memento huius temporis ac loquellae nostrae, et ea quae nunc promittis, adimplere ne differas.' Et his dictis, ut ferunt, repente disparuit, ut intellegeret non hominem esse qui sibi apparuisset sed spiritum.

Et cum regius iuuenis solus adhuc ibidem sederet, gauisus quidem de conlata sibi consolatione, sed multum sollicitus ac mente sedula cogitans, qui esset ille uel unde ueniret, qui haec sibi loqueretur, uenit ad eum praefatus amicus illius, laetoque
p. 110 uultu salutans / eum 'Surge', inquit 'intra, et sopitis ac relictis curarum anxietatibus, quieti membra simul et animum conpone, quia mutatum est cor regis, nec tibi aliquid mali facere, sed fidem potius pollicitam seruare disponit. Postquam enim cogitationem suam, de qua tibi ante dixi, reginae in secreto reuelauit, reuocauit eum illa ab intentione, ammonens quia nulla ratione conueniat tanto regi amicum suum optimum in necessitate positum auro uendere, immo fidem suam, quae omnibus ornamentis pretiosior est, amore pecuniae perdere.' Quid plura? Fecit rex ut dictum est; nec solum exulem nuntiis hostilibus non tradidit, sed etiam eum ut in regnum perueniret adiuuit. Nam mox redeuntibus domum nuntiis, exercitum ad debellandum Aedilfridum colligit copiosum, eumque sibi occurrentem cum exercitu multum inpari (non enim dederat illi spatium, quo totum suum congregaret atque adunaret exercitum) occidit in finibus gentis Merciorum ad orientalem plagam amnis, qui uocatur Idlae; in quo certamine et filius Redualdi, uocabulo Raegnheri, occisus est. Ac sic Eduini iuxta oraculum quod acceperat non tantum regis sibi infesti insidias uitauit, uerum etiam eidem peremto in regni gloriam successit.

Cum ergo praedicante uerbum Dei Paulino rex credere differret, et per aliquod tempus, ut diximus, horis conpetentibus solitarius sederet, et[a] quid agendum sibi esset, quae religio sequenda, sedulus secum ipse scrutari consuesset, ingrediens ad eum quadam die uir Dei inposuit dexteram capiti eius et, an hoc signum agnosceret, requisiuit. Qui cum tremens ad pedes eius procidere uellet, leuauit eum et quasi familiari uoce affatus 'Ecce' inquit 'hostium manus, quos timuisti, Domino donante euasisti. Ecce regnum,
p. 111 quod desiderasti, ipso largiente percepisti. Memento ut ter/tium, quod promisisti, facere ne differas, suscipiendo fidem eius et

[a] *m omits* et, *probably by accident*

Edwin's head and said, 'When this sign shall come to you, remember this occasion and our conversation, and do not hesitate to fulfil what you are now promising.' On these words it is related that he suddenly disappeared so that Edwin might realise that it was not a man but a spirit who had appeared to him.

The young prince continued to sit there alone, rejoicing in the consolation he had received but much concerned and anxiously wondering who the person might be who had conversed with him and whence he came. Meanwhile his friend already mentioned returned, joyfully greeted him, and said, 'Rise and come inside; put away your anxieties and let both your mind and your body rest in peace. The king has changed his mind and intends to do you no wrong but to keep faith with you. When he secretly revealed to the queen the plan I told you of, she dissuaded him from it, warning him that it was in no way fitting for so great a king to sell his best friend for gold when he was in such trouble, still less to sacrifice his own honour, which is more precious than any ornament, for the love of money.' To be brief, the king did as he had said and not only did he not betray the exile to the enemy messengers but he even assisted Edwin to gain the throne. As soon as the messengers had returned home, he raised a large army to overthrow Æthelfrith. Not giving him time to summon and assemble his whole army, Rædwald met him with a much greater force and slew him on the Mercian border on the east bank of the river Idle. In this battle Rædwald's son, Regenhere, was killed. Thus Edwin, in accordance with the vision he had received, not only avoided the snares of the king his enemy but after he was killed succeeded him on the throne.

King Edwin hesitated to accept the word of God which Paulinus preached but, as we have said, used to sit alone for hours at a time, earnestly debating within himself what he ought to do and what religion he should follow. One day Paulinus came to him and, placing his right hand on the king's head, asked him if he recognized this sign. The king began to tremble and would have thrown himself at the bishop's feet but Paulinus raised him up and said in a voice that seemed familiar, 'First you have escaped with God's help from the hands of the foes you feared; secondly you have acquired by His gift the kingdom you desired; now, in the third place, remember your own promise; do not delay in fulfilling it but receive the faith and keep the commandments of

praecepta seruando, qui te et a temporalibus aduersis eripiens temporalis regni honore sublimauit et, si deinceps uoluntati eius, quam per me tibi praedicat, obsecundare uolueris, etiam a perpetuis malorum tormentis te liberans aeterni secum regni in caelis faciet esse participem.'

XIII

QUIBUS auditis, rex suscipere quidem se fidem, quam docebat, et uelle et debere respondebat; uerum adhuc cum amicis principibus et consiliariis suis sese de hoc conlaturum esse dicebat,[1] ut, si et illi eadem cum eo sentire uellent, omnes pariter in fonte uitae Christo consecrarentur. Et adnuente Paulino fecit ut dixerat; habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, sciscitabatur singillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina haec eatenus inaudita et nouus diuinitatis, qui praedicabatur, cultus uideretur.

Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit: 'Tu uide, rex, quale sit hoc, quod nobis modo praedicatur; ego autem tibi uerissime, quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino uirtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa, quam hucusque tenuimus. Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturae deorum nostrorum se subdidit; et nihilominus multi sunt qui ampliora a te beneficia quam ego et maiores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus, quae agenda uel adquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid ualerent, me potius iuuare uellent, qui illis inpensius seruire curaui. Vnde restat ut, si ea quae nunc nobis
p. 112 noua[a] praedicantur, meliora esse et fortiora habita / examinatione perspexeris, absque ullo cunctamine suscipere illa festinemus.'

Cuius suasioni uerbisque prudentibus alius optimatum regis tribuens assensum continuo subdidit, 'Talis' inquiens 'mihi uidetur, rex, uita hominum praesens in terris, ad conparationem eius quod nobis incertum est temporis, quale cum te residente ad

[a] noua nobis *c2*

[1] This vivid account of Edwin's conversion is one of the most famous of Bede's stories. Though Bede does not mention his source, it is clear that it was based on tradition. Judging by Bede's somewhat confused account of the conversion, it would seem that there were three versions current in Northumbrian tradition: the first, the result of his preservation from the assassin's knife: the second, the story of the promise to the mysterious stranger; and the third, his decision at the meeting of the council. To combine them Bede makes Edwin hesitate to redeem his pledge in the first two instances, the decision being made after the meeting of the council. It is this story which was probably the best known and the most popular of the three traditions. The account gives us a vivid picture of the arrangement of the hall which has been confirmed by the recent

Him who rescued you from your earthly foes and raised you to the honour of an earthly kingdom. If from henceforth you are willing to follow His will which is made known to you through me, He will also rescue you from the everlasting torments of the wicked and make you a partaker with Him of His eternal kingdom in heaven.'

CHAPTER XIII

WHEN the king had heard his words, he answered that he was both willing and bound to accept the faith which Paulinus taught. He said, however, that he would confer[1] about this with his loyal chief men and his counsellors so that, if they agreed with him, they might all be consecrated together in the waters of life. Paulinus agreed and the king did as he had said. A meeting of his council was held and each one was asked in turn what he thought of this doctrine hitherto unknown to them and this new worship of God which was being proclaimed.

Coifi, the chief of the priests, answered at once, 'Notice carefully, King, this doctrine which is now being expounded to us. I frankly admit that, for my part, I have found that the religion which we have hitherto held has no virtue nor profit in it. None of your followers has devoted himself more earnestly than I have to the worship of our gods, but nevertheless there are many who receive greater benefits and greater honour from you than I do and are more successful in all their undertakings. If the gods had any power they would have helped me more readily, seeing that I have always served them with greater zeal. So it follows that if, on examination, these new doctrines which have now been explained to us are found to be better and more effectual, let us accept them at once without any delay.'

Another of the king's chief men agreed with this advice and with these wise words and then added, 'This is how the present life of man on earth, King, appears to me in comparison with that time which is unknown to us. You are sitting feasting with your

excavations at Yeavering in Northumberland. It was a long wooden hall with a fire burning in a pit in the middle. There were doors at either end and also exactly in the middle of the longer walls of the hall, through which the birds could fly in and out. It is also from this chapter that we learn about the existence of priests of the heathen religion and of the taboos associated with them.

caenam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cenaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluuiarum uel niuium, aduéniens unus passerum domum citissime pervolauerit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem tempore quo intus est hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen parvissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens tuis oculis elabitur. Ita haec uita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidue praecesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Vnde, si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur.' His similia et ceteri maiores natu ac regis consiliarii diuinitus admoniti prosequebantur.

Adiecit autem Coifi, quia uellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo quem praedicabat uerbum facientem. Quod cum iubente rege faceret, exclamauit auditis eius sermonibus dicens: 'Iam olim intellexeram nihil esse, quod colebamus, quia uidelicet quanto studiosius in eo cultu ueritatem quaerebam, tanto minus inueniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac praedicatione ueritas claret illa, quae nobis uitae salutis et beatitudinis aeternae dona ualet tribuere. Vnde suggero, rex, ut templa et altaria, quae sine fructu utilitatis sacrauimus, ocius anathemati
p. 113 et igni contradamus.' Quid plura? Prae/buit palam adsensum euangelizanti beato Paulino rex, et abrenuntiata idolatria fidem se Christi suscipere confessus est. Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaereret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis quibus erant circumdata primus profanare deberet, ille respondit: 'Ego: quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo uero donatam destruam?'[a] Statimque, abiecta superstitione uanitatis, rogauit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarium, quem ascendens ad idola destruenda ueniret. Non enim licuerat pontificem sacrorum uel arma ferre uel praeter in equa equitare. Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu, et ascendens emissarium regis pergebat ad idola. Quod aspiciens uulgus aestimabat eum insanire. Nec distulit ille, mox ut adpropiabat ad fanum, profanare illud, iniecta in eo lancea quam tenebat, multumque gauisus de agnitione ueri

[a] *c2 has* destruam *after* ipse

ealdormen and thegns in winter time; the fire is burning on the hearth in the middle of the hall and all inside is warm, while outside the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging; and a sparrow flies swiftly through the hall. It enters in at one door and quickly flies out through the other. For the few moments it is inside, the storm and wintry tempest cannot touch it, but after the briefest moment of calm, it flits from your sight, out of the wintry storm and into it again. So this life of man appears but for a moment; what follows or indeed what went before, we know not at all. If this new doctrine brings us more certain information, it seems right that we should accept it.' Other elders and counsellors of the king continued in the same manner, being divinely prompted to do so.

Coifi added that he would like to listen still more carefully to what Paulinus himself had to say about God. The king ordered Paulinus to speak, and when he had said his say, Coifi exclaimed, 'For a long time now I have realized that our religion is worthless; for the more diligently I sought the truth in our cult, the less I found it. Now I confess openly that the truth shines out clearly in this teaching which can bestow on us the gift of life, salvation, and eternal happiness. Therefore I advise your Majesty that we should promptly abandon and commit to the flames the temples and the altars which we have held sacred without reaping any benefit.' Why need I say more? The king publicly accepted the gospel which Paulinus preached, renounced idolatry, and confessed his faith in Christ. When he asked the high priest of their religion which of them should be the first to profane the altars and the shrines of the idols, together with their precincts, Coifi answered, 'I will; for through the wisdom the true God has given me no one can more suitably destroy those things which I once foolishly worshipped, and so set an example to all.' And at once, casting aside his vain superstitions, he asked the king to provide him with arms and a stallion; and mounting it he set out to destroy the idols. Now a high priest of their religion was not allowed to carry arms or to ride except on a mare. So, girded with a sword, he took a spear in his hand and mounting the king's stallion he set off to where the idols were. The common people who saw him thought he was mad. But as soon as he approached the shrine, without any hesitation he profaned it by casting the spear which he held into it; and greatly rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the

Dei cultus, iussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem ultra amnem Deruuentionem, et uocatur hodie Godmunddingaham, ubi pontifex ipse inspirante Deo uero polluit ac destruxit eas, quas ipse sacrauerat aras.[1]

XIIII

IGITUR accepit rex Eduini cum cunctis gentis suae nobilibus ac plebe perplurima fidem et lauacrum sanctae regenerationis[2] anno regni sui undecimo, qui est annus dominicae incarnationis DCXXVII,
p. 114 ab aduentu uero / Anglorum in Brittaniam annus circiter CLXXXmus. Baptizatus est autem Eburaci die sancto paschae pridie iduum Aprilium, in ecclesia sancti Petri apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno,[3] cum cathecizaretur atque ad percipiendum baptisma inbueretur, citato opere construxit. In qua etiam ciuitate ipsi doctori atque antistiti suo Paulino sedem episcopatus donauit. Mox autem ut baptisma consecutus est, curauit docente eodem Paulino maiorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cuius medio ipsum quod prius fecerat oratorium includeretur. Praeparatis ergo fundamentis in gyro prioris oratorii per quadrum coepit aedificare basilicam; sed priusquam altitudo parietis esset consummata, rex ipse impia nece occisus opus idem successori suo Osualdo perficiendum reliquit. Paulinus autem ex eo tempore sex annis continuis, id est ad finem usque imperii regis illius, uerbum Dei adnuente ac fauente ipso in ea prouincia praedicabat; credebantque et baptizabantur quotquot erant praeordinati ad uitam aeternam,[4] in quibus erant Osfrid et Eadfrid filii regis Eduini, qui ambo ei exuli nati sunt de Quoenburga filia Cearli regis Merciorum.

Baptizati sunt tempore sequente et alii liberi eius de Aedilberga regina progeniti, Aedilhun et Aedilthryd filia et alter filius

[1] An echo of Virgil, *Aeneid* ii. 501–2.

[2] In one group of manuscripts of the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae* it is related that Edwin was baptized by Rhun, son of Urien. Both these sources, however, are later and less authoritative than Bede. The Whitby *Life of Gregory*, which has much information about Edwin, also knows nothing of this story.

true God, he ordered his companions to destroy and set fire to the shrine and all the enclosures. The place where the idols once stood is still shown, not far from York, to the east, over the river Derwent. Today it is called Goodmanham, the place where the high priest, through the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he himself had consecrated.[1]

CHAPTER XIV

So King Edwin, with all the nobles of his race and a vast number of the common people, received the faith and regeneration by holy baptism[2] in the eleventh year of his reign, that is in the year of our Lord 627 and about 180 years after the coming of the English to Britain. He was baptized at York on Easter Day, 12 April, in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he had hastily built of wood[3] while he was a catechumen and under instruction before he received baptism. He established an episcopal see for Paulinus, his instructor and bishop, in the same city. Very soon after his baptism, he set about building a greater and more magnificent church of stone, under the instructions of Paulinus, in the midst of which the chapel which he had first built was to be enclosed. The foundations were laid and he began to build this square church surrounding the former chapel. But before the walls were raised to their full height, the king was slain by a cruel death and the work left for his successor Oswald to finish. Paulinus continued to preach the word of the Lord in that kingdom for six years, that is, until the end of the king's reign, with his consent and favour. As many as were foreordained to eternal life believed and were baptized,[4] among whom were Osfrith and Eadfrith, sons of King Edwin, their mother being Cwenburh, daughter of Ceorl, king of the Mercians; they were born while he was in exile.

Other children of his by Queen Æthelburh were baptized later on, namely Æthelhun and a daughter Æthelthryth and a second son Uscfrea; the first two were snatched from this life while they

[3] Wood was the normal Anglo-Saxon building material. Stone buildings seem to have been mostly put up when Roman materials were easily available. Such early churches of this period as were built of stone (Escomb, Wearmouth, Jarrow, Hexham, Ripon, Brixworth, and others) made use of Roman stone borrowed from local Roman forts and other buildings. Edwin's building was on the site of the present York Minster.

[4] Act. 13: 48.

Uuscfrea, quorum primi albati adhuc[1] rapti sunt de hac uita, et Eburaci in ecclesia sepulti. Baptizatus et Yffi filius Osfridi, sed et alii nobiles ac regii uiri non pauci. Tantus autem fertur tunc fuisse feruor fidei ac desiderium lauacri salutaris genti Nordanhymbrorum, ut quodam tempore Paulinus ueniens cum rege et regina in
p. 115 uillam regiam, / quae uocatur Adgefrin,[2] xxxvi diebus ibidem cum eis cathecizandi et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur; quibus diebus cunctis a mane usque ad uesperam nil[a] aliud ageret quam confluentem eo de cunctis uiculis ac locis plebem Christi uerbo salutis instruere, atque instructam in fluuio Gleni, qui proximus erat, lauacro remissionis abluere. Haec uilla tempore sequentium regum deserta, et alia pro illa est facta in loco qui uocatur Maelmin.

Haec quidem in prouincia Berniciorum. Sed et in prouincia Deirorum, ubi saepius manere cum rege solebat, baptizabat in fluuio Sualua, qui uicum Cataractam praeterfluit; nondum enim oratoria uel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari. Attamen in Campodono,[3] ubi tunc etiam uilla regia erat, fecit basilicam, quam postmodum pagani, a quibus Eduini rex occisus est, cum tota eadem uilla succenderunt; pro qua reges posteriores fecere sibi uillam in regione quae uocatur Loidis.[4] Euasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat, et seruatur adhuc in monasterio reuerentissimi abbatis et presbyteri Thryth-uulfi, quod est[b] in silua Elmete.[5]

XV

TANTUM autem deuotionis Eduini erga cultum ueritatis habuit, ut etiam regi Orientalium Anglorum Earpualdo filio Redualdi persuaderet relictis idolorum superstitionibus fidem et sacramenta
p. 116 Christi / cum sua prouincia suscipere. Et quidem pater eius

[a] nihil *c2* [b] *c2 has* est *after* Elmete

[1] The newly-baptized wore a white garment called the chrisom. Accompanied by their sponsors and carrying lighted tapers, they visited the church each day for a week and put off the garment on the octave of their baptism. If they died within the octave they were buried in the chrisom. See p. 471, n. 1.

[2] Near Wooler in Northumberland. Aerial photographs have recently revealed a site near Millfield which has been identified as the original *Mælmin*. I owe this information to Dr. Brian Hope-Taylor (see also p. 182, n. 1).

were still wearing the chrisom[1] and are buried in the church at York. Yffi, son of Osfrith, was also baptized and not a few others of noble and royal stock. So great is said to have been the fervour of the faith of the Northumbrians and their longing for the washing of salvation, that once when Paulinus came to the king and queen in their royal palace at Yeavering,[2] he spent thirty-six days there occupied in the task of catechizing and baptizing. During these days, from morning till evening, he did nothing else but instruct the crowds who flocked to him from every village and district in the teaching of Christ. When they had received instruction he washed them in the waters of regeneration in the river Glen, which was close at hand. This palace was left deserted in the time of the kings who followed Edwin, and another was built instead in a place called *Mælmin*.

All this happened in the kingdom of Bernicia; but also in the kingdom of Deira where he used to stay very frequently with the king, he baptized in the river Swale which flows beside the town of Catterick. For they were not yet able to build chapels or baptistries there in the earliest days of the church. Nevertheless in *Campodonum*[3] where there was also a royal dwelling, he built a church which was afterwards burnt down, together with the whole of the buildings, by the heathen who slew King Edwin. In its place, later kings built a dwelling for themselves in the region known as *Loidis*.[4] The altar escaped from the fire because it was of stone, and is still preserved in the monastery of the most reverend abbot and priest Thrythwulf, which is in the forest of Elmet.[5]

CHAPTER XV

So great was Edwin's devotion to the true worship, that he also persuaded Eorpwold, son of Rædwand and king of the East Angles, to abandon his idolatrous superstitions and, together with his kingdom, to accept the Christian faith and sacraments. Indeed

[3] *Campodonum* or *Cambodunum* is a Roman site near Dewsbury in Yorkshire.

[4] A district round modern Leeds whence that city derives its name.

[5] Sherburn-in-Elmet and Barwick-in-Elmet still preserve the name of the district between the Vale of York and the Pennine watershed. It maintained its independence as a British kingdom until the seventh century. See A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the West Riding*, IV, *EPNS*, XXXIII (1961), 1–3.

Reduald iamdudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianae fidei inbutus est, sed frustra; nam rediens domum ab uxore sua et quibusdam peruersis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei deprauatus habuit posteriora peiora prioribus,[1] ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum[2] et Christo seruire uideretur et diis, quibus antea seruiebat, atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi et arulam ad uictimas daemoniorum. Quod uidelicet fanum rex eiusdem prouinciae Alduulf,[3] qui nostra aetate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse, et se in pueritia uidisse testabatur. Erat autem praefatus rex Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis, filius Tytili, cuius pater fuit Uuffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Uuffingas appellant.

Verum Eorpuald non multo, postquam fidem accepit, tempore occisus est a uiro gentili nomine Ricbercto; et exinde tribus annis prouincia in errore uersata est, donec accepit regnum frater eiusdem Eorpualdi Sigberct, uir per omnia Christianissimus ac doctissimus, qui uiuente adhuc fratre, cum exularet in Gallia, fidei sacramentis inbutus est, quorum participem, mox ubi regnare coepit, totam suam prouinciam facere curauit. Cuius studiis gloriosissime fauit Felix episcopus, qui de Burgundiorum partibus, ubi ortus et ordinatus est, cum uenisset ad Honorium archiepiscopum, eique indicasset desiderium suum, misit eum ad praedicandum uerbum uitae praefatae nationi Anglorum. Nec uota ipsius incassum cecidere; quin potius fructum in ea multiplicem credentium populorum pius agri spiritalis cultor inuenit. Siquidem totam illam prouinciam, iuxta sui nominis sacramentum, a longa iniquitate atque infelicitate liberatam ad fidem et opera iustitiae
p. 117 ad perpetuae felicitatis dona perduxit, accepitque sedem / episcopatus in ciuitate Dommoc, et cum x ac septem annos eidem prouinciae pontificali regimine praeesset, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit.

XVI

PRAEDICABAT autem Paulinus uerbum etiam prouinciae Lindissi quae est prima ad meridianam Humbrae fluminis ripam, pertingens

[1] Luc. 11: 26.

[2] The tendency of the Samaritans to adopt the gods of other nations is often referred to in the Old Testament. Cf. Bede's own comment on Ezra 4: 1 (*Opp.* VIII. 404).

[3] A son of Hereswith according to Bede, who does not mention the name of Ealdwulf's father. An early ninth-century genealogy of the East Anglian kings (B.M. Cott. Vesp. B. 6) states that his father was Æthelric, son of Eni. Ealdwulf died in 713, in Bede's time but before the *History* was written. See F. M. Stenton, 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 43–52.

his father Rædwald had long before been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain; for on his return home, he was seduced by his wife and by certain evil teachers and perverted from the sincerity of his faith, so that his last state was worse than his first.[1] After the manner of the ancient Samaritans,[2] he seemed to be serving both Christ and the gods whom he had previously served; in the same temple he had one altar for the Christian sacrifice and another small altar on which to offer victims to devils. Ealdwulf,[3] who was ruler of the kingdom up to our time, used to declare that the temple lasted until his time and that he saw it when he was a boy. Rædwald, who was noble by birth though ignoble in his deeds, was the son of Tytil, whose father was Wuffa, from whom the kings of the East Angles are called Wuffings.

Eorpwold was killed not long after he had accepted the faith, by a heathen called Ricberht. Thereupon the kingdom remained in error for three years, until Eorpwold's brother Sigeberht came to the throne. The latter was a devout Christian and a very learned man in all respects; while his brother was alive he had been in exile in Gaul, where he had been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith. As soon as he began to reign he made it his business to see that the whole kingdom shared his faith. Bishop Felix most nobly supported his efforts. This bishop, who had been born and consecrated in Burgundy, came to Archbishop Honorius, to whom he expressed his longings; so the archbishop sent him to preach the word of life to this nation of the Angles. Nor were his wishes in vain, for the devoted husbandman reaped an abundant harvest of believers in this spiritual field. Indeed, as his name signified, he freed the whole of this kingdom from long-lasting evil and unhappiness, brought it to the faith and to the works of righteousness and bestowed on it the gift of everlasting felicity. He received the seat of his bishopric in the city of *Dommoc* (Dunwich); and when he had ruled over the kingdom as bishop for seventeen years, he ended his life there in peace.

CHAPTER XVI

Now Paulinus also preached the word in the kingdom of Lindsey, the first land on the south bank of the river Humber, bordering

usque ad mare, praefectumque Lindocolinae ciuitatis, cui nomen erat Blaecca, primum cum domu sua conuertit ad Dominum. In qua uidelicet ciuitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit, cuius tecto uel longa incuria uel hostili manu[1] deiecto parietes hactenus stare uidentur, et omnibus annis aliqua sanitatum miracula in eodem loco solent ad utilitatem eorum qui fideliter quaerunt ostendi. In qua ecclesia Paulinus, transeunte ad Christum Iusto, Honorium pro eo consecrauit episcopum, ut in sequentibus suo loco dicemus.

De huius fide prouinciae narrauit mihi presbyter et abbas quidam uir ueracissimus de monasterio Peartaneu, uocabulo Deda, rettulisse sibi quendam seniorem, baptizatum se fuisse die media a Paulino episcopo praesente rege Eduino, et multam populi turbam, in fluuio Treenta iuxta ciuitatem quae lingua Anglorum Tiouulfingacaestir uocatur; qui etiam effigiem eiusdem Paulini referre esset solitus, quod esset uir longae staturae, paululum incuruus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso aduncto pertenui, uenerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu. Habuit autem secum in mini-
p. 118 sterio et Iacobum diaconum, uirum utique industrium / ac nobilem in Christo et in ecclesia, qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit.

Tanta autem eo tempore pax in Brittania, quaquauersum imperium regis Eduini peruenerat, fuisse perhibetur ut, sicut usque hodie in prouerbio dicitur, etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo uellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se ledente ualeret.[2] Tantum rex idem utilitati suae gentis consuluit, ut plerisque in locis, ubi fontes lucidos iuxta publicos uiarum transitus conspexit, ibi ob refrigerium uiantium erectis stipitibus aereos caucos suspendi iuberet, neque hos quisquam, nisi ad usum necessarium, contingere prae magnitudine uel timoris eius auderet uel amoris uellet. Tantum uero in regno excellentiae habuit, ut non solum in pugna ante illum uexilla gestarentur, sed et tempore pacis equitantem inter ciuitates siue uillas aut prouincias suas cum ministris semper antecedere signifer consuesset, necnon et incedente illo ubilibet per plateas illud genus uexilli, quod Romani tufam, Angli appellant thuuf,[3] ante eum ferri solebat.

[1] Lindsey had a stormy history during the seventh century. Cf. p. 6, n. 2.

[2] Stories similar to this were told about any powerful king in the Middle Ages. Thus, in the Peterborough continuation of the *ASC*, *s.a.* 1135, it is said that in the time of Henry I a man could carry a burden of gold and silver anywhere without being molested.

[3] An object was found at Sutton Hoo in the burial ship which is supposed by some to be a royal standard of this kind. It is quite possible that Edwin learned this practice at Rædwald's court, though doubtless the royal standard was a Roman borrowing. Bede probably got the word '*tufa*' from Vegetius. The Old English word *thuf* (tuft of feathers or foliage) with which he equated it, suggests

on the sea. His first convert was the reeve of the city of Lincoln called Blæcca, he and his household. In this city he built a stone church of remarkable workmanship; its roof has now fallen either through long neglect or by the hand of the enemy,[1] but its walls are still standing and every year miracles of healing are performed in this place, for the benefit of those who seek them in faith. After Justus had departed to Christ, in his place Paulinus consecrated Honorius bishop in this church, as we shall relate in due course.

A priest and abbot of the monastery of Partney, named Deda, a most truthful man, told me this, regarding the faith of the kingdom; a certain old man told him that he had been baptized at noon by Bishop Paulinus, in the presence of King Edwin together with a great crowd of people, in the river Trent, near a city which the English call *Tiowulfingacæstir* (Littleborough). He also used to describe the appearance of Paulinus: he was tall, with a slight stoop, black hair, a thin face, a slender aquiline nose, and at the same time he was both venerable and awe-inspiring in appearance. He had also a deacon named James associated with him in the ministry, a man of zeal and great reputation with both Christ and the church, who survived right up to our days.

It is related that there was so great a peace in Britain, wherever the dominion of King Edwin reached, that, as the proverb still runs, a woman with a new-born child could walk throughout the island from sea to sea and take no harm.[2] The king cared so much for the good of the people that, in various places where he had noticed clear springs near the highway, he caused stakes to be set up and bronze drinking cups to be hung on them for the refreshment of travellers. No one dared to lay hands on them except for their proper purpose because they feared the king greatly nor did they wish to, because they loved him dearly. So great was his majesty in his realm that not only were banners carried before him in battle, but even in time of peace, as he rode about among his cities, estates, and kingdoms with his thegns, he always used to be preceded by a standard-bearer. Further, when he walked anywhere along the roads, there used to be carried before him the type of standard which the Romans call a *tufa* and the English call a *thuf*.[3]

that the standard was bushy or covered with foliage, as the Sutton Hoo object may well have been, judging by its shape and form. It may even have been the mark of the *Bretwalda*. For a view sceptical of this identification see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Graves of Kings', *Studi medievali*, 3 ser. 1, i (Spoleto, 1960), 177–94.

XVII

QUO tempore praesulatum sedis apostolicae Honorius Bonifatii successor habebat, qui, ubi gentem Nordanhymbrorum cum suo rege ad fidem confessionemque Christi Paulino euangelizante conuersam esse didicit, misit eidem Paulino pallium. Misit et regi Eduino litteras exhortatorias, paterna illum caritate accendens, ut in fide ueritatis quam acceperant persistere semper ac proficere curarent. Quarum uidelicet litterarum iste est ordo:

p. 119 Domino excellentissimo atque praecellentissimo filio / Eduino regi Anglorum Honorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei salutem.

Ita Christianitatis uestrae integritas circa sui Conditoris cultum fidei est ardore succensa, ut longe lateque resplendeat et in omni mundo adnuntiata uestri operis multipliciter referat fructum. Sic enim uos reges esse cognoscitis, dum regem et[a] Creatorem uestrum orthodoxa praedicatione edocti Deum uenerando creditis, eique, quod humana ualet condicio, mentis uestrae sinceram deuotionem exsoluitis. Quid enim Deo nostro aliud offerre ualebimus, nisi ut in bonis actibus persistentes, ipsumque auctorem humani generis confitentes, eum colere eique uota nostra reddere festinemus? Et ideo, excellentissime fili, paterna uos caritate qua conuenit exhortamur, ut hoc, quod uos diuina misericordia ad suam gratiam uocare dignata est, sollicita intentione et adsiduis orationibus seruare omnimodo festinetis ut, qui uos in praesenti saeculo ex omni errore absolutos ad agnitionem sui nominis est dignatus perducere, et caelestis patriae uobis praeparet mansionem. Praedicatoris igitur uestri domini mei apostolicae memoriae Gregorii frequenter lectione occupati, prae oculis affectum doctrinae ipsius, quod[b] pro uestris animabus libenter exercuit, habetote, quatinus eius oratio et regnum uestrum populumque augeat et uos omnipotenti Deo inreprehensibiles repraesentet. Ea uero, quae a nobis pro uestris sacerdotibus ordinanda sperastis, hoc[c] pro fidei uestrae sinceritate, quae nobis multimoda relatione per praesentium portitores laudabiliter insinuata est, gratuito animo adtribuere ulla sine dilatione praeuidemus; et duo pallia utrorumque metropolitanorum, id est Honorio et Paulino, direximus, ut dum quis eorum de hoc saeculo ad auctorem suum fuerit accersitus, in loco ipsius alterum[d] episcopum ex hac nostra auctoritate
p. 120 debeat subrogare. Quod quidem tam pro uestrae caritatis affectu / quam pro tantarum prouinciarum spatia,[e] quae inter nos et uos esse noscuntur,

[a] et regem *c2* [b] *Altered in later MSS. to* quam *and* quem
[c] *Plummer's* haec *is a later correction*
[d] *So Bede's copy of the letter; the sense requires* alter, *which Plummer tacitly prints*
[e] *So Bede's copy; later MSS. correct to* spatiis *and* spatio

CHAPTER XVII

AT that time Honorius, the successor of Boniface, was bishop of the apostolic see. When he heard that the Northumbrian race and its king had been converted to the faith and the confession of Christ by the preaching of Paulinus, he sent the latter a pallium. He also sent King Edwin letters of exhortation encouraging him and his people with fatherly love, to persevere and increase in the true faith which they had accepted. This is the tenor of the letter:

To my most excellent lord and noble son, Edwin, king of the English, Bishop Honorius, servant of the servants of God, sends greeting.

The zeal of your Christian Majesty in the worship of your Creator burns so brightly with the fire of faith that it shines far and wide and the report of it, carried throughout the world, tells of an abundant fruit for your labours. You know that you are a king, only on condition that you have faith in your King and Creator (as you have been instructed by orthodox teaching to do) and, by offering worship to God, pay Him, so far as human conditions allow, the sincere devotion of your heart. For what more can we offer to God than a hearty desire to persevere in good deeds, to worship Him and pay Him our vows, confessing Him to be the Creator of the human race? And therefore, most excellent son, we exhort you with fatherly love, as is fitting, that you labour in every way with earnest intention and constant prayer to preserve the privilege you have had of being called by divine mercy to receive His grace, so that He who has deigned to free you from all error and lead you to a knowledge of His name in this present world may prepare a mansion for you in the heavenly fatherland. So employ yourself in frequent readings from the works of Gregory, your evangelist and my lord, and keep before your eyes the love of that teaching which he gladly gave you for the sake of your souls: so his prayers may exalt both your kingdom and your people and present you faultless before Almighty God. We are preparing to concede you willingly and without delay those rights which you hoped we should grant your bishops: we do this on account of the sincerity of your faith which has been abundantly declared to us in terms of praise by the bearers of this letter. We are also sending a pallium for each of the two metropolitans, that is for Honorius and Paulinus, so that when either of them is summoned from the world into the presence of his Creator, the other may put a bishop in his place by this our authority. This we have been led to do, not only for the sake of our love and affection for you, but also because of the great extent of the kingdoms which, as we are aware,

sumus inuitati concedere, ut in omnibus deuotioni uestrae nostrum concursum et iuxta uestra desiderio praeberemus. Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.

XVIII

HAEC inter Iustus archiepiscopus ad caelestia regna sublatus quarto iduum Nouembrium die, et Honorius pro illo est in praesulatum electus; qui ordinandus uenit ad Paulinum, et occurrente sibi illo in Lindocolino, quintus ab Augustino Doruuernensis ecclesiae consecratus est antistes. Cui etiam praefatus papa Honorius misit pallium et litteras, in quibus decernit hoc ipsum, quod in epistula ad Eduinum regem missa decreuerat, scilicet ut cum Doruuernensis uel Eburacensis antistes de hac uita transierit, is qui superest consors eiusdem gradus habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi in loco eius qui transierat sacerdotem, ne sit necesse ad Romanam usque ciuitatem per tam prolixa terrarum et maris spatia pro ordinando archiepiscopo semper fatigari. Quarum etiam textum litterarum in nostra hac historia ponere commodum duximus.

Dilectissimo fratri Honorio Honorius.

Inter plurima quae Redemtoris nostri misericordia suis famulis dignatur bonorum munera praerogare, illud etiam clementer conlata suae pietatis munificentia tribuit, quoties per fraternos affatus[a] unianimam dilectionem quadam contemplatione alternis aspectibus repraesentat. Pro / quibus maiestati eius gratias indesinenter exsoluimus, p. 121 eumque uotis supplicibus exoramus, ut uestram dilectionem in praedicatione euangelii elaborantem et fructificantem, sectantemque magistri et capitis sui sancti Gregorii regulam, perpeti stabilitate confirmet, et ad augmentum ecclesiae suae potiora per uos suscitet incrementa; ut fide et opere, in timore Dei et caritate, uestra adquisitio decessorumque uestrorum, quae per domini Gregorii exordio[b] pullulat, conualescendo amplius extendatur: ut ipsa uos dominici eloquii promissa in futuro respiciant, uosque uox ista ad aeternam festiuitatem euocet: 'Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam uos',[1] et iterum: 'Euge, serue bone et fidelis; quia super pauca fuisti fidelis super[c] multa te constituam; intra in gaudium domini tui.'[2] Et nos equidem, fratres

[a] affectus *c2*

[b] *So the document; the corrector of the Leningrad MS. has established classical syntax with* exordia

[c] supra *c2*

[1] Matth. 11: 28. [2] Matth. 25: 21.

lie between us and you, so that in all things we may show our readiness to accept your love and to fulfil your desires.

May the grace of heaven preserve your Excellency in safety.

CHAPTER XVIII

MEANWHILE Archbishop Justus was translated to the heavenly kingdom on 10 November and Honorius was elected to the archbishopric in his place. He came to Paulinus to be consecrated, meeting him at Lincoln, and there was consecrated bishop of the church at Canterbury, the fifth from Augustine. Pope Honorius sent a pallium to him also, with a letter in which he prescribes what he had already previously laid down in the letter sent to King Edwin, namely that when the archbishop of Canterbury or York departed this life, the survivor, being his colleague and of the same rank, should have the right to consecrate another bishop in the place of the one who had passed away; so that it should be unnecessary always to make a toilsome journey to Rome, over great distances of land and sea, for the purpose of consecrating an archbishop. We have thought it proper to insert the text of the letter into our *History*:

Honorius to his most beloved brother Honorius.

Among the many good gifts which the Redeemer in His mercy deigns to bestow upon His servants, His munificent bounty and kindness has granted us this special gift that we are permitted to show our mutual love by brotherly intercourse, even as if it were face to face. For this gift we continually offer thanks to God's Majesty; and we humbly beseech Him perpetually to strengthen you, beloved brother, as you labour in preaching the gospel, bearing much fruit and following the rule of your master and head, St. Gregory; praying also that, through you, He may bring forth more abundant fruit for the increase of the Church; so, through faith and works, in the fear and love of God, the increase which you and your predecessors have already gained from the seeds sown by our lord Gregory may grow in strength and extend still further; so too may the promises spoken by our Lord be fulfilled in you so that these words of His may summon you to eternal happiness, 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will refresh you';[1] and again, 'Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful over few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter into the joy of thy Lord.'[2] And we, most beloved brethren,

carissimi, haec uobis pro aeterna caritate exhortationis uerba praemittentes, quae rursus pro ecclesiarum uestrarum priuilegiis congruere posse conspicimus, non desistimus inpertire.

Et tam iuxta uestram petitionem quam filiorum nostrorum regum[1] uobis per praesenti nostra praeceptione,[a] uice beati Petri apostolorum principis, auctoritatem tribuimus, ut quando unum ex uobis diuina ad se iusserit gratia euocari, is qui superstes fuerit alterum in loco defuncti debeat episcopum ordinare. Pro qua etiam re singula uestrae dilectioni pallia pro eadem ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per nostrae praeceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordinationem efficere; quia, ut haec uobis concederemus, longa terrarum marisque interualla, quae inter nos ac uos obsistunt, ad haec nos condescendere coegerunt, ut nulla possit ecclesiarum uestrarum iactura per cuiuslibet occasionis
p. 122 obtentum quoquo modo prouenire, sed potius commissi / uobis populi deuotionem plenius propagare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime frater.

Data die III id. Iun.[b] imperantibus dominis nostris piissimis Augustis Heraclio anno XX°IIII°, post consulatum eiusdem anno XX°III°, atque[c] Constantino filio ipsius anno XX°III° et consulatus eius anno III°, sed et Heraclio felicissimo Caesare idem[d] filio eius anno III, indictione VII[e] (id est, anno dominicae incarnationis DCXXXIIII).[2]

XIX

MISIT idem papa[f] Honorius litteras etiam genti Scottorum, quos in obseruatione sancti paschae errasse conpererat, iuxta quod supra docuimus, sollerter exhortans ne paucitatem suam in extremis terrae finibus constitutam sapientiorem antiquis siue modernis, quae per orbem erant, Christi ecclesiis aestimarent,[3] neue contra paschales conputos et decreta synodalium totius orbis pontificum aliud pascha celebrarent.

Sed et Iohannes, qui successori eiusdem Honorii Seuerino successit, cum adhuc esset electus in pontificatum, pro eodem errore corrigendo litteras eis magna auctoritate atque eruditione

[a] *So the original (see above, p. xl); in several early MSS. the* per *is erased*
[b] ID. IVN. *m*; *c2 has* idus Iunias
[c] atque . . . xxxiii *om. c2*
[d] *Altered in several MSS. to* id est
[e] septima *c2*
[f] *c2 omits* papa, *and writes* Honorius Romanae sedis pontifex

[1] This arrangement was made by co-operation between the kings of Northumbria and Kent.

sending you first these words of exhortation out of our enduring love, do not fail to grant those things which again we realize may befit the privileged position of your Churches.

So in accordance with your request and that of the kings our sons,[1] we grant you authority by these presents, in the name of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, that when God in His divine grace shall summon one of you to His presence, the one who remains may consecrate another bishop in place of the dead man. For this reason we have sent a pallium to each of you, beloved, so that you may carry out the consecration as God wills, by our authority and command. It is a long distance by sea and land which lies between us and you, which has compelled us to grant you this so that no loss may befall your church on any pretext whatever; but rather that the devotion of the people committed to your charge may be increased. May God keep you safe beloved brother.

Given on 11 June in the 24th year of the reign of our most religious emperor Heraclius and the 23rd year after his consulship, the 23rd year of his son Constantine and the 3rd year after his consulship; in the 3rd year of the most illustrious Caesar his son Heraclius, in the 7th indiction.

That was in the year of our Lord, 634.[2]

CHAPTER XIX

POPE HONORIUS also wrote a letter to the Irish race, whom he had found to have erred over the keeping of Easter, as we explained above, urging them with much shrewdness not to consider themselves, few as they were and placed on the extreme boundaries of the world, wiser than the ancient and modern Churches of Christ scattered throughout the earth;[3] nor should they celebrate a different Easter contrary to the paschal tables and the decrees of the bishops of all the world met in synod.

But John who succeeded Severinus, the successor of Honorius, while he was yet pope-elect, sent them a letter of great authority

[2] The last sentence was added by Bede to the Papal letter to bring it into accord with his system of dating, by the year of the Incarnation.

[3] Cummian writing to Ségéne, abbot of Iona about 632, says, 'Rome is mistaken; Jerusalem is mistaken; Antioch is mistaken; the whole world is mistaken: the Britons and the Irish alone hold the truth.' Cummian, *De controversia paschali*, *PL*, LXXXVII. 974.

plenas direxit, euidenter astruens quia dominicum paschae diem a quinta decima luna usque ad XXI, quod in Nicena synodo probatum est, oporteret inquiri. Necnon et pro Pelagiana heresi, quam apud eos reuiuescere didicerat, cauenda ac repellenda, in eadem illos epistula admonere curauit. Cuius epistulae principium est:

p. 123 Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano, Columbano, Cronano,[a] Dimao, et Baithano episcopis; Cronano[b] Ernianoque, Laistrano, Scellano et Segeno[c] presbyteris; Sarano ceterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scottis[1] Hilarus archipresbyter et seruans locum sanctae sedis apostolicae, Iohannes diaconus et in Dei nomine electus, item Iohannes primicerius et seruans locum sanctae sedis apostolicae, et Iohannes seruus Dei consiliarius eiusdem apostolicae sedis.

Scripta quae perlatores ad sanctae memoriae Seuerinum papam adduxerunt, eo de hac luce[d] migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea, quae postulata fuerant, siluerunt. Quibus reseratis, ne diu tantae quaestionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, repperimus quosdam prouinciae uestrae contra orthodoxam fidem nouam ex ueteri heresim renouare conantes pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus,[2] nebulosa caligine refutantes et XIIII luna cum Hebreis celebrare nitentes.[3]

Quo epistulae principio manifeste declaratur, et nuperrime temporibus illis hanc apud eos heresim exortam, et non totam eorum gentem sed quosdam in eis hac fuisse inplicitos.

Exposita autem ratione paschalis obseruantiae, ita de Pelagianis in eadem epistula subdunt:

Et hoc quoque cognouimus, quod uirus Pelagianae hereseos apud uos denuo reuiuescit;[4] quod omnino hortamur, ut a uestris mentibus huiusmodi uenenatum superstitionis facinus auferatur. Nam qualiter ipsa quoque execranda heresis damnata est, latere uos non debet, quia non solum per istos ducentos annos abolita[e] est, sed et cotidie a nobis perpetuo anathemate sepulta damnatur; et hortamur ne, quorum arma conbusta sunt, apud uos eorum cineres suscitentur. Nam quis non

[a] Cromano *m* [b] Cromano *m* [c] Segiano *c2* [d] hac de luce eo *c2* [e] obolita *c2*

---

[1] Plummer identifies most of those to whom the letter is addressed: Tómíne, bishop of Armagh; Columban or Colman, bishop of Clonard; Crónán, bishop of Nendrum; Dimma, bishop of Connor; Baetán, bishop of Bangor (?); Crónán, abbot of Moville; Ernene, abbot of Tory Island; Laisréne, abbot of Leighlin; Sillan, bishop of Devenish; Ségéne, abbot of Iona; Saran is a certain Saran Ua Critain (Plummer, II. 112–13). It is worth noting that the bishop of Armagh is mentioned first even at this early date.

[2] 1 Cor. 5: 7.

and learning to correct the error; he showed clearly that Easter Sunday ought to be looked for between the fifteenth and twenty-first day of the moon, as was approved in the Synod of Nicaea. He took care to warn them, in the same letter, to guard against the Pelagian heresy and reject it, for he had been informed that there was a revival of it in their midst; this is the beginning of the letter:

To our well-beloved and holy Tómíne, Columban, Crónán, Díma and Baetán, bishops; to Crónán, Ernene, Laisréne, Sillan and Ségéne, priests; to Saran and the other Irish teachers and abbots;[1] Hilarus the archpriest and vicegerent of the holy apostolic see; also John the deacon and pope-elect in the name of the Lord, and John, chief secretary and vicegerent of the holy apostolic see, and John, servant of God and counsellor of the same.

The writings which were brought by envoys to Pope Severinus of holy memory, were left with the questions contained in them unanswered when he departed this life. These we re-opened so that no obscurity should remain uncleared in questions of such import and we discovered that certain men of your kingdom were attempting to revive a new heresy out of an old one and, befogged with mental blindness, to reject our Easter in which Christ was sacrificed for us,[2] contending with the Hebrews that it should be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the moon.[3]

At the beginning of this letter it is clearly asserted that this heresy had sprung up among them very recently and that not all the race but only certain of them were implicated in it.

After they had explained the method of observing Easter they added this in the same letter about the Pelagians:

And this also we have learnt that the poison of the Pelagian heresy has of late revived amongst you;[4] we therefore exhort you utterly to put away this kind of poisonous and criminal superstition from your minds. You cannot be unaware that this execrable heresy has been condemned; and not only has it been abolished for some two hundred years but it is daily condemned by us and buried beneath our perpetual ban. We exhort you then not to rake up the ashes amongst you of those whose

[3] There is no evidence that the Irish Church kept Easter day on the fourteenth day of the moon, even though it were not a Sunday. This practice was condemned as a heresy at the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the holders of the view were named Quartodecimans. Eddius (*Life of Wilfrid*, cc. 12, 14, 15) makes Wilfrid accuse the Celtic Church of this heresy.

[4] Irish writings of eighth and ninth centuries show traces of Pelagian influence, but there is no evidence that the heresy was widespread in Ireland. See L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 292 f.

p. 124 execretur / superbum eorum conamen et impium, dicentium posse sine peccato hominem existere ex propria uoluntate et non ex gratia Dei? Et primum quidem blasphemiae stultiloquium est dicere esse hominem sine peccato; quod omnino non potest nisi unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus,[1] qui sine peccato est conceptus et partus. Nam ceteri homines cum peccato originali nascentes testimonium praeuaricationis Adae, etiam sine actuali peccato existentes, portare noscuntur, secundum prophetam dicentem: 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis peperit me mater mea.'[2]

XX

AT uero Eduini cum X et VII annis genti Anglorum simul et Brettonum gloriosissime praeesset, e quibus sex etiam ipse, ut diximus, Christi regno militauit, rebellauit aduersus eum Caedualla rex Brettonum,[3] auxilium praebente illi Penda uiro strenuissimo de regio genere Merciorum, qui et ipse ex eo tempore gentis eiusdem regno annis XX et duobus uaria sorte praefuit; et conserto graui proelio in campo qui uocatur Haethfelth occisus est Eduini die quarto iduum Octobrium, anno dominicae incarnationis DCXXXIII, cum esset annorum XL et VIII, eiusque totus uel interemtus uel dispersus[a] exercitus. In quo etiam bello ante illum unus filius eius Osfrid iuuenis bellicosus cecidit; alter Eadfrid necessitate cogente ad Penda[b] regem transfugit, et ab eo postmodum, /
p. 125 regnante Osualdo, contra fidem iurisiurandi peremtus est.

Quo tempore maxima est facta strages in ecclesia uel gente Nordanhymbrorum, maxime quod unus ex ducibus, a quibus acta est, paganus, alter quia barbarus erat pagano saeuior. Siquidem Penda cum omni Merciorum gente idolis deditus et Christiani erat nominis ignarus; at uero Caedualla, quamuis nomen et professionem haberet Christiani, adeo tamen erat animo ac moribus barbarus, ut ne sexui quidem muliebri uel innocuae paruulorum parceret aetati, quin uniuersos atrocitate ferina morti per tormenta

[a] int. est uel disp. est *c2* [b] Pendam *c2*

[1] 1 Tim. 2: 5. [2] Ps. 50 (51): 7.

[3] Cædwalla or Cadwallon of Gwynedd, son of Cadfan, was, according to Welsh tradition, brought up with Edwin while the latter was an exile at the court

weapons have been burnt. For who can fail to execrate the proud and impious attempt of those who say that a man can live without sin and that, not by the grace of God, but by his own will? In the first place it is foolish and blasphemous to say that any man is without sin: it is impossible except for that one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,[1] who was conceived and brought forth without sin. For all other men were born with original sin and are known to bear the mark of Adam's transgression, even though they are without actual sin, in accordance with the prophet's words: 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity and in sin did my mother bring me forth.'[2]

CHAPTER XX

EDWIN had reigned most gloriously over the English and the British race for seventeen years, for six of which, as we have said, he was also a soldier in the kingdom of Christ, when Cædwalla,[3] king of the Britons, rebelled against him. He was supported by Penda, a most energetic member of the royal house of Mercia, who from that date ruled over that nation for twenty-two years with varying success. A fierce battle was fought on the plain called *Hæthfelth* (Hatfield Chase) and Edwin was killed on 12 October in the year of our Lord 633, in his forty-eighth year. The whole of his army was either slain or scattered. In this war too, one of his sons, Osfrith, a warlike youth, fell before him while the other, Eadfrith, was compelled to desert to King Penda; the latter, in spite of an oath, afterwards murdered him, during the reign of Oswald.

At this time there was a great slaughter both of the Church and of the people of Northumbria, one of the perpetrators being a heathen and the other a barbarian who was even more cruel than the heathen. Now Penda and the whole Mercian race were idolaters and ignorant of the name of Christ; but Cædwalla, although a Christian by name and profession, was nevertheless a barbarian in heart and disposition and spared neither women nor innocent children. With bestial cruelty he put all to death by

of Cadfan. Though Bede is naturally very bitter about his unchristian ways Cadwallon had suffered much from Edwin (cf. ii. 9). This was obviously an attempt to throw off Northumbrian oppression. Later on Edwin was accorded the title of martyr because he had fallen fighting against the heathen Penda and his quasi-heathen ally, Cadwallon.

contraderet, multo tempore totas eorum prouincias debachando peruagatus, ac totum genus Anglorum Brittaniae finibus erasurum se esse deliberans. Sed nec religioni Christianae, quae apud eos exorta erat, aliquid inpendebat honoris, quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Brettonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihili habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quam paganis.[1] Adlatum est autem caput Eduini regis Eburacum, et inlatum postea in ecclesiam beati apostoli Petri, quam ipse coepit, sed successor eius Osuald perfecit, ut supra docuimus, positum est in porticu sancti papae Gregorii, a cuius ipse discipulis uerbum uitae susciperat.[2]

Turbatis itaque rebus Nordanhymbrorum huius articulo cladis, cum nil[a] alicubi praesidii nisi in fuga esse uideretur, Paulinus adsumta secum regina Aedilberge, quam pridem adduxerat, rediit Cantiam nauigio, atque ab Honorio archiepiscopo et rege Eadbaldo multum honorifice susceptus est. Venit autem illuc duce
p. 126 Basso milite regis Eduini fortissimo, habens secum / Eanfledam[3] filiam et Uuscfrean filium Eduini, necnon et Yffi filium Osfridi filii eius, quos postea mater metu Eadbaldi et Osualdi regum[4] misit in Galliam nutriendos regi Daegbercto, qui erat amicus illius, ibique ambo in infantia defuncti et iuxta honorem uel regiis pueris uel innocentibus Christi congruum in ecclesia sepulti sunt. Attulit quoque[b] secum uasa pretiosa Eduini regis perplura, in quibus et crucem magnam auream et calicem aureum consecratum ad ministerium altaris, quae hactenus in ecclesia Cantiae conseruata monstrantur.

Quo in tempore Hrofensis ecclesia pastorem minime habebat, eo quod Romanus praesul illius ad Honorium papam a Iusto archiepiscopo legatarius missus absortus fuerat fluctibus Italici maris; ac per hoc curam illius praefatus Paulinus inuitatione Honorii antistitis et Eadbaldi regis suscepit ac tenuit, usque dum et ipse suo tempore ad caelestia regna cum gloriosi fructu laboris ascendit. In qua ecclesia moriens pallium quoque, quod a Romano papa acceperat, reliquit.

[a] nihil *c2* [b] *c2 has* autem *for* quoque

[1] See p. 146, n. 1, and p. 514, n. 2.

[2] According to the Whitby *Life of St. Gregory* Edwin's bones were taken to Whitby and buried beside the altar dedicated to St. Gregory. There is no mention of the head being missing. Later on (iii. 24) Bede says that Edwin was buried at Whitby but does not refer again to the missing head.

[3] Eanflæd afterwards married King Oswiu, somewhere about 643, and later became joint abbess of Whitby. Osfrith, who was killed with Edwin, was the son of the latter by another wife, Cwenburh, daughter of the king of Merica. Yffi would therefore have been the heir to the Deiran throne as he must have been older than Uscfrea.[4]

torture and for a long time raged through all their land, meaning to wipe out the whole English nation from the land of Britain. Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion which had sprung up amongst them. Indeed to this very day it is the habit of the Britons to despise the faith and religion of the English and not to co-operate with them in anything any more than with the heathen.[1] The head of King Edwin was brought to York and afterwards placed in the church of the apostle St. Peter, which he himself had begun to build and his successor Oswald completed, as we have said before. It was placed in the chapel of the holy Pope Gregory from whose disciples he himself had received the word of life.[2]

As the affairs of Northumbria had been thrown into confusion at the time of this disaster and as there seemed no safety except in flight, Paulinus took with him Queen Æthelburh, whom he had previously brought thither, and returned by boat to Kent, where he was most honourably received by Archbishop Honorius and King Eadbald. He came thither in the charge of Bass, a very brave thegn of King Edwin. He had with him also Edwin's daughter, Eanflæd,[3] and his son Uscfrea, and Yffi, the son of Osfrith, Edwin's son. Æthelburh,[4] fearing Kings Eadbald and Oswald, afterwards sent these children to Gaul to be brought up by King Dagobert, who was her friend. Both children died there in infancy and were buried in the church with the honour due to royal children and Christian innocents. Paulinus also brought with him much precious treasure belonging to King Edwin, including a great golden cross and a golden chalice, consecrated to the service of the altar. These are still preserved and are to be seen in the church of the Kentish people.

At that time the Church at Rochester had no pastor because its bishop, Romanus, who had been sent on an embassy to Pope Honorius by Archbishop Justus, had been drowned in the Italian sea. Paulinus therefore took charge of it at the invitation of Bishop Honorius and King Eadbald and held it until his time came to ascend to the heavenly kingdom, bearing with him the fruits of his glorious labours. When he died he left in the church the pallium which he had received from the pope at Rome.

[4] It is clear from this passage that Æthelburh believed Oswald was capable of getting rid of rivals by violence, though they were only infants. Oswald's influence at the time must have extended even to Kent. See p. 230, n. 1.

Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum,[1] uirum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum, qui multo exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens magnas antiquo hosti praedas docendo et baptizando eripuit; cuius nomine uicus, in quo maxime solebat habitare, iuxta Cataractam usque hodie cognominatur. Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in prouincia et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticae cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum siue Cantuariorum multis coepit existere, et ipse senex ac plenus dierum, iuxta scripturas,[2] patrum uiam secutus est.

EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS

Now Paulinus had left in the church at York a certain James, a deacon,[1] a true churchman and a saintly man; he remained for a long time in the church and, by teaching and baptizing, rescued much prey from the ancient foe. There is a village near Catterick in which he often used to dwell, which is still called by his name. He was very skilful in church music and when peace was restored to the kingdom and the number of believers grew, he also began to instruct many in singing, after the manner of Rome and the Kentish people; and when he was old and full of days, as the Scripture says, he went the way of his fathers.[2]

END OF THE SECOND BOOK

[1] James the Deacon survived to Bede's time (ii. 16), so, as he came over with Paulinus, he must have been over ninety years old when he died. The name of the village where he lived is unknown, but a fifteenth-century MS. of the *History* (Phillipps MS. 9428) is said by Plummer (II. 118) to have called the village *Seynt Iemestret*. (See Introduction, p. lv.) What the system of church music was that he taught, and how it differed from the earlier (perhaps Irish) system, is a matter of conjecture.

[2] Iob 42: 16.

LIBER TERTIVS

Haec continentur in libro tertio historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum:

I. Vt primi successores Eduini regis et fidem suae gentis prodiderint et regnum porro Osuald Christianissimus rex utrumque restaurauerit.

II. Vt de ligno crucis, quod idem rex[a] contra barbaros pugnaturus erexerat, inter innumera sanitatum miracula quidam a dolentis brachii sit languore curatus.

III. Vt idem rex postulans de gente Scottorum antistitem acceperit Aidanum, eidemque in insula Lindisfarnensi sedem episcopatus donauerit.

IIII. Quando gens Pictorum fidem Christi perceperit.

V. De uita Aidani episcopi.

VI. De religione ac pietate miranda Osualdi regis.

VII. Vt prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum uerbum Dei praedicante Birino susceperit; et de successoribus eius Agilbercto et Leutherio.

VIII. Vt rex Cantuariorum Earconberct idola destrui praeceperit, et de filia eius Ercongota et propinqua Aedilbergae, sacratis Deo uirginibus.

VIIII. Vt in loco, in quo occisus est rex Osuald, crebra sanitatum miracula facta, utque ibi primo iumentum cuiusdam uiantis ac deinde puella sit paralitica curata.

X. Vt puluis loci illius contra ignem ualuerit.

XI. Vt super reliquias eius lux caelestis tota nocte steterit, et ut per eas sint daemoniaci curati.

XII. Vt ad tumbam eius sit puerulus a febre curatus.

XIII. Vt in Hibernia sit quidam per reliquias eius a mortis articulo reuocatus.

XIIII. Vt defuncto Paulino Ithamar pro eo Hrofensis ecclesiae praesulatum susceperit; et de humilitate mirabili regis Osuini, qui ab Osuiu crudeli caede peremtus est.

XV. Vt episcopus Aidan nautis et tempestatem futuram praedixerit, et oleum sanctum quo hanc sedarent dederit.

[a] rex idem *c2*

BOOK III

These are the contents of the third book of the history of the Church of the English people.

1. How King Edwin's next successors betrayed the faith of their race and how the most Christian King Oswald restored both the kingdom and the faith.
2. How a certain man was cured of an injured arm, one of the innumerable miracles wrought by the wood of the cross which King Oswald set up when about to attack the barbarians.
3. How King Oswald asked the Irish for a bishop and Aidan was sent; and how the king granted him an episcopal see on the island of Lindisfarne.
4. When the Picts received the Christian faith.
5. About the life of Bishop Aidan.
6. About the religion and remarkable devotion of King Oswald.
7. How the kingdom of the West Saxons received the word of God through the teaching of Birinus; and concerning his successors Agilbert and Leuthere.
8. How Eorcenberht, king of Kent, ordered idols to be destroyed; and concerning his daughter Eorcengota and his kinswoman Æthelburh, virgins dedicated to God.
9. How frequent miracles of healing took place on the spot where King Oswald was killed; and how first a traveller's horse and then a paralytic girl were cured.
10. How soil from that place prevailed against fire.
11. How a heavenly light rested all night on his relics; and how demoniacs were cured by them.
12. How a little boy was cured of fever at his tomb.
13. How a man in Ireland was cured by his relics when at the point of death.
14. How, when Paulinus died, Ithamar was made bishop of Rochester in his place; and about the marvellous humility of King Oswine who was cruelly murdered by Oswiu.
15. How Bishop Aidan foretold a tempest to some sailors and gave them consecrated oil with which to calm it.

XVI. Vt idem admotum ab hostibus urbi regiae ignem orando amouerit.

XVII. Vt apposta ecclesiae, cui idem adcumbens obierat, ardente cetera domu, flammis absumi nequiuerit; et de interna uita illius.

XVIII. De uita uel morte religiosi regis Sigbercti.

XVIIII. Vt Furseus apud Orientales Anglos monasterium fecerit, et de uisionibus uel sanctitate eius, cui etiam caro post mortem incorrupta testimonium perhibuerit.

XX. Vt, defuncto Honorio, pontificatu sit functus Deusdedit; et qui tempore illo Orientalium Anglorum, qui Hrofensis ecclesiae fuerint antistites.

XXI. Vt prouincia Mediterraneorum Anglorum sub rege Peada Christiana sit facta.

XXII. Vt Orientales Saxones fidem, quam dudum abiecerant, sub rege Sigbercto praedicante Ceddo receperint.

XXIII. Vt idem episcopus Cedd locum monasterii construendi ab Oidilualdo rege accipiens orationibus et ieiuniis Domino consecrauerit, et de obitu ipsius.

XXIIII. Vt prouincia Merciorum, occiso rege Penda, fidem Christi susceperit, et Osuiu pro adepta uictoria possessiones et territoria Deo ad construenda monasteria dederit.

XXV. Vt quaestio sit mota de tempore paschae aduersus eos qui de Scottia uenerant.

XXVI. Vt Colman uictus domum redierit, et Tuda pro illo episcopatu sit functus, qualisque illis doctoribus fuerit habitus ecclesiae.

XXVII. Vt Ecgberct, uir sanctus de natione Anglorum, monachicam in Hibernia uitam duxerit.

XXVIII. Vt defuncto Tuda Uilfrid in Gallia, Ceadda apud Occidentales Saxones in prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum sint ordinati episcopi.

XXVIIII. Vt Uighard presbyter ordinandus in archiepiscopum Romam de Brittania sit missus; quem remissa mox scripta papae apostolici ibidem obisse narrauerint.

XXX. Vt Orientales Saxones tempore mortalitatis ad idolatriam reuersi, sed per instantiam Iarumanni episcopi mox sint ab errore correcti.

INCIPIT IPSE LIBER

16. How, by his prayers, he drove away the fire which had been started by enemies to destroy the royal city.

17. How the buttress of the church against which he was leaning when he died could not be consumed by fire when the rest of the church was burning; and about his spiritual life.

18. About the life and death of the devout King Sigeberht.

19. How Fursa built a monastery among the East Angles; about his visions and his holiness and how, after his death, his uncorrupt body bore testimony to him.

20. How, when Honorius died, Deusdedit became archbishop; and who were the bishops of the East Angles and of the church at Rochester at the time.

21. How the kingdom of the Middle Angles became Christian under King Peada.

22. How the East Saxons, who had long rejected the faith, under King Sigeberht were reconverted through the preaching of Cedd.

23. How Bishop Cedd, who had received the site from King Oethelwald on which to build a monastery, consecrated it to the Lord with prayer and fasting; and about his death.

24. How the kingdom of Mercia received the Christian faith after the slaying of Penda; and how Oswiu, as a thankoffering for victory, gave possessions and lands to God for building monasteries.

25. How the question about the date of keeping Easter arose with those who had come from Ireland.

26. How Colman was defeated and returned home; and how Tuda became bishop in his place; and about the state of the church under these teachers.

27. How Egbert, a holy Englishman, lived as a monk in Ireland.

28. How, when Tuda was dead, Wilfrid was consecrated in Gaul and Chad in Wessex as bishops of the kingdom of Northumbria.

29. How the priest Wigheard was sent to Rome from Britain to be made archbishop, and how a letter sent by the pope told of his death.

30. How the East Saxons turned to idolatry in the time of plague, but were at once restored from their errors by the zeal of Bishop Jaruman.

BEGINNING OF BOOK III

I

AT interfecto in pugna Eduino, suscepit pro illo regnum Deirorum, de qua prouincia ille generis prosapiam et primordia regni habuerat, filius patrui eius Aelfrici uocabulo Osric, qui ad praedicationem Paulini fidei erat sacramentis inbutus. Porro regnum Berniciorum (nam in has duas prouincias gens Nordanhymbrorum antiquitus diuisa erat)[1] suscepit filius Aedilfridi, qui de illa prouincia generis et regni originem duxerat, nomine Eanfrid. Siquidem tempore toto quo regnauit Eduini, filii praefati regis Aedilfridi, qui ante illum regnauerat, cum magna nobilium iuuentute apud Scottos siue Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum cathecizati et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati. Qui ut mortuo rege inimico patriam sunt redire permissi, accepit primus eorum, quem diximus, Eanfrid regnum Berniciorum. Qui uterque rex, ut terreni regni infulas sortitus est, sacramenta regni caelestis, quibus initiatus erat, anathematizando prodidit,[a] ac se priscis idolatriae sordibus polluendum perdendumque restituit.

p. 128 Nec mora, utrumque rex Brettonum Caedualla / impia manu sed iusta ultione peremit. Et primo quidem proxima aestate Osricum, dum se in oppido municipio[2] temerarie obsedisset, erumpens subito cum suis omnibus inparatum cum toto exercitu deleuit. Dein cum anno integro prouincias Nordanhymbrorum non ut rex uictor possideret, sed quasi tyrannus saeuiens disperderet ac tragica caede dilaceraret, tandem Eanfridum inconsulte ad se cum

[a] perdidit *c2*

[1] The two latinized names Deira and Bernicia are based on the Old English names *Dere* and *Bernice* whose origin is uncertain but probably Celtic. Together they formed in later times the kingdom of Northumbria. Deira came to include most of modern Yorkshire and seems to have reached as far north as the river Tees. The kingdom of Bernicia extended north of the Tyne, at one time as far north as the Forth. The exact division between the two kingdoms is not certain, but it is likely that the present County Durham formed a kind of no-man's-land between the two, up to the time when almost the whole of Northumbria was devastated by Scandinavian invasions from the ninth century

CHAPTER I

AFTER Edwin had been killed in battle, the kingdom of the Deiri, the cradle of his race and the foundation of his royal power, passed to a son of his uncle Ælfric whose name was Osric; he had received the mysteries of the faith through the preaching of Paulinus. But the Northumbrian race was originally divided into two portions,[1] and the other kingdom, that of the Bernicians, went to a son of Æthelfrith named Eanfrith, who derived from it both his lineage and his claim to the throne. During the whole of Edwin's reign the sons of King Æthelfrith his predecessor, together with many young nobles, were living in exile among the Irish or the Picts where they were instructed in the faith as the Irish taught it and were regenerated by the grace of baptism. On the death of their enemy King Edwin they were allowed to return to their own land, and the eldest of them, Eanfrith, as we have said, became king of the Bernicians. But no sooner had these two kings gained the sceptres of their earthly kingdom than they abjured and betrayed the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom to which they had been admitted and reverted to the filth of their former idolatry, thereby to be polluted and destroyed.

Very soon afterwards, Cædwalla, the king of the Britons, killed them both, executing a just vengeance upon them, though with unrighteous violence. First, in the following summer he killed Osric, who had rashly besieged him in a fortified town;[2] he broke out suddenly with all his forces, took Osric by surprise, and destroyed him and all his army. After this he occupied the Northumbrian kingdoms for a whole year, not ruling them like a victorious king but ravaging them like a savage tyrant, tearing them to pieces with fearful bloodshed. Finally when Eanfrith came to him

onwards. Ælle was the first king of Deira and Æthelfrith the first King of Bernicia of whom anything more than the name is known.

[2] Bede's term *in oppido municipio* probably refers to York. It was a Roman *colonia* rather than a *municipium*, for the *colonia* was a colony of Roman veterans while the *municipium* was a native town taken over by the Romans and given certain rights. Later on *municipium* came to mean a 'fortified town' and it is probable that Bede is using the word with that meaning rather than in the Roman technical sense.

XII lectis militibus postulandae pacis gratia uenientem simili sorte damnauit. Infaustus ille annus et omnibus bonis exosus usque hodie permanet, tam propter apostasiam regum Anglorum, qua se fidei sacramentis exuerant, quam propter uaesanam Brettonici regis tyrannidem. Vnde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus ut, ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est Osualdi uiri Deo dilecti, regno adsignaretur. Quo post occisionem fratris Eanfridi superueniente cum paruo exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brettonum dux cum inmensis illis copiis, quibus nihil resistere posse iactabat, interemtus est in loco, qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, id est Riuus Denisi,[1] uocatur.

II

OSTENDITUR[a] autem usque hodie et in magna ueneratione habetur locus ille, ubi uenturus ad hanc pugnam Osuald signum sanctae crucis erexit, ac flexis genibus Deum deprecatus est, ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus caelesti succurreret
p. 129 auxilio. Denique / fertur quia facta citato opere cruce,[2] ac fouea praeparata in qua statui deberet, ipse fide feruens hanc arripuerit ac foueae inposuerit atque utraque manu erectam tenuerit, donec adgesto a militibus puluere terrae figeretur; et hoc facto, elata in altum uoce cuncto exercitui proclamauerit: 'Flectamus omnes genua, et Deum omnipotentem uiuum ac uerum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat; scit enim ipse quia iusta pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus.' Fecerunt omnes ut iusserat, et sic incipiente diluculo in hostem progressi, iuxta meritum suae fidei uictoria potiti sunt. In cuius loco orationis innumerae uirtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratae, ad indicium uidelicet ac memoriam fidei regis. Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctae crucis astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint, eisque languentes

[a] *c2 marks no new chapter here (though it has the heading in the capitula), and gives each chapter as far as XIII a number one less than m*

[1] Now called Rowley Water, some eight to nine miles south of the battlefield.

unadvisedly to make peace, accompanied only by twelve chosen thegns, he destroyed him as well. To this day that year is still held to have been ill-omened and hateful to all good men, not only on account of the apostasy of the English kings who cast aside the mysteries of their faith, but also because of the outrageous tyranny of the British king. So all those who compute the dates of kings have decided to abolish the memory of those perfidious kings and to assign this year to their successor Oswald, a man beloved of God. After his brother Eanfrith was killed, Oswald came with an army, small in numbers but strengthened by their faith in Christ, and destroyed the abominable leader of the Britons together with the immense force which he boasted was irresistible, at a place which is called in the English tongue, *Denisesburn*,[1] that is the brook of the *Denise*.

CHAPTER II

THE place is still shown today and is held in great veneration where Oswald, when he was about to engage in battle, set up the sign of the holy cross and, on bended knees, prayed God to send heavenly aid to His worshippers in their dire need. In fact it is related that when a cross[2] had been hastily made and the hole dug in which it was to stand, he seized the cross himself in the ardour of his faith, placed it in the hole, and held it upright with both hands until the soldiers had heaped up the earth and fixed it in position. Thereupon he raised his voice and called out to the whole army, 'Let us all kneel together and pray the almighty, everliving, and true God to defend us in His mercy from the proud and fierce enemy; for He knows that we are fighting in a just cause for the preservation of our whole race.' They all did as he commanded, advanced against the enemy just as dawn was breaking, and gained the victory that their faith merited. Innumerable miracles of healing are known to have been wrought in the place where they prayed, doubtless as a token and memorial of the king's faith. And even to this day many people are in the habit of cutting splinters from the wood of this holy cross and putting them in water which

[2] This wooden cross may have been the prototype of the free-standing stone crosses, such as those of Bewcastle and Ruthwell, of which fragments are found in many places throughout the country but especially in the north, dating from the early eighth to the eleventh century. See Clapham, pp. 55 ff.

homines aut pecudes potauerint siue asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur.[1]

Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Hefenfeld,[2] quod dici potest latine Caelestis Campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum quod ibidem caeleste erigendum tropeum, caelestis inchoanda uictoria, caelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda. Est autem locus iuxta murum illum ad aquilonem, quo Romani quondam ob[a] arcendos barbarorum impetus totam a mari ad mare praecinxere Brittaniam, ut supra docuimus. In quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiae,[3] quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est,[4] uigilias pro salute animae eius facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, uictimam pro eo mane sacrae
p. 130 oblationis offerre. Qui / etiam crescente bona consuetudine, nuper ibidem ecclesia constructa,[b] sacratiorem et cunctis honorabiliorem omnibus locum fecere.[c] Nec inmerito, quia nullum, ut conperimus, fidei Christianae signum, nulla[d] ecclesia, nullum altare in tota Berniciorum gente erectum est,[5] priusquam hoc sacrae crucis uexillum nouus militiae ductor, dictante fidei deuotione, contra hostem inmanissimum pugnaturus statueret. Nec ab re est unum e pluribus, quae ad hanc crucem patrata sunt, uirtutis miraculum narrare.

Quidam de fratribus eiusdem Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, nomine Bothelm, qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos, dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente corruens brachium contriuit, ac grauissima fracturae ipsius coepit molestia fatigari, ita ut ne ad os quidem adducere ipsum brachium ullatenus dolore arcente ualeret. Qui cum die quadam mane audiret unum de fratribus ad locum eiusdem sanctae crucis ascendere disposuisse, rogauit ut aliquam sibi partem de illo ligno uenerabili rediens adferret, credere se dicens quia per hoc, donante Domino, salutem posset consequi. Fecit ille ut rogatus est, et reuersus ad

[a] ab *c2* [b] *c2 adds* atque dedicata [c] fecerunt *c2* [d] in ulla *c2*

[1] The miracles of healing wrought by a potion formed from the infusion of dust or fragments of some holy object in water were common in the Middle Ages. Bede has several instances (e.g. iii. 13, 17; iv. 6). Even the moss from the holy cross was able to effect cures.

they then give to sick men or beasts to drink or else they sprinkle them with it; and they are quickly restored to health.[1]

This place is called in English Heavenfield,[2] and in Latin *Caelestis campus*, a name which it certainly received in days of old as an omen of future happenings; it signified that a heavenly sign was to be erected there, a heavenly victory won, and that heavenly miracles were to take place there continuing to this day. The place, on its north side, is close to the wall with which the Romans once girded the whole of Britain from sea to sea, to keep off the attacks of the barbarians as already described. To this place the brethren of the church at Hexham,[3] not far away, have long made it their custom to come every year, on the day before that on which King Oswald was killed,[4] to keep vigil there for the benefit of his soul, to sing many psalms of praise, and, next morning, to offer up the holy sacrifice and oblation on his behalf. And since that good custom has spread, a church has lately been built there so that the place has become still more sacred and worthy of honour in the eyes of all. And rightly so: for, as far as we know, no symbol of the Christian faith, no church, and no altar had been erected in the whole of Bernicia[5] before that new leader of the host, inspired by his devotion to the faith, set up the standard of the holy cross when he was about to fight his most savage enemy. It is not irrelevant to narrate one of the many miracles which have taken place at the cross.

One of the brothers of the church of Hexham who is still living, named Bothelm, a few years ago was walking incautiously on the ice by night when he suddenly fell and broke his arm. He suffered such anguish from the fractured limb that he could not raise his hand to his mouth because of the pain. Hearing one morning that one of the brothers was proposing to go up to the site of the holy cross, he asked him to bring him back some part of the revered wood, saying he believed that the Lord would grant him healing by its means. The brother did as he was asked, returning that

[2] Leland relates the tradition that the battle was won at Halyden (Hallington), two miles east of St. Oswald's 'ash'. This, he maintains, is Bede's Heavenfield: *Leland's Itinerary in England*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1910), v. 61. Hallington is eight miles NE. of Hexham.

[3] This was Wilfrid's church at Hexham, which became a bishop's see in 678.

[4] Namely 4 August, the vigil of St. Oswald's feast. See iii. 9; p. 338, n. 2.

[5] Yet Edwin had a seat at Yeavering and Paulinus baptized large numbers in the river Glen near by (ii. 14).

uesperam, sedentibus iam ad mensam fratribus, obtulit ei aliquid de ueteri musco, quo superficies ligni erat obsita. Qui cum sedens ad mensam non haberet ad manum, ubi oblatum sibi munus reponeret, misit hoc in sinum sibi, et dum iret cubitum, oblitus hoc alicubi deponere, permisit suo in sinu permanere. At[a] medio noctis tempore, cum euigilaret, sensit nescio quid frigidi suo
p. 131 lateri adiacere, admotaque manu requirere quid esset, / ita sanum brachium manumque repperit, ac si nihil umquam tanti languoris habuissent.

III

IDEM ergo Osuald, mox ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans totam cui praeesse coepit gentem fidei Christianae gratia inbui, cuius experimenta permaxima in expugnandis barbaris iam ceperat, misit ad maiores natu Scottorum, inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta cum his qui secum erant militibus consecutus erat, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cuius doctrina ac ministerio gens quam regebat Anglorum dominicae fidei et[b] dona disceret et susciperet sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius quod petiit inpetrauit; accepit namque pontificem Aidanum summae mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis uirum habentemque zelum Dei, quamuis non plene secundum scientiam.[1] Namque diem paschae dominicum more suae gentis, cuius saepius mentionem fecimus, a quarta decima luna usque ad uicesimam obseruare solebat. Hoc etenim ordine septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia et omnis natio Pictorum illo adhuc tempore pascha dominicum celebrabat, aestimans se in hac obseruantia sancti ac laude digni patris Anatolii scripta secutam.[2] Quod an uerum sit, peritus quisque facillime cognoscit. Porro gentes Scottorum, quae in australibus Hiberniae insulae partibus morabantur,[3] iamdudum ad admonitionem apostolicae sedis antistitis pascha canonico ritu obseruare didicerunt.
p. 132 Venienti igitur ad se episcopo, rex locum sedis episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi,[4] ubi ipse petebat, tribuit, qui uidelicet

[a] ad *c2* [b] et *om. c2*

[1] Rom. 10: 2.

[2] Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea about 280, was the first according to Eusebius to arrange a cycle of nineteen years. Bede rightly held that the Anatolian Canon which the Celts quoted as their authority was a forgery. L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 189 ff.

[3] The southern Irish seem to have accepted the Roman Easter about 633.

[4] Aidan must have found this island reminiscent of his own Iona. The Celtic saints and missionaries loved remote sites for their headquarters. York does not seem to have been considered, possibly because Oswald's chief seat was at Bamburgh. From the twelfth century onwards Lindisfarne came to be known

evening when all the others were seated at table. He gave the sick man some of the ancient moss with which the surface of the wood was covered. Bothelm was sitting at the table and, as he had nowhere at hand to keep the proffered gift in safety, he placed it in his bosom. When he went to bed he forgot to take it out and allowed it to remain where it was. At midnight he awoke feeling something cold close to his side and, putting his hand down to find out what it was, he discovered that his arm and hand were as sound as if they had never pained him.

CHAPTER III

OSWALD, as soon as he had come to the throne, was anxious that the whole race under his rule should be filled with the grace of the Christian faith of which he had had so wonderful an experience in overcoming the barbarians. So he sent to the Irish elders among whom he and his thegns had received the sacrament of baptism when he was an exile. He requested them to send a bishop by whose teaching and ministry the English race over whom he ruled might learn the privileges of faith in our Lord and receive the sacraments. His request was granted without delay. They sent him Bishop Aidan, a man of outstanding gentleness, devotion, and moderation, who had a zeal for God though not entirely according to knowledge.[1] For after the manner of his race, as we have very often mentioned, he was accustomed to celebrate Easter Sunday between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon. The northern province of the Irish and the whole nation of the Picts were still celebrating Easter Sunday according to this rule right up to that time, thinking that in this observance they were following the writings of the esteemed and holy father, Anatolius.[2] Every instructed person can very easily judge whether this is true or not. But the Irish peoples who lived in the southern part of Ireland[3] had long before learned to observe Easter according to canonical custom, through the teaching of the pope.

On the bishop's arrival, the king gave him a place for his episcopal see on the island of Lindisfarne,[4] in accordance with his

as Holy Island chiefly through its association with St. Cuthbert. It was in accordance with Celtic tradition that the island became the seat of both a monastery and a bishopric. Bede borrows his description of Lindisfarne from the *VP*, chapter 17. He owes the idea of the 'reuma' to Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, iv. 42. See C. W. Jones, *Classical Review*, XLVI (1932), 248 ff.

locus accedente ac recedente reumate bis cotidie instar insulae maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato litore contiguus terrae redditur; atque eius admonitionibus humiliter ac libenter in omnibus auscultans, ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter aedificare ac dilatare curauit. Vbi pulcherrimo saepe spectaculo contigit, ut euangelizante antistite, qui Anglorum linguam perfecte non nouerat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres uerbi existeret caelestis, quia nimirum tam longo exilii sui tempore linguam Scottorum iam plene didicerat.

Exin coepere plures per dies de Scottorum regione[1] uenire Brittaniam atque illis Anglorum prouinciis, quibus regnauit Osuald, magna deuotione uerbum fidei praedicare et credentibus gratiam baptismi, quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu praediti, ministrare. Construebantur ergo ecclesiae per loca, confluebant ad audiendum Verbum populi gaudentes, donabantur munere regio possessiones et territoria ad instituenda monasteria, inbuebantur praeceptoribus Scottis paruuli Anglorum una cum maioribus studiis et obseruatione disciplinae regularis.

Nam monachi erant maxime, qui ad praedicandum uenerant. Monachus ipse episcopus Aidan, utpote de insula quae uocatur Hii[2] destinatus, cuius monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non paruo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis praeerat. Quae uidelicet insula ad ius quidem Brittaniae pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum, qui illas Brittaniae
p. 133 plagas incolunt, iamdudum mona/chis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illis praedicantibus fidem Christi perceperint.

IIII

SIQUIDEM anno incarnationis dominicae quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Iustinianum Iustinus minor accepit, uenit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monachi insignis, nomine Columba,[3]

[1] This may only mean Iona.

[2] The island which Bede calls *Hii* came to be described in Latin as *insula Ioua*; this quite early gave rise, through a misreading, to the form Iona. Though Bede says that it was given to Columba by Bruide after his conversion, the Irish story is that it was given to him by his kinsman, the Dalriadan king, Connell. The connexion between Lindisfarne and Iona continued to be a very close one and provided a channel for the exchange of culture between Ireland and northern England through the seventh and eighth centuries. The growth of monastic schools such as those described here, where even advanced studies

wishes. As the tide ebbs and flows, this place is surrounded twice daily by the waves of the sea like an island and twice, when the shore is left dry, it becomes again attached to the mainland. The king humbly and gladly listened to the bishop's admonitions in all matters, diligently seeking to build up and extend the Church of Christ in his kingdom. It was indeed a beautiful sight when the bishop was preaching the gospel, to see the king acting as interpreter of the heavenly word for his ealdormen and thegns, for the bishop was not completely at home in the English tongue, while the king had gained a perfect knowledge of Irish during the long period of his exile.

From that time, as the days went by, many came from the country of the Irish[1] into Britain and to those English kingdoms over which Oswald reigned, preaching the word of faith with great devotion. Those of them who held the rank of priest administered the grace of baptism to those who believed. Churches were built in various places and the people flocked together with joy to hear the Word; lands and property of other kinds were given by royal bounty to establish monasteries, and English children, as well as their elders, were instructed by Irish teachers in advanced studies and in the observance of the discipline of a Rule.

Indeed they were mostly monks who came to preach. Bishop Aidan was himself a monk; he was sent from the island known as Iona,[2] whose monastery was for a very long time chief among all the monasteries of the northern Irish and the Picts, exercising supervision over their communities. The island itself belongs to Britain and is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, but the Picts who inhabit those parts of Britain gave it to the Irish monks long ago, because they had received the faith of Christ through the monks' preaching.

CHAPTER IV

IN the year of our Lord 565, when Justin the second took over the control of the Roman Empire after Justinian, there came from Ireland to Britain a priest and abbot named Columba,[3] a true

were carried on, reflects the enthusiasm for learning in Ireland in the sixth and seventh centuries. Latin studies flourished but there is very little evidence for any knowledge of Greek.

[3] Columba established his monastery in Iona about 565 and died about 597.

Brittaniam praedicaturus uerbum Dei prouinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est eis quae arduis atque horrentibus montium iugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratae.[1] Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, ut perhibent, relicto errore idolatriae fidem ueritatis acceperant, praedicante eis Verbum Nynia episcopo reuerentissimo et sanctissimo uiro de natione Brettonum,[2] qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus; cuius sedem episcopatus, sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, iam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus, ad prouinciam Berniciorum pertinens, uulgo uocatur Ad Candidam Casam,[3] eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit.

Venit autem Brittaniam Columba regnante Pictis Bridio[4] filio Meilochon rege potentissimo, nono anno regni eius, gentemque illam uerbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi conuertit; unde et praefatam insulam ab eis in possessionem monasterii faciendi accepit. Neque enim magna est, sed quasi familiarum quinque iuxta aestimationem Anglorum; quam successores eius usque hodie
p. 134 tenent, ubi et ipse sepultus est, cum / esset annorum LXXVII, post annos circiter XXX et duos ex quo ipse Brittaniam praedicaturus adiit. Fecerat autem, priusquam Brittaniam ueniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearmach[5] lingua Scottorum, hoc est Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos eius et in Brittania et in Hibernia propagata sunt, in quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret.

Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cuius iuri et omnis prouincia et ipsi etiam

[1] These mountains are the range known as the Mounth or the Grampians running east and west from near Aberdeen to Fort William.

[2] Though Bede says here that Ninian converted the Southern Picts, yet his name is chiefly connected with his mission to Galloway and the church which he built at Whithorn. There is a series of ancient dedications to St. Ninian extending as far north as the Shetland Islands, where there are at least three, the most famous being on St. Ninian's Isle where a remarkable hoard of seventh- and eighth-century silver was found in 1958. Cf. F. T. Wainwright, *The Northern Isles* (London, 1962), Appendix. The saint flourished in the fifth century. Bede's words *ut perhibent* imply that he did not possess a Life of the saint though there is no doubt that one existed. An eighth-century poem survives which is almost certainly based on it. See W. Levison, 'An eighth-century poem on St. Ninian', *Antiquity*, XIV (1940), 280–91, and N. K. Chadwick, 'St. Ninian: a preliminary study in sources', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1948–9), 9–53.

monk in life no less than habit; he came to Britain to preach the word of God to the kingdoms of the northern Picts which are separated from the southern part of their land by steep and rugged mountains.[1] The southern Picts who live on this side of the mountains had, so it is said, long ago given up the errors of idolatry and received the true faith through the preaching of the Word by that reverend and holy man Bishop Ninian,[2] a Briton who had received orthodox instruction at Rome in the faith and the mysteries of the truth. His episcopal see is celebrated for its church, dedicated to St. Martin where his body rests, together with those of many other saints. The see is now under English rule. This place which is in the kingdom of Bernicia is commonly called Whithorn,[3] the White House, because Ninian built a church of stone there, using a method unusual among the Britons.

Columba came to Britain when Bridius[4] the son of Malcolm, a most powerful king, had been ruling over the Picts for over eight years. Columba turned them to the faith of Christ by his words and example and so received the island of Iona from them in order to establish a monastery there. It is not a large island, being only about five hides in English reckoning. His successors hold it to this day and he himself was buried there at the age of seventy-seven, about thirty-two years after he came to Britain to preach. Before this he had founded a famous monastery in Ireland called Dearmach (Durrow),[5] the Field of the Oaks, on account of the great number of oaks there. From both of these sprang very many monasteries which were established by his disciples in Britain and Ireland, over all of which the island monastery in which his body lies held pre-eminence.

This island always has an abbot for its ruler who is a priest, to whose authority the whole kingdom, including even bishops, have

[3] Whithorn became the seat of an English bishopric about 731. Galloway seems to have been in English hands or at any rate under strong English influence from the time of Oswiu until the ninth century. The eighth-century Ruthwell Cross near Dumfries also points to Anglian influence in Galloway at that period. See further, Eric Mercer, 'The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses', *Antiquity*, XXXVIII (1964), 268–76.

[4] Bruide, son of Malcolm, was king of the Northern Picts and had his court near Inverness; he was the first of some thirty Pictish kings who were named Bruide.

[5] In Leinster; the home of the famous seventh-century illuminated Gospel book throughout the Middle Ages. It is now in Trinity College Library, Dublin. A facsimile has been published, cf. *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis*, ed. A. A. Luce *et al.* (Olten, 1960).

episcopi[1] ordine inusitato debeant esse subiecti, iuxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter extitit et monachus; de cuius uita et uerbis nonnulla a discipulis eius feruntur scripta haberi.[2] Verum qualiscumque fuerit ipse, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus, quia reliquit successores magna continentia ac diuino amore regularique institutione insignes, in tempore quidem summae festiuitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positis nemo synodalia paschalis obseruantiae decreta porrexerat, tantum ea, quae in propheticis euangelicis et apostolicis litteris discere poterant, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter obseruantes. Permansit autem huiusmodi obseruantia paschalis apud eos tempore non pauco, hoc est usque ad annum dominicae incarnationis DCCXV per annos CL.

At tunc, ueniente ad eos reuerentissimo et sanctissimo patre et sacerdote Ecgbercto[3] de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exulauerat pro Christo, eratque et doctissimus in scripturis
p. 135 et longaeua uitae / perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum et ad uerum canonicumque paschae diem translati; quem tamen et antea non semper in luna quarta decima cum Iudaeis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem dominica, alia tamen quam decebat ebdomada, celebrabant. Sciebant enim, ut Christiani, resurrectionem dominicam, quae prima sabbati facta est, prima sabbati semper esse celebrandam; sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima sabbati, quae nunc dominica dies cognominatur, ueniret, minime[a] didicerant. Verum quia gratia caritatis feruere non omiserunt, et huius quoque rei notitiam ad perfectum percipere meruerunt, iuxta promissum apostoli dicentis: 'Et siquid aliter sapitis, et hoc quoque uobis Deus reuelabit.'[4] De quo plenius in sequentibus suo loco dicendum est.

[a] minime *om. c2*

[1] The monastic system in Ireland developed independently of any scheme of diocesan organization. So bishops were considered to be the highest ecclesiastical order but not necessarily associated with jurisdiction. Hence they were found in large numbers living in monasteries or as hermits, without diocesan duties. As monasteries increased their numbers increased too and there were many complaints, especially on the continent, about the carelessness of life and the ignorance of the *episcopi uagantes*. See also p. 137, n. 4.

to be subject.[1] This unusual arrangement follows the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a priest and monk. Some written records of his life and teachings are said to have been preserved by his disciples.[2] Whatever he was himself, we know this for certain about him, that he left successors distinguished for their great abstinence, their love of God, and their observance of the Rule. It is true that they used tables of doubtful accuracy in fixing the date of the chief festival, since they were so far away at the ends of the earth that there was none to bring them the decrees of the synods concerning the observance of Easter; but they diligently practised such works of religion and chastity as they were able to learn from the words of the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles. This reckoning of Easter persisted among them for a very long time, no less than 150 years, up to the year of our Lord 715.

At that time the greatly revered and holy father and priest Egbert,[3] an Englishman, came to them. He had long lived in exile in Ireland for the sake of Christ and was most learned in the scriptures, being famous for his long and holy life; he set them right and brought them to observe the true and canonical Easter Day. They did not always observe it on the fourteenth day of the moon, with the Jews, as some believe, but they celebrated it always on the Sunday, though not in the proper week. Being Christians they knew that the resurrection of our Lord, which happened on the first day after the sabbath, must always be celebrated on that day; but, rude barbarians as they were, they had never learned when that particular first day after the sabbath, which we now call the Lord's Day, should come. But because they were not lacking in grace and fervent love, they were accounted worthy to gain full knowledge on this subject also, even as the apostle had promised, saying, 'And if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal it unto you.'[4] But we must speak more fully about this matter later on in its proper place.

[2] Bede does not appear to have known the *Life* of Columba written by Adamnan, who was ninth abbot of the monastery at Iona from 679–704. See *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, edited with translation and notes by A. O. and M. O. Anderson (London, 1961).

[3] Bede seems to have had the greatest admiration for Egbert and has much to say about him and his later career. (Cf. iii. 27; iv. 3, 26; v. 9, 10, 22, 23, 24.) It is possible that *sacerdos* should be translated 'bishop' here, as commonly in Bede, for several early writers give Egbert that title.

[4] Phil. 3: 15.

V

AB hac ergo insula, ab horum collegio monachorum, ad prouinciam Anglorum instituendam in Christo missus est Aidan,[1] accepto gradu episcopatus, quo tempore eidem monasterio Segeni abbas et presbyter praefuit. Vnde inter alia uiuendi documenta saluberrimum abstinentiae uel continentiae clericis exemplum reliquit; cuius doctrinam id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter quam uiuebat cum suis ipse docebat. Nihil enim huius mundi quaerere, nil amare curabat. Cuncta quae sibi a regibus uel diuitibus saeculi donabantur, mox pauperibus qui occurrerent erogare gaudebat. Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca
p. 136 non equorum dorso[2] sed pedum / incessu uectus, nisi si maior forte necessitas conpulisset, solebat; quatinus, ubicumque aliquos uel diuites uel pauperes incedens aspexisset, confestim ad hos diuertens uel ad fidei suscipiendae sacramentum, si infideles essent, inuitaret uel, si fideles, in ipsa eos fide confortaret, atque ad elimosynas operumque bonorum exsecutionem et uerbis excitaret et factis.

In tantum autem uita illius a nostri temporis segnitia distabat, ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, siue adtonsi seu laici, meditari deberent, id est aut legendis scripturis aut psalmis discendis operam dare.[3] Hoc erat cotidianum opus illius et omnium qui cum eo erant, ubicumque locorum deuenissent. Et si forte euenisset, quod tamen raro euenit, ut ad regis conuiuium uocaretur, intrabat cum uno clerico aut duobus et, ubi paululum reficiebatur, adcelerauit ocius ad legendum cum suis siue ad orandum egredi. Cuius exemplis informati tempore illo religiosi quique uiri ac feminae consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, excepta remissione quinquagesimae paschalis, quarta et sexta sabbati[4] ieiunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. Numquam diuitibus honoris siue timoris gratia, siqua deliquissent, reticebat, sed aspera illos inuectione corrigebat. Nullam potentibus saeculi pecuniam,

[1] Bede gives us practically all the information we have about St. Aidan. Aidanus is the latinized form of the Irish name Aedhán, the diminutive of Aedh.

[2] Riding on horseback was the privilege of the noble classes in Ireland; so the Irish saints, in their humility, and doubtless also prompted by ascetic reasons, generally avoided this means of travel. (Cf. *Two Lives*, pp. 323, 344.)

[3] Scriptural studies and the memorizing of considerable parts of the Bible, particularly the Psalms, was a great feature of the Irish monasteries. The

CHAPTER V

SUCH was the island, such the community, from which Aidan[1] was sent to give the English people instruction in Christ after he had been consecrated bishop during the abbacy of the priest Ségéne. Aidan taught the clergy many lessons about the conduct of their lives but above all he left them a most salutary example of abstinence and self-control; and the best recommendation of his teaching to all was that he taught them no other way of life than that which he himself practised among his fellows. For he neither sought after nor cared for worldly possessions but he rejoiced to hand over at once, to any poor man he met, the gifts which he had received from kings or rich men of the world. He used to travel everywhere, in town and country, not on horseback[2] but on foot, unless compelled by urgent necessity to do otherwise, in order that, as he walked along, whenever he saw people whether rich or poor, he might at once approach them and, if they were unbelievers, invite them to accept the mystery of the faith; or, if they were believers, that he might strengthen them in the faith, urging them by word and deed to practise almsgiving and good works.

Aidan's life was in great contrast to our modern slothfulness; all who accompanied him, whether tonsured or laymen, had to engage in some form of study, that is to say, to occupy themselves either with reading the scriptures or learning the psalms.[3] This was the daily task of Aidan himself and of all who were with him, wherever they went. And if it happened, as it rarely did, that he was summoned to feast with the king, he went with one or two of his clergy, and, after taking a little food, he hurried away either to read with his people or to pray. At that time a number of men and women, instructed by his example, formed the habit of prolonging their fast on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, until the ninth hour, with the exception of the period between Easter and Pentecost.[4] Neither respect nor fear made him keep silence about the sins of the rich, but he would correct them with a stern rebuke. He would never give money to powerful

practice was probably due to the influence of the desert fathers upon the earliest monks. Some of the desert fathers were said to have learnt the whole Bible by heart. Wilfrid as a lad at Lindisfarne learned the whole book of Psalms (v. 19).

[4] The Jews set aside Mondays and Thursdays as fast days. The early Church adopted the custom but changed the days to Wednesdays and Fridays.

excepta solum[a] esca, siquos hospitio suscepisset, umquam dare solebat, sed ea potius, quae sibi a diuitibus donaria pecuniarum largiebantur, uel in usus pauperum, ut diximus, dispergebat, uel ad redemtionem eorum, qui iniuste fuerant uenditi, dispensabat. Denique multos, quos pretio dato redemerat, redemtos postmodum suos discipulos fecit, atque ad sacerdotalem usque gradum erudiendo atque instituendo prouexit.[1]

p. 137 Feruntb autem quia, cum de prouincia Scottorum / rex Osuald postulasset antistitem, qui sibi suaeque genti uerbum fidei ministraret, missus fuerit primo alius austerioris animi uir,[2] qui, cum aliquandiu genti Anglorum praedicans nihil proficeret nec libenter a populo audiretur, redierit patriam atque in conuentu seniorum rettulerit, quia nihil prodesse docendo genti, ad quam missus erat, potuisset, eo quod essent homines indomabiles et durae ac barbarae mentis. At illi, ut perhibent, tractatum magnum in concilio, quid esset agendum, habere coeperunt, desiderantes quidem genti quam petebantur saluti esse, sed de non recepto quem miserant praedicatore dolentes. Tum ait Aidan (nam et ipse concilio intererat) ad eum de quo agebatur sacerdotem: 'Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior iusto indoctis auditoribus fuisti, et non eis iuxta apostolicam disciplinam primo lac doctrinae mollioris porrexisti,[3] donec paulatim enutriti uerbo Dei, ad capienda perfectiora et ad facienda sublimiora Dei praecepta sufficerent.' Quo audito omnium[c] qui considebant[d] ad ipsum ora et oculi conuersi, diligenter quid diceret discutiebant, et ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum ad erudiendos incredulos et indoctos mitti debere decernunt, qui gratia discretionis, quae uirtutum mater est, ante omnia probabatur inbutus; sicque illum ordinantes ad praedicandum miserunt. Qui ubi tempus accepit, sicut prius moderamine discretionis, ita postmodum et[e] ceteris uirtutibus ornatus apparuit.

[a] solummodo *c2* [b] fuerunt *c2* [c] omnium] *c2's original reading is uncertain* [d] consedebant *c2* [e] et *om. c2*

men of the world, but only food on such occasions as he entertained them; on the contrary he distributed gifts of money which he received from the rich, either, as we have said, for the use of the poor or for the redemption of those who had been unjustly sold into slavery. In fact, many of those whom he redeemed for a sum of money he afterwards made his disciples and, when he had trained and instructed them, he ordained them priests.[1]

The story goes that when King Oswald asked the Irish for a bishop to minister the word of faith to him and his people, another man of harsher disposition was first sent.[2] But he preached to the English for some time unsuccessfully and seeing that the people were unwilling to listen to him, he returned to his own land. At a meeting of the elders he reported that he had made no headway in the instruction of the people to whom he had been sent, because they were intractable, obstinate, and uncivilized. It is related that there was a long discussion at the conference as to what ought to be done; for they were anxious to give that people the help it asked for and regretted that the preacher they had sent had not been accepted. Then Aidan, who was present at the conference, said to the priest in question, 'It seems to me, brother, that you have been unreasonably harsh upon your ignorant hearers: you did not first offer them the milk of simpler teaching, as the apostle recommends,[3] until little by little, as they grew strong on the food of God's word, they were capable of receiving more elaborate instruction and of carrying out the more transcendent commandments of God.' All eyes were turned on Aidan when they heard these words and all present carefully considered what he had said. They agreed that he was worthy to be made a bishop and that he was the man to send to instruct those ignorant unbelievers, since he had proved himself to be pre-eminently endowed with the grace of discretion, which is the mother of all virtues. So he was consecrated and sent to preach to them. As time went on he proved himself to be remarkable not only for the moderation and good sense which they had first observed in him, but for many other virtues as well.

[1] Cf. Gregory's letter to Candidus, p. 72, n. 1.

[2] Hector Boethius or Boece, in his Latin history of Scotland up to the accession of James III (1527), supplies the name of this unsuccessful missionary—Corman. See *The Chronicles of Scotland by Hector Boece*, ed. Chambers and Batho (Scottish Text Society, 3rd ser., 1936), I. 398–400.

[3] 1 Cor. 3: 2.

VI

HUIUS igitur antistitis doctrina rex Osuald cum ea, cui praeerat,
p. 138 gente Anglorum institutus, non solum / incognita progenitoribus suis regna caelorum sperare didicit, sed et regna terrarum plus quam ulli maiorum suorum ab eodem uno Deo, qui fecit caelum et terram, consecutus est; denique omnes nationes et prouincias Brittaniae, quae in quattuor linguas, id est Brettonum Pictorum Scottorum et Anglorum, diuisae sunt, in dicione accepit.[1]

Quo regni culmine sublimatus, nihilominus (quod mirum dictu est) pauperibus et peregrinis semper humilis benignus et largus fuit. Denique fertur quia tempore quodam, cum die sancto paschae cum praefato episcopo consedisset ad prandium, positusque esset in mensa coram eo discus argenteus regalibus epulis refertus, et iamiamque essent manus ad panem benedicendum missuri, intrasse subito ministrum ipsius, cui suscipiendorum inopum erat cura deligata,[a] et indicasse regi quia multitudo pauperum undecumque adueniens maxima per plateas sederet, postulans aliquid elimosynae a rege. Qui mox dapes sibimet appositas deferri pauperibus, sed et discum confringi, atque eisdem minutatim diuidi praecepit. Quo uiso pontifex, qui adsidebat, delectatus tali facto pietatis, adprehendit dexteram eius et ait: 'Numquam inueterescat haec manus.'[2] Quod et ita iuxta uotum benedictionis eius prouenit; nam cum interfecto illo in[b] pugna manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectae,[c] contigit ut hactenus incorruptae perdurent. Denique in urbe regia, quae a regina quondam uocabulo Bebba[3] cognominatur, loculo inclusae argenteo in ecclesia sancti Petri seruantur ac digno a cunctis honore uenerantur.

Huius industria regis Derorum et Berniciorum prouinciae, quae
p. 139 eatenus abinuicem discordabant, in / unam sunt pacem et uelut unum conpaginatae in populum. Erat autem nepos Eduini regis ex sorore Acha,[3] dignumque fuit ut tantus praecessor talem haberet de sua consanguinitate et religionis heredem et regni.

[a] delegata *c2* [b] *m omits* in [c] resecatae *c2*

[1] Oswald was almost certainly supreme at one time over all the English kingdoms. He ruled over the South Saxons (iv. 14); he confirmed the grant of Dorchester-on-Thames by Cynegisl to Birinus (p. 232, n. 4). For Oswald's influence in Kent see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 82. Adamnan, in his *Life of St. Columba*, i. 1, refers to him as *totius Britanniae imperator*. Possibly Bede had evidence for Oswald having power over some of the British peoples too. See also p. 379, n. 3.

[2] See p. 252, n. 1.

CHAPTER VI

WITH such a man as bishop to instruct them, King Oswald, together with the people over which he ruled, learned to hope for those heavenly realms which were unknown to their forefathers; and also Oswald gained from the one God who made heaven and earth greater earthly realms than any of his ancestors had possessed. In fact he held under his sway all the peoples and kingdoms of Britain, divided among the speakers of four different languages, British, Pictish, Irish, and English.[1]

Though he wielded supreme power over the whole land, he was always wonderfully humble, kind, and generous to the poor and to strangers. For example, the story is told that on a certain occasion, one Easter Day, when he had sat down to dinner with Bishop Aidan, a silver dish was placed on the table before him full of rich foods. They had just raised their hands to ask a blessing on the bread when there came in an officer of the king, whose duty it was to relieve the needy, telling him that a very great multitude of poor people from every district were sitting in the precincts and asking alms of the king. He at once ordered the dainties which had been set in front of him to be carried to the poor, the dish to be broken up, and the pieces divided amongst them. The bishop, who was sitting by, was delighted with this pious act, grasped him by the right hand, and said, 'May this hand never decay.'[2] His blessing and his prayer were fulfilled in this way: when Oswald was killed in battle, his hand and arm were cut off from the rest of his body, and they have remained uncorrupt until this present time; they are in fact preserved in a silver shrine in St. Peter's church, in the royal city which is called after Queen Bebbe[3] (Bamburgh) and are venerated with fitting respect by all.

By the efforts of this king the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, which had up to this time been at strife with one another, were peacefully united and became one people. Now Oswald was the nephew of Edwin through his sister Acha,[3] and it was fitting that so great a predecessor should have so worthy a kinsman to inherit both his religion and his kingdom.

[3] Bebbe is said by Nennius to have been the first wife of King Æthelfrith (*EHD*, I. 237). Acha was the daughter of Ælle and second wife of Æthelfrith. In this way Oswald was connected with the royal houses of both Bernicia and Deira.

VII

Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissae uocabantur, regnante Cynigislo[1] fidem Christi suscepit, praedicante illis uerbum Birino episcopo, qui cum consilio papae Honorii uenerat Brittaniam, promittens quidem se illo praesente in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus, quo nullus doctor praecessisset, sanctae fidei semina esse sparsurum. Vnde et iussu eiusdem pontificis per Asterium Genuensem episcopum[2] in episcopatus consecratus est gradum. Sed Brittaniam perueniens, ac primum Geuissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inueniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius Verbum praedicare quam ultra progrediens eos, quibus praedicare deberet, inquirere.

Itaque euangelizante illo in praefata prouincia, cum rex ipse cathecizatus fonte baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur, contigit tunc temporis sanctissimum ac uictoriosissimum regem Nordanhymbrorum Osualdum adfuisse, eumque de lauacro exeuntem suscepisse, ac[a] pulcherrimo prorsus et Deo digno consortio, cuius erat filiam accepturus in coniugem,[3] ipsum prius secunda generatione Deo dedicatum sibi accepit in filium. Donauerunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo ciuitatem quae uocatur Dorcic,[4] ad faciendam inibi sedem episcopalem; ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis, multisque ad / Dominum pio eius labore populis aduo-
p. 140 catis, migrauit ad Dominum, sepultusque est in eadem ciuitate, et post annos multos, Haedde episcopatum agente,[5] translatus inde in Uentam ciuitatem atque in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli positus est.

Defuncto autem et rege, successit in regnum filius eius Coinualch,[6] qui et fidem ac sacramenta regni caelestis suscipere rennuit, et non multo post etiam regni terrestris potentiam perdidit. Repudiata enim sorore Pendan regis Merciorum, quam

[a] ac sic *c2*

[1] He began to reign in 611 and died about 642. His son Cwichelm was responsible for the attempted assassination of Edwin in 626. See p. 164, n. 3.

[2] He was really Archbishop of Milan but lived in Genoa in order to avoid contact with the Lombards, who were Arian heretics.

[3] Her name was Cyneburh, according to a twelfth-century Life of the saint, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, Symeon of Durham, ed. Arnold, I. 349.

[4] Nine miles from Oxford. The abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul stands on the traditional site of Cynegisl's baptism.

CHAPTER VII

ABOUT this time the West Saxons, who in early days were called the Gewisse, received the faith of Christ during the reign of Cynegisl[1] through the preaching of Bishop Birinus. The latter had come to Britain on the advice of Pope Honorius, having promised in the pope's presence that he would scatter the seeds of the holy faith in the remotest regions of England, where no teacher had been before. For this reason he was consecrated bishop at the pope's command by Asterius, bishop of Genoa.[2] So he came to Britain and visited the race of the Gewisse first of all; finding that they were all completely heathen, he decided that it would be more useful to preach the word there rather than go further seeking for others to evangelize.

While he was preaching the gospel in this kingdom, the king himself, after receiving instruction, was cleansed from his sins in the waters of baptism together with all his people. It so happened that at the time Oswald, the saintly and victorious king of the Northumbrians, was present and stood godfather for him. Lovely indeed and well-pleasing to God was their relationship; that same man whose daughter Oswald was later to receive as his wife,[3] that day, after his new birth and dedication to God, was received by Oswald as his son. The two kings gave the bishop a city called Dorchester[4] in which to establish his episcopal see. After he had built and dedicated churches and brought many to the Lord by his pious labours, he went to be with the Lord and was buried in the same city. Many years afterwards, when Hædde was bishop,[5] his body was translated thence to the city of Winchester and was deposited in the church of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

On the death of Cynegisl, his son Cenwealh[6] came to the throne. He refused to receive the faith and the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom and not long afterwards lost his earthly kingdom also. Now he had repudiated his wife who was sister of Penda, king of

[5] He became bishop in 676, his seat being at Winchester. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R.S. I. 25) relates that in his time there was a stone pyramid at Glastonbury, twenty-six feet high, bearing Bishop Hædde's name amongst others.

[6] He had some associations with Northumbria, being the friend of Benedict Biscop and of Wilfrid's patron, Aldfrith. He came to the throne in 643 and died in 672.

duxerat, aliam accepit uxorem; ideoque bello petitus ac regno priuatus ab illo, secessit ad regem Orientalium Anglorum, cui nomen erat Anna, apud quem triennio exulans fidem cognouit ac suscepit ueritatis. Nam et ipse, apud quem exulabat, rex erat uir bonus, et bona ac sancta sobole felix, ut in sequentibus docebimus.[1]

Cum uero restitutus esset in regnum Coinualch, uenit in prouinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam nomine Agilberctus,[2] natione quidem Gallus sed tunc legendarum gratia scripturarum in Hibernia non paruo tempore demoratus, coniunxitque se regi, sponte ministerium praedicandi adsumens. Cuius eruditionem atque industriam uidens rex rogauit eum accepta ibi sede episcopali suae gentis manere pontificem; qui precibus eius adnuens, multis annis eidem genti sacerdotali iure praefuit. Tandem rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam nouerat, pertaesus barbarae loquellae, subintroduxit in prouinciam alium suae linguae episcopum, uocabulo Uini,[3] et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum; diuidensque in duas parrochias[4] prouinciam, huic in ciuitate Uenta, quae a gente
p. 141 Saxonum Uintancaestir / appellatur, sedem episcopatus tribuit. Vnde offensus grauiter Agilberctus, quod haec[b] ipso inconsulto ageret rex, rediit Galliam, et accepto episcopatu Parisiacae ciuitatis, ibidem senex ac plenus dierum[4] obiit. Non multis autem annis post abscessum eius a Brittania transactis, pulsus est et Uini ab eodem rege de episcopatu;[5] qui secedens ad regem Merciorum uocabulo Uulfheri, emit pretio ab eo sedem Lundoniae ciuitatis, eiusque episcopus usque ad uitae suae terminum mansit. Sicque prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum tempore non pauco absque praesule fuit.

[b] hoc *c2*

[1] Anna had four daughters and a stepdaughter, all of whom appear in the calendars of saints. One daughter, Æthelthryth, married Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, and afterwards became abbess of Ely (iv. 19). Another daughter, Seaxburh, married Eorcenberht, king of Kent, and was the mother of Eorcengota, afterwards succeeding her sister as abbess of Ely (iv. 19). The third daughter, Æthelburh, was abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie (p. 236, n. 3), while a fourth, Wihtburh, is mentioned in an eleventh-century document which describes the resting places of the English saints as being buried at Ely. See *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (Hampshire Record Society, 1892), p. 88, and *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. F. Liebermann (Hanover, 1889), p. 11. Anna's stepdaughter Sæthryth also became abbess of Faremoûtier-en-Brie (iii. 8).

[2] The Gaulish form of Æthelberht. Like Wine, he seems to have been consecrated bishop without a diocese. He would speak some form of the Frankish

the Mercians, and had married another woman; for this he was attacked by Penda and deprived of his kingdom, retiring to the court of the East Anglian king, whose name was Anna. During his three years of exile he acknowledged and accepted the true faith, for the king with whom he lived in exile was a good man and blessed with a good and saintly family as we shall learn later.[1]

When Cenwealh had been restored to his kingdom there came to his land from Ireland a bishop named Agilbert,[2] a Gaul by birth, who had spent a long time in Ireland for the purpose of studying the Scriptures. He now attached himself to the king and voluntarily undertook the task of preaching. When the king saw his learning and industry, he asked him to accept an episcopal see in that place and to remain as bishop of his people. Agilbert complied with his request and presided over the nation as bishop for a number of years. But at last the king, who knew only the Saxon language, grew tired of his barbarous speech and foisted upon the kingdom a bishop named Wine who had also been consecrated in Gaul but who spoke the king's own tongue. He divided his kingdom into two dioceses[3] and gave Wine an episcopal seat in the city of *Venta* which the Saxons call *Wintancæstir* (Winchester). Agilbert was deeply offended because the king had done this without consulting him and returned to Gaul, where he accepted the bishopric of Paris and there died 'being old and full of days'.[4] Not many years after his departure from Britain, Wine was also expelled from the bishopric by the king;[5] he took refuge with Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and bought the see of the city of London from him for a sum of money, remaining its bishop to the end of his life. So for a considerable time the kingdom of the West Saxons remained without a bishop.

dialect which was near enough to West Saxon to be more or less intelligible to his hearers. Cf. p. 73, n. 4. He did not return directly to Gaul but four years afterwards he was in Northumbria, where he ordained Wilfrid priest and was present at the Council of Whitby. Shortly after the conference he went to Paris, of which he became bishop, and received Theodore hospitably on his way to England. He was the intimate and apparently the tool of the notorious Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria.

[3] Bede here as always uses *parrochia* in the older sense of 'diocese'.

[4] I 42: 16.

[5] The reason for Wine's expulsion from the see of Winchester is unknown, but if Bede's story is true that he bought the bishopric of London from Wulfhere, it is only another example of the simony which seems to have been prevalent in the Gaulish Church from which Wine originally came.

Quo etiam tempore rex praefatus ipsius gentis, grauissimis regni sui damnis saepissime ab hostibus adflictus, tandem ad memoriam reduxit, quod eum pridem perfidia regno pulerit, fides agnita Christi in regnum reuocauerit, intellexitque quod etiam tunc destituta pontifice prouincia recte pariter diuino[a] fuerit destituta praesidio. Misit ergo legatarios in Galliam ad Agilberctum, summissa illum satisfactione deprecans ad episcopatum suae gentis redire. At ille se excusans et[b] uenire non posse contestans, quia episcopatu propriae ciuitatis ac parrochiae teneretur adstrictus, ne tamen obnixe petenti nil[c] ferret auxilii, misit pro se illo presbyterum Leutherium[1] nepotem suum, qui ei si uellet ordinaretur episcopus, dicens quod ipse eum dignum esse episcopatu iudicaret. Quo honorifice a populo et a rege suscepto, rogauerunt Theodorum tunc archiepiscopum Doruuernensis ecclesiae ipsum sibi antistitem consecrari; qui consecratus in ipsa ciuitate multis annis episcopatum Geuissorum ex synodica[2] sanctione solus sedulo moderamine gessit.

p. 142

VIII

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCXL Eadbald rex Cantuariorum transiens ex hac uita Earconbercto filio regni gubernacula reliquit; quae ille suscepta XXIIII annis et aliquot mensibus nobilissime tenuit. Hic primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui, simul et ieiunium quadraginta dierum obseruari principali auctoritate praecepit. Quae ne facile a quopiam posset[d] contemni, in transgressores dignas et conpetentes punitiones proposuit. Cuius filia Earcongotae, ut condigna parenti suboles, magnarum fuit uirgo uirtutum, seruiens Domino in monasterio quod in regione Francorum constructum est ab abbatissa nobilissima uocabulo Fara in loco qui dicitur In Brige.[3] Nam eo tempore necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis

[a] *c2 perhaps had* paterno *for* pariter diuino [b] et eo *c2* [c] nihil *c2* [d] possit *c2*

[1] Leuthere was bishop of Winchester from 670 to 676.

[2] *Synodica* implies apparently no more than a meeting of the king and his counsellors such as Edwin held when Christianity was finally accepted (ii. 13), or when Sigeberht and the East Saxons were converted (iii. 22), or the so-called Synod (more correctly Council) of Whitby over which Oswiu presided. Even though Archbishop Theodore presided at the 'synod' at *Adtuifyrdi*, yet it was *sub praesentia regis Ecgfridi* and there were lay members present (iv. 28).

[3] Fara of Burgundofara is said to have been dedicated in her infancy to the religious life by St. Columban but against her father's wishes. He permitted her, however, to found a monastery on some land of his in Brie not far from

Meanwhile King Cenwealh, who was continually suffering heavy losses in his kingdom at the hands of his enemies, at length called to mind that it was unbelief that had once driven him from his kingdom and his acknowledgement of faith in Christ which had restored him; he realized equally that a kingdom which was without a bishop was, at the same time, justly deprived of divine protection. So he sent messengers to Agilbert in Gaul, offering to make amends and praying him to return again to the diocese. But Agilbert excused himself, declaring that he could not come because he was pledged to the bishopric of his own city and diocese. However, rather than refuse to give any help when the king sought it so eagerly, he sent his nephew, the priest Leuthere,[1] in his place to be consecrated bishop if the king were willing, adding that he considered him worthy of a bishopric. Leuthere was honourably received by the king and the people, and they asked Theodore who was then archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him bishop. He was accordingly consecrated at Canterbury and for many years governed the whole see of the Gewisse with industry and moderation, ruling alone by the authority of the council.[2]

CHAPTER VIII

In the year of our Lord 640, Eadbald, king of Kent, departed this life and left the government of his kingdom to his son Eorcenberht, who ruled with distinction for twenty-four years and some months. He was the first English king to order idols to be abandoned and destroyed throughout the whole kingdom. He also ordered the forty days fast of Lent to be observed by royal authority. And so that his commands might not be too lightly neglected, he prescribed suitably heavy punishments for offenders. His daughter Eorcengota, a child worthy of her parent, was a most virtuous maiden who served the Lord in a monastery founded in the land of the Franks by a noble abbess named Fara in a place called Brie.[3] At that time, because there were not yet many monasteries founded in England, numbers of people from Britain used to

Meaux. It was a double monastery of monks and nuns as so many of the English ones were later to be, such as Whitby, Coldingham, Barking, and others. They were ruled over by a woman, often of royal descent. They died out in England probably as a result of the Scandinavian invasions.

constructis, multi de Brittania monachicae[a] conuersationis gratia Francorum uel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant, sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant, maxime in Brige et in Cale et in Andilegum monasterio; inter quas erat Saethryd filia uxoris Annae regis Orientalium Anglorum, cuius supra meminimus, et filia naturalis eiusdem regis Aedilberg; quae utraque cum esset peregrina, prae merito uirtutum eiusdem monasterii Brigensis est abbatissa constituta. Cuius regis filia maior Sexburg, uxor Earconbercti regis Cantuariorum, habuit filiam Earcongotam, de qua sumus dicturi.

p. 143 Huius autem uirginis Deo dicatae multa quidem ab incolis loci illius solent opera uirtutum et signa miraculorum usque hodie narrari; uerum nos de transitu tantum illius, quo caelestia regna petiit, aliquid breuiter dicere sufficiat. Inminente ergo die suae uocationis, coepit circuire in monasterio casulas infirmarum Christi famularum, earumque[b] uel maxime quae uel aetate prouectae uel probitate erant morum[c] insigniores. Quarum se omnium precibus humiliter commendans, obitum proxime suum, quem reuelatione didicerat, non celauit esse futurum. Quam uidelicet reuelationem huiusmodi esse perhibebat: uidisse se albatorum cateruam hominum idem monasterium intrare, hosque a se interrogatos, quid quaererent aut quid ibi uellent, respondisse quod ob hoc illo[d] fuerint destinati, ut aureum illud nomisma, quod eo de Cantia uenerat, secum adsumerent. Ipsa autem nocte in cuius ultima parte, id est incipiente aurora, praesentis mundi tenebras transiens supernam migrauit ad lucem, multi de fratribus eiusdem monasterii, qui aliis erant in aedibus, iam manifeste se concentus angelorum psallentium audisse referebant, sed et sonitum quasi plurimae multitudinis monasterium ingredientis; unde mox egressi dinoscere quid esset, uiderunt lucem caelitus emissam fuisse permaximam, quae sanctam illam animam carnis uinculis absolutam ad aeterna patriae caelestis gaudia ducebat. Addunt et alia, quae ipsa nocte in monasterio eodem diuinitus fuerint ostensa miracula; sed haec nos ad alia tendentes suis narrare permittimus. Sepultum est autem corpus uenerabile uirginis et sponsae Christi in ecclesia beati protomartyris Stephani; placuitque post diem tertium, ut lapis quo monumentum tege-

p. 144 batur amoueretur, et altius ipso in / loco reponeretur. Quod dum

[a] monasticae *c2* [b] earum quae *c2* [c] morum erant *c2* [d] illuc *c2*

enter the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls to practise the monastic life; they also sent their daughters to be taught in them and to be wedded to the heavenly bridegroom. They mostly went to the monasteries at Brie, Chelles, and Andelys-sur-Seine; among these was Sæthryth, stepdaughter of Anna, king of the East Angles mentioned above, and Æthelburh, his own daughter. Both of these though foreigners were, by the merit of their virtues, made abbesses of the monastery at Brie. The eldest daughter of the king was Seaxburh, wife of King Eorcenberht of Kent, whose daughter Eorcengota deserves special mention.

Many wonders and miraculous signs associated with this dedicated virgin are related even to this day by the people who live in that place. It will be enough for us to speak, and that briefly, of her departure from this world to the heavenly kingdom. When the day of her summons was imminent, she went round the monastery visiting the cells of Christ's infirm hand-maidens and especially of those who were of great age or distinguished for their virtuous lives. She humbly commended herself to their prayers, not concealing from them that it had been revealed to her that her own death was near. She explained that the revelation she had received was in this form: she saw a crowd of men dressed in white enter the monastery; on being asked what they were looking for or what they wanted, they answered that they had been sent to take back with them the golden coin which had been brought thither from Kent. At the very end of the same night, just as the dawn was breaking, she passed from the darkness of the present world into the light of heaven. Many of the brothers of the monastery who were in other buildings related that they clearly heard choirs of angels singing, as well as the sound of what seemed to be a mighty throng entering the monastery. Hurrying out to discover what was the matter, they saw a very great light coming down from heaven, which bore away the holy soul, now freed from the bonds of the flesh, to the eternal joys of the heavenly country. They also relate other miracles which were divinely manifested in the monastery on the same night; but as we must turn to other matters, we will leave them to be related by her own people. The holy body of the virgin and bride of Christ was buried in the church of the blessed protomartyr Stephen; it was decided, three days after, to take up the stone which covered her sepulchre and raise it higher in the same place; while they were

fieret, tantae flagrantia suauitatis ab imis ebulliuit, ut cunctis qui adstabant fratribus ac sororibus quasi opobalsami cellaria esse uiderentur aperta.[1]

Sed et matertera eius, de qua diximus, Aedilberg[2] et ipsa Deo dilectam perpetuae uirginitatis gloriam in magna corporis continentia seruauit; quae cuius esset uirtutis magis post mortem claruit. Cum enim esset abbatissa, coepit facere in monasterio suo ecclesiam in honorem omnium apostolorum, in qua suum corpus sepeliri cupiebat. Sed cum opus idem ad medium ferme esset perductum, illa ne hoc perficeret morte praerepta est, et in ipso ecclesiae loco, ubi desiderabat, condita. Post cuius mortem, fratribus alia magis curantibus, intermissum est hoc aedificium annis VII, quibus conpletis statuerunt ob nimietatem laboris huius structuram ecclesiae funditus relinquere, ossa uero abbatissae illo de loco eleuata in aliam ecclesiam, quae esset perfecta ac dedicata, transferre. Et aperientes sepulchrum eius, ita intemeratum corpus inuenere, ut a corruptione concupiscentiae carnalis erat inmune; et ita denuo lotum atque aliis uestibus indutum transtulerunt illud in ecclesiam beati Stephani martyris. Cuius uidelicet natalis ibi solet[a] in magna gloria celebrari die nonarum Iuliarum.

VIIII

REGNAUIT autem Osuald Christianissimus rex Nordanhym-
p. 145 brorum nouem annos, adnumerato etiam illo anno, / quem et feralis impietas regis Brettonum et apostasia demens regum Anglorum detestabilem fecerat. Siquidem, ut supra docuimus, unanimo omnium consensu firmatum est, ut nomen et memoria apostatarum de catalogo regum Christianorum prorsus aboleri deberet, neque aliquis regno eorum annus adnotari.[3] Quo conpleto annorum curriculo occisus est, commisso graui proelio, ab

[a] *c2 omits* ibi, *and puts* solet *after* gloria

[1] The sweet smell which arose from an opened grave was frequently looked upon as a sign of sainthood. The incorruption implied by it was considered the sign of a holy life.

[2] There are four saints mentioned by Bede whose bodies were found uncorrupt after being buried for varying lengths of time, namely Æthelburh, Fursa, Æthelthryth, and Cuthbert. The Church never made the incorruptibility of a body a certain sign of sainthood though saints' bodies were often claimed to be uncorrupt when their remains were translated. Side by side with this, there was a lingering belief that the bodies of excommunicated people, witches, and wizards also remained uncorrupt. See *BLTW*, pp. 221–2. Because in the

doing this, so sweet a fragrance arose from the depths of the sepulchre that it seemed to all the brothers and sisters who were standing by as if stores of balsam had been unsealed.[1]

Her aunt Æthelburh[2] already mentioned, lived a life of great self-denial, also preserving the glory of perpetual virginity which is well pleasing to God. But after her death the greatness of her virtue was more clearly revealed. While she was abbess, she had begun to build a church in her monastery dedicated to all the apostles, in which she wished her body to be buried. But when the work was less than half finished, she was cut off by death and so unable to complete it; she was nevertheless buried in that part of the church which she had chosen. After her death the brothers were more concerned with other things, so that the building was left for seven years. At the end of this time they decided to abandon completely the attempt to build the church which had proved too great a task. They resolved to raise the bones of the abbess from their resting place and translate them to another church which was already finished and dedicated. On opening her sepulchre they found her body as untouched by decay as it had also been immune from the corruption of fleshly desires. They washed it again, clothed it in other garments, and translated it to the church of St. Stephen the Martyr. Her festival is celebrated there with great honour on 7 July.

CHAPTER IX

OSWALD, the most Christian king of Northumbria, ruled for nine years if we include that year which the brutal wickedness of the British king and the mad apostasy of the English kings rendered detestable. But, as we have explained previously, it was decided by the unanimous consent of all that the name and memory of those apostates ought to be utterly blotted out from the list of Christian kings and that no year should be assigned to their reign.[3] At the end of this period, Oswald was killed in a great

previous chapter Bede describes Æthelburh as *filia naturalis* to distinguish her from Sæthryth his stepdaughter, Æthelburh has wrongly been described as Anna's illegitimate daughter.

[3] See above, iii. 1.

eadem pagana gente paganoque rege Merciorum, a quo et predecessor eius Eduini peremtus fuerat, in loco qui lingua Anglorum nuncupatur Maserfelth,[1] anno aetatis suae XXXVIII, die quinto mensis Augusti.

Cuius quanta fides in Deum, quae deuotio mentis fuerit, etiam post mortem uirtutum miraculis claruit. Namque in loco ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum celebrari non desinunt. Vnde contigit ut puluerem ipsum, ubi corpus eius in terram conruit, multi auferentes et in aquam mittentes suis per haec infirmis multum commodi adferrent. Qui uidelicet mos adeo increbruit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae uirilis altam reddiderit. Nec mirandum in loco mortis illius infirmos sanari, qui semper dum uiueret infirmis et pauperibus consulere, elimosynas dare, opem ferre non cessabat. Et multa quidem in loco illo uel de puluere loci illius facta uirtutum miracula narrantur; sed nos[a] duo tantum, quae a maioribus audiuimus, referre satis duximus.

Non multo post interfectionem eius exacto tempore, contigit ut quidam equo sedens iter iuxta locum ageret illum; cuius equus subito lassescere, consistere, caput in terram declinare, spumas ex ore demittere, et augescente dolore nimio in terram coepit ruere.
p. 146 Desiluit eques et stramine subtracto[b] coepit expectare / horam, qua aut melioratum reciperet iumentum aut relinqueret mortuum. At ipsum diu graui dolore uexatum, cum diuersas in partes se torqueret, repente uolutando deuenit in illud[c] loci, ubi rex memorabilis occubuit. Nec mora, quiescente dolore cessabat ab insanis membrorum motibus, et consueto equorum more quasi post lassitudinem in diuersum latus uicissim sese uoluere, statimque exsurgens quasi sanum per omnia uirecta herbarum auidius carpere coepit.

Quo ille uiso, ut uir sagacis ingenii, intellexit aliquid mirae sanctitatis huic loco, quo equus est curatus, inesse, et posito ibi signo non multo post ascendit equum atque ad hospitium, quo proposuerat, accessit. Quo dum aduenire, inuenit puellam ibi neptem patris familias longo paralysis morbo grauatam; et cum familiares domus illius de acerua puellae infirmitate ipso praesente quererentur, coepit dicere ille de loco, ubi caballus suus esset curatus. Quid multa? Inponentes eam carro, duxerunt ad locum,

[a] nos *om. c2* [b] substracto *c2* [c] illud in *c2*

[1] This is generally identified as Oswestry (Oswald's tree or cross). The identification dates back at least as early as the twelfth century; some early Welsh poems preserve a memory of fighting in the neighbourhood.

battle by the same heathen people and the same heathen Mercian king as his predecessor Edwin in a place called in the English tongue *Maserfelth*,[1] on 5 August in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

His great faith in God and his devotion of heart were also made clear after his death by certain miracles. Indeed in that place where he was slain by the heathen fighting for his fatherland, sick men and beasts are healed to this day. It has happened that people have often taken soil from the place where his body fell to the ground, have put it in water, and by its use have brought great relief to their sick. This custom became very popular and gradually so much earth was removed that a hole was made, as deep as a man's height. Nor is it to be wondered at that the sick are cured in the place where he died, for while he was alive he never ceased to care for the sick and the poor, to give them alms, and offer them help. Many miracles are related which took place either at that site or through the soil taken from it. But we think that it is enough to relate two only which we have heard our elders tell.

It happened that not long after his death a man was travelling on horseback past this place. The horse suddenly began to tire; next it stopped, bending its head to the ground and foaming at the mouth and then, as the pain became unbearable, it fell to the earth. The rider alighted, took off its saddle-cloth, and waited to see whether it would recover or whether he would have to leave it for dead. The beast was long tortured by the agonizing pain and twisted about from place to place, until as it turned over, it came upon the very spot where the famous king had fallen. Forthwith the pain ceased, and the horse stopped its frantic struggles; then, as horses do, after they have been resting, it rolled from side to side, stood up completely cured and began to crop the grass greedily.

When the rider, who was an intelligent man, saw this, he realized that there must be some special sanctity associated with the place in which the horse was cured. He put up a sign to mark the site, shortly afterwards mounted his horse, and reached the inn where he intended to lodge. On his arrival, he found a girl there, niece of the patron, who had long suffered from paralysis. When he heard the members of the household lamenting the girl's grievous infirmity, he told them of the place where his horse had been cured. Why need I say more? They put her in a cart, brought her

ibidemque deposuerunt. At illa posita in loco obdormiuit parumper; et ubi euigilauit, sanatam se ab illa corporis dissolutione sentiens, postulata aqua ipsa lauit faciem, crines conposuit, caput linteo cooperuit, et cum his qui se adduxerant[a] sana pedibus incedendo reuersa est.

X

EODEM tempore uenit alius quidam de natione Brettonum, ut
p. 147 ferunt, iter faciens iuxta ipsum locum, in / quo praefata erat pugna conpleta; et uidit unius loci spatium cetero campo uiridius ac uenustius, coepitque sagaci animo conicere, quod nulla esset alia causa insolitae illo in loco uiriditatis, nisi quia ibidem sanctior cetero exercitu uir aliquis fuisset interfectus. Tulit itaque de puluere terrae illius secum inligans in linteo, cogitans (quod futurum erat) quia ad medellam infirmantium idem puluis proficeret; et pergens itinere suo peruenit ad uicum quendam uespere, intrauitque in domum in qua uicani caenantes epulabantur, et susceptus a dominis domus resedit et ipse cum eis ad conuiuium, adpendens linteolum cum puluere, quem adtulerat, in una posta parietis. Cumque diutius epulis atque ebrietati uacarent, accenso grandi igne in medio, contigit uolantibus in altum scintillis culmen domus, quod erat uirgis contextum ac foeno tectum, subitaneis flammis impleri. Quod cum repente conuiuae terrore confusi conspicerent, fugerunt foras, nil[b] ardenti domui et[c] iamiamque periturae prodesse ualentes. Consumta ergo domu flammis, posta solummodo, in qua puluis ille inclusus pendebat, tuta ab ignibus et intacta remansit. Qua uisa uirtute mirati sunt ualde, et perquirentes subtilius inuenerunt, quia de illo loco adsumtus erat puluis, ubi regis Osualdi sanguis fuerat effusus. Quibus patefactis ac diffamatis longe lateque miraculis, multi per dies locum frequentare illum et sanitatum ibi gratiam capere sibi suisque coeperunt.

XI

INTER quae nequaquam silentio praetereundum reor, quid
p. 148 uirtutis ac miraculi caelestis fuerit ostensum, cum / ossa eius

[a] adduxerunt *c2* [b] nihil *c2* [c] et *om. c2*

to the place and laid her down there. In a short time she fell asleep and when she woke up she found that she was healed of her infirmity. She asked for water, washed her face, arranged her hair, and covered her head with a linen kerchief, returning home on foot in perfect health, with those who had brought her.

CHAPTER X

THE story is told that about this time another man, a Briton, was travelling near that place where the battle had been fought, when he noticed that a certain patch of ground was greener and more beautiful than the rest of the field. He very wisely conjectured that the only cause for the unusual greenness of that part must be that some man holier than the rest of the army had perished there. So he took some of the soil with him wrapped up in a cloth, thinking that it might prove useful, as was indeed to happen, as a cure for sick persons. He went on his way and came in the evening to a certain village, entering a house where the villagers were enjoying a feast. He was received by the owners of the house and sat down to the feast with them, hanging up the cloth containing the dust he had brought on one of the wall-posts. They lingered long over their feasting and tippling, while a great fire burned in the midst of the dwelling. It happened that the sparks flew up to the roof which was made of wattles and thatched with hay, so that it suddenly burst into flames. As soon as the guests saw this, they fled outside in terror and confusion, quite unable to save the burning house which was on the point of destruction. So the whole house was burnt down with the single exception that the post on which the soil hung, enclosed in its bag, remained whole and untouched by the fire. Those who saw it were greatly amazed by this miracle. After careful inquiries they discovered that the soil had been taken from that very place where Oswald's blood had been spilt. The fame of these miracles spread far and wide and as the days went by many began to frequent the place and there obtained the grace of healing for themselves and their friends.

CHAPTER XI

AMONG these stories, I think I ought not to pass over in silence the miracles and heavenly signs which were shown when his bones

inuenta atque ad ecclesiam, in qua nunc seruantur, translata sunt. Factum est autem hoc per industriam reginae Merciorum Osthrydae, quae erat filia fratris eius, id est Osuiu, qui post illum regni apicem tenebat, ut in sequentibus dicemus.

Est monasterium nobile in prouincia Lindissi, nomine Beardaneu, quod eadem regina cum uiro suo Aedilredo multum diligebat, uenerabatur, excolebat, in quo desiderabat honoranda patrui sui ossa recondere.[1] Cumque uenisset carrum, in quo eadem ossa ducebantur, incumbente uespera in monasterium praefatum, noluerunt ea, qui erant in monasterio, libenter excipere, quia, etsi sanctum eum nouerant, tamen quia de alia prouincia ortus fuerat et super eos regnum acceperat, ueteranis eum odiis etiam mortuum insequebantur. Vnde factum est, ut ipsa nocte reliquiae adlatae foris permanerent, tentorio tantum maiore supra carrum, in quo inerant, extenso. Sed miraculi caelestis ostensio, quam reuerenter eae[a] suscipiendae a cunctis fidelibus essent, patefecit. Nam tota ea nocte columna lucis a carro illo ad caelum usque porrecta omnibus pene eiusdem Lindissae prouinciae locis conspicua stabat. Vnde mane facto fratres monasterii illius, qui pridie abnuerant, diligenter ipsi petere coeperunt, ut apud se eaedem[b] sanctae ac Deo dilectae reliquiae conderentur. Lota igitur ossa intulerunt in thecam, quam in hoc praeparauerant, atque in ecclesia iuxta honorem congruum posuerunt;[2] et ut regia uiri sancti persona memoriam haberet aeternam, uexillum eius super tumbam auro et purpura conpositum adposuerunt, ipsamque aquam, in qua lauerant ossa, in angulo sacrarii fuderunt.[3] Ex quo tempore factum est, ut ipsa terra, quae lauacrum uenerabile
p. 149 suscepit, ad / abigendos ex obsessis corporibus daemones gratiae salutaris haberet effectum.

Denique tempore sequente, cum praefata regina in eodem monasterio moraretur, uenit ad salutandam eam abbatissa quaedam uenerabilis, quae usque hodie superest, uocabulo Aedilhild, soror uirorum sanctorum Ediluini et Alduini, quorum prior episcopus in Lindissi prouincia, secundus erat abbas in monasterio quod uocatur Peartaneu, a quo non longe et illa monasterium habebat.[4]

[a] eae] *the reading of c2 is uncertain* [b] *All our authorities have* eadem

[1] King Æthelred of Mercia was first a monk and then an abbot at this Lincolnshire monastery. His wife Osthryth was murdered in 697 by her Mercian nobles.

[2] There is a tradition that after this incident the monks of Bardney never again closed their doors by day or night. Hence the Lincolnshire saying to a person who habitually leaves doors open: 'Do you come from Bardney?'

were discovered and translated to the church in which they are now preserved. This came about through the efforts of Osthryth, queen of Mercia, who was the daughter of Oswald's brother Oswiu, who reigned after him as we shall relate in due course.

There is a famous monastery in the kingdom of Lindsey called Bardney, which was greatly loved, venerated, and enriched by the queen and her husband Æthelred and in which she wished to place her uncle's honoured bones.[1] The carriage on which the bones were borne reached the monastery toward evening. But the inmates did not receive them gladly. They knew that Oswald was a saint but, nevertheless, because he belonged to another kingdom and had once conquered them, they pursued him even when dead with their former hatred. So it came about that the relics remained outside all night with only a large tent erected over the carriage in which the bones rested. But a sign from heaven revealed to them how reverently the relics should have been received by all the faithful. All through the night a column of light stretched from the carriage right up to heaven and was visible in almost every part of the kingdom of Lindsey. In the morning, the brothers in the monastery who had refused the relics of God's beloved saint the day before, now began to pray earnestly that the relics might be lodged with them. The bones were washed, laid in a shrine constructed for the purpose, and placed in the church with fitting honours;[2] and in order that the royal saint might be perpetually remembered, they placed above the tomb his banner of gold and purple, pouring out the water in which the bones had been washed in a corner of the sanctuary.[3] Ever afterwards the soil which had received that holy water had the power and saving grace of driving devils from the bodies of people possessed.

Some time afterwards, when Queen Osthryth was staying in the monastery, a certain reverend abbess named Æthelhild, who is still living, came to visit her. The abbess was the sister of two holy men, Æthelwine and Ealdwine, the former of whom was bishop of Lindsey, while the other was abbot in the monastery known as Partney, not far from which Æthelhild's monastery stood.[4] As

[3] *Sacrarium* may mean the cemetery outside the church. For a study of the miracles associated with St. Oswald see *BLTW*, pp. 217–20.

[4] Nothing further is known of this abbess. Æthelwine was bishop of Lindsey from 680 to 692. He had studied in Ireland in his earlier days (iii. 27). Ealdwine's monastery at Partney near Spilsby afterwards became a cell of Bardney. Bede knew the abbot of this monastery, whose name was Deda (ii. 16).

Cum ergo ueniens illo loqueretur cum regina, atque inter alia, sermone de Osualdo exorto,[a] diceret quod et ipsa lucem nocte illa supra reliquias eius ad caelum usque altam uidisset, adiecit regina quia de puluere pauimenti, in quo aqua lauacri illius effusa est, multi iam sanati essent infirmi. At illa petiit sibi portionem pulueris salutiferi dari, et accipiens inligatum panno[b] condidit in capsella et rediit. Transacto autem tempore aliquanto, cum esset in suo monasterio, uenit illic quidam hospes qui solebat nocturnis saepius horis repente ab inmundo spiritu grauissime uexari. Qui cum benigne susceptus post caenam in lecto membra posuisset, subito a diabolo arreptus clamare, dentibus frendere, spumare et diuersis motibus coepit membra torquere; cumque a nullo uel teneri uel ligari potuisset, cucurrit minister et pulsans ad ostium nuntiauit abbatissae. At illa aperiens ianuam monasterii exiuit ipsa cum una sanctimonialium feminarum ad locum uirorum, et euocans presbyterum rogauit secum uenire ad patientem. Vbi cum uenientes uiderent multos adfuisse, qui uexatum tenere et motus
p. 150 eius insanos conprimere / conati nequaquam ualebant, dicebat presbyter exorcismos, et quaeque poterat pro sedando miseri furore agebat; sed nec ipse, quamuis multum laborans, proficere aliquid ualebat. Cumque nil salutis furenti superesse uideretur, repente uenit in mentem abbatissae puluis ille praefatus, statimque iussit ire ministram, et capsellam in qua erat adducere. Et cum illa adferens, quae iussa est, intraret atrium domus, in cuius interioribus daemoniosus torquebatur, conticuit ille subito, et quasi in somnum laxatus deposuit caput, membra in quietem omnia conposuit. 'Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant,'[1] quem res exitum haberet solliciti exspectantes. Et post aliquantum horae spatium resedit qui uexabatur, et grauiter suspirans 'Modo' inquit 'sanum sapio; recipi[c] enim sensum animi mei.' At illi sedulo sciscitabantur, quomodo hoc contigisset. Qui ait: 'Mox ut uirgo haec cum capsella quam portabat adpropinquauit atrio domus huius, discessere omnes qui me premebant spiritus maligni, et me relicto nusquam conparuerunt.' Tunc dedit ei abbatissa portiunculam de puluere illo, et sic data oratione a presbytero noctem

[a] exorto de Osualdo *c2* [b] in panno ligatum *c2* [c] recepi *c2*

the abbess talked with the queen, the conversation amongst other subjects turned on Oswald, and Æthelhild told how on that memorable night she herself had seen the light over his relics reaching up to the very heavens. The queen in her turn told her that many sick people had been healed by the soil of the floor on which the water, used for washing his bones, had been poured out. Thereupon the abbess begged for some of this health-giving soil; she took it, wrapped it up in a cloth, put it in a casket, and returned home. Some time afterwards, when she was in her monastery, there came a guest who used very often to be greatly troubled in the night, without warning, by an unclean spirit. This guest was hospitably received and, after supper, had lain down on his bed, when he was suddenly possessed by the devil and began to gnash his teeth and foam at the mouth, while his limbs were twisted by convulsive movements. As he could neither be held down nor bound, a servant ran and knocked at the abbess's gate and told her. She opened the monastery door and went out with one of the nuns to the men's dwelling, where she called a priest and asked him to come with her to the patient. When they reached the place they found a crowd there, all trying in vain to hold the possessed man down and to restrain his convulsive movements. The priest pronounced exorcisms and did all he could to soothe the madness of the wretched man but, though he toiled hard, he effected nothing. When there seemed to be no means of overcoming his madness, the abbess suddenly remembered this soil; she at once ordered a serving-woman to go and fetch the casket in which it was kept. No sooner had the servant brought the soil as ordered, and entered the porch of the house in which the demoniac was lying in his contortions, than he was suddenly silent and laid his head down as if he were in a relaxed sleep, while his limbs became quiet and composed. 'Hushed were they all and, fixed in silence, gazed',[1] waiting anxiously to see how it would all end. After about an hour the man who had been afflicted sat up and said with a deep sigh, 'Now I feel that I am well and have been restored to my senses.' Thereupon they earnestly inquired how this had happened. He answered, 'As soon as this maid reached the porch of the house with the casket she was carrying, all the evil spirits which were oppressing me left me and departed to be seen no more.' Then the abbess gave him a tiny portion of the soil and, after the priest had

[1] A quotation from Virgil, *Aeneid* ii. 1.

illam quietissimam duxit, neque aliquid ex eo tempore nocturni timoris aut uexationis ab antiquo hoste pertulit.

XII

SEQUENTE dehinc tempore fuit in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam, longo febrium incommodo grauiter uexatus. Qui cum die
p 151 quadam sollicitus horam / accessionis exspectaret, ingressus ad eum quidam de fratribus 'Vis,' inquit 'mi nate, doceam te quomodo cureris ab huiusmodi molestia languoris? Surge, ingredere ecclesiam, et accedens ad sepulchrum Osualdi ibi reside, et quietus manens adhere tumbae. Vide ne exeas inde nec de loco mouearis, donec hora recessionis febrium transierit. Tunc ipse intrabo, et educam te inde.' Fecit, ut ille suaserat, sedentemque eum ad tumbam sancti infirmitas tangere nequaquam praesumsit; quin in tantum timens aufugit, ut nec secunda die nec tertia neque[a] umquam exinde eum auderet contingere. Quod ita esse gestum, qui referebat mihi frater inde adueniens adiecit, quod eo adhuc tempore quo mecum loquebatur, superesset in eodem monasterio iam iuuenis ille, in quo tunc puero factum erat hoc miraculum sanitatis. Nec mirandum preces regis illius iam cum Domino regnantis multum ualere apud eum, qui temporalis regni quondam gubernacula tenens magis pro aeterno regno semper laborare ac deprecari[b] solebat.

Denique ferunt, quia a tempore matutinae laudis saepius ad diem usque in orationibus persteterit, atque ob crebrum morem orandi siue gratias agendi Domino semper, ubicumque sedens, supinas super genua sua manus habere solitus sit. Vulgatum est autem, et in consuetudinem prouerbii uersum, quod etiam inter uerba orationis uitam finierit; namque cum armis et hostibus circumseptus iamiamque uideret se esse perimendum, orauit pro animabus exercitus sui. Vnde dicunt in prouerbio: 'Deus miserere animabus, dixit Osuald cadens in terram.'

Ossa igitur illius translata et condita sunt in monasterio, quo diximus. Porro caput et manus cum brachiis a corpore praecisas

[a] ne *c2* [b] deprecare *c2*

prayed, he passed a most peaceful night. From that time onwards he suffered no more night alarms nor afflictions from the ancient foe.

CHAPTER XII

SOME time after this there was a little boy in the same monastery who had long been greatly troubled with recurrent fevers. One day when he was anxiously expecting a return of his trouble, one of the brethren came in and said to him, 'My son, would you like me to tell you how you can be cured of your troublesome sickness? Get up, come to the church, and go up to the tomb of Oswald. Sit down there and remain quietly beside the tomb and see that you do not go out nor move from the spot until the time for the return of your fever has passed. Then I will come in and take you away.' The boy did as he had been told; as he sat by the tomb of the saint the disease did not venture to attack him; indeed it fled away in such terror that it did not dare to touch him either on the second or the third day or at any time afterwards. The brother who told me of the incident and had come from the monastery added that, at the time he was speaking to me, the boy to whom this miracle of healing happened was still at the monastery, though now a grown man. It is not to be wondered at that the prayers of this king who is now reigning with the Lord should greatly prevail, for while he was ruling over his temporal kingdom, he was always accustomed to work and pray most diligently for the kingdom which is eternal.

It is related, for example, that very often he would continue in prayer from mattins until daybreak; and because of his frequent habit of prayer and thanksgiving, he was always accustomed, wherever he sat, to place his hands on his knees with the palms turned upwards. It is also a tradition which has become proverbial, that he died with a prayer on his lips. When he was beset by the weapons of his enemies and saw that he was about to perish he prayed for the souls of his army. So the proverb runs, 'May God have mercy on their souls, as Oswald said when he fell to the earth.'

So Oswald's bones were translated to the monastery we have mentioned and there interred. The king who slew him ordered his head and his hands to be severed from his body and hung on

p. 152 iussit rex, qui occiderat, in stipitibus / suspendi. Quo post annum deueniens cum exercitu successor regni eius Osuiu abstulit ea, et caput quidem in cymiterio Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae, in regia uero ciuitate manus cum brachiis condidit.[1]

XIII

NEC solum[a] inclyti fama uiri Brittaniae fines lustrauit uniuersos, sed etiam trans Oceanum longe radios salutiferae lucis spargens Germaniae simul et Hiberniae partes attigit.[2] Denique reuerentissimus antistes Acca[3] solet referre[b] quia, cum Romam uadens apud sanctissimum Fresonum gentis archiepiscopum[c] Uilbrordum[4] cum suo antistite Uilfrido moraretur, crebro eum audierit de mirandis, quae ad reliquias eiusdem reuerentissimi regis in illa prouincia gesta fuerint, narrare. Sed et in Hibernia cum presbyter adhuc peregrinam pro aeterna patria duceret uitam, rumorem sanctitatis illius in ea quoque insula longe lateque iam percrebruisse[d] ferebat. E quibus unum, quod inter alia rettulit, miraculum praesenti nostrae historiae inserendum credidimus.

'Tempore' inquit 'mortalitatis, quae Brittaniam Hiberniamque lata strage uastauit, percussus est eiusdem clade pestis inter alios scolasticus quidam de genere Scottorum, doctus quidem uir studio litterarum, sed erga curam perpetuae suae saluationis nihil omnino studii et industriae gerens. Qui cum se morti proximu uideret, timere coepit et pauere, ne mox mortuus ob merita scelerum ad inferni claustra raperetur, clamauitque me, cum essem
p. 153 in uicinia positus, et inter / egra tremens suspiria flebili uoce talia mecum querebatur; 'Vides' inquit 'quia iamiamque crescente corporis molestia ad articulum subeundae mortis conpellor. Nec dubito me post mortem corporis statim ad perpetuam animae mortem rapiendum ac[e] infernalibus subdendum esse tormentis,

[a] *c2 begins this chapter with the next paragraph, at* Tempore [b] referri *c2*
[c] episcopum *c2* [d] percrebuisse *c2* [e] atque *c2*

[1] The head of Oswald was placed in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne and afterwards transferred with Cuthbert's coffin to Durham. It is almost certainly the skull which was found in the innermost coffin when the tomb was opened in 1827 (see *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 5, 96). The body was translated from Bardney to Gloucester in 909, for fear of the Scandinavians. From the next chapter it would appear that Willibrord took some of his relics to Frisia and many continental churches still claim some. For a full account of the history of the relics see Plummer, II. 157 ff.

[2] Oswald's fame spread rapidly far and wide and there are still many churches dedicated to him in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and North Italy.

stakes. A year afterwards, his successor Oswiu came thither with an army and took them away. He buried the head in a burial place in the church at Lindisfarne, but the hands and arms he buried in the royal city of Bamborough.[1]

CHAPTER XIII

NOT only did the fame of this renowned king spread through all parts of Britain but the beams of his healing light also spread across the ocean and reached the realms of Germany and Ireland.[2] For example, the most reverend Bishop Acca[3] is accustomed to tell how, when he was on his way to Rome, he and his own Bishop Wilfrid stayed with the saintly Willibrord,[4] archbishop of the Frisians, and often heard the archbishop describe the miracles which happened in that kingdom at the relics of the most reverend king. He also related how, while he was still only a priest, and living a pilgrim's life in Ireland out of love for his eternal fatherland, the fame of Oswald's sanctity had spread far and wide in that island too. One of these miracle stories which he told I have thought worth including in the present *History*.

'At the time of the plague', he said, 'which caused widespread havoc both in Britain and Ireland one of the many victims was a certain Irish scholar, a man learned in literary studies but utterly careless and unconcerned about his own everlasting salvation. When he realized that he was near death, he trembled to think that, as soon as he was dead, he would be snatched away to the bondage of hell because of his sins. As I happened to be near by, he sent for me and, trembling and sighing in his weakness, tearfully told me his troubles. "You see", he said, "that I am getting worse and have now reached the point of death; nor do I doubt that, after the death of my body, my soul will immediately be snatched to everlasting death to suffer the torments of hell; for

[3] Besides being a devoted follower of Wilfrid, Acca was also a close friend of Bede, who dedicated several of his works to him. He encouraged Eddius to write a Life of Wilfrid. He became bishop of Hexham in 709 and was driven from his see in 731 (see *Continuatio s.a.*, p. 572). He died in 740 according to Symeon of Durham (*EHD*, I. 240). A beautifully carved stone shaft, now in Hexham Abbey, is believed to have been one of the two placed over his original grave.

[4] Willibrord was educated under Wilfrid at Ripon and afterwards in Ireland. He set out for Frisia in 690. Alcuin wrote a life of him in prose and another in verse. See p. 487, nn. 4, 5.

quia tempore non pauco inter studia diuinae lectionis uitiorum potius inplicamentis quam diuinis solebam seruire mandatis. Inest autem animo, si mihi pietas superna aliqua uiuendi spatia donauerit, uitiosos mores corrigere atque ad imperium diuinae uoluntatis totam ex integro mentem uitamque transferre. Verum noui non hoc esse meriti mei, ut indutias uiuendi uel accipiam uel me accepturum[a] esse confidam, nisi forte misero mihi et indigno uenia, per auxilium eorum qui illi fideliter seruierunt, propitiari dignatus fuerit. Audiuimus autem, et fama[b] creberrima, quia fuerit in gente uestra rex mirandae sanctitatis, uocabulo Osuald, cuius excellentia fidei et uirtutis etiam post mortem uirtutum frequentium operatione claruerit; precorque, si aliquid reliquiarum illius penes te habes, adferas mihi, si forte mihi Dominus per eius meritum misereri uoluerit.' At ego respondi: 'Habeo quidem de ligno, in quo caput eius occisi a paganis infixum est, et, si firmo corde credideris, potest diuina pietas per tanti meritum[c] uiri et huius[d] uitae spatia longiora concedere et ingressu[e] te uitae perennis dignum reddere.' Nec moratus ille integram se in hoc habere fidem respondebat. Tum[f] benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati inmittens obtuli egro potandum. Nec mora, melius habere coepit, et conualescens ab infirmitate multo deinceps tempore uixit, totoque ad Deum corde et opere conuersus,
p. 154 omnibus, ubicumque perueniebat, / clementiam pii Conditoris et fidelis eius famuli gloriam praedicabat.'

XIIII

TRANSLATO ergo ad caelestia regna Osualdo, suscepit regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater eius Osuiu, iuuenis XXX circiter annorum, et per annos XXVIII laboriosissime tenuit, inpugnatus uidelicet et ab ea, quae fratrem eius occiderat, pagana gente Merciorum et a filio quoque suo Alhfrido[1] necnon et a fratruo, id est fratris sui qui ante eum regnauit filio, Oidilualdo.[2]

Cuius anno secundo, hoc est ab incarnatione dominica anno DCXLIIII, reuerentissimus pater Paulinus, quondam quidem Eburacensis sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus ciuitatis, transiuit ad Dominum sexto iduum Octobrium die; qui X et VIIII annos, menses duos, dies XXI episcopatum tenuit, sepultusque est in

[a] accepturum me *c2* [b] fama est creberrima quod *c2* [c] uiri meritum *c2* [d] huius tibi *c2* [e] ingressum *m* [f] tunc *c2*

in spite of all my study of the scriptures, it has long been my custom to entangle myself in vice rather than obey God's commands. But I have made up my mind, if, by the grace of Heaven I am granted any further term of life, to correct my vicious ways and to devote my whole heart and life to obeying the divine will. I know indeed that it will not be through any merits of my own that I shall receive a new lease of life, nor can I hope to receive it unless perhaps God should deign to grant me forgiveness, wretched and unworthy though I am, through the intercession of those who have served him faithfully. Now we have heard a wide-spread report about an extremely holy king of your race named Oswald, and how since his death the occurrence of frequent miracles has borne witness to his outstanding faith and virtue. So I beg you, if you have any of his relics with you, to bring them to me, so that the Lord may perhaps have mercy upon me through his merits." I answered, "I have some of the wooden stake on which his head was fixed by the heathen after he was killed. If you firmly believe with all your heart, God, in His grace, can grant you a longer term of earthly life through the merits of this man and also fit you to enter into eternal life." He at once answered that he had complete faith in it. Then I blessed some water, put a splinter of the oak into it, and gave it to the sick man to drink. He immediately felt better, recovered from his sickness, and lived for many years. He turned to the Lord in heart and deed and, wherever he went, he proclaimed the goodness of the merciful Creator and the glory of His faithful servant.'

CHAPTER XIV

AFTER Oswald had been translated to the heavenly kingdom, his brother Oswiu succeeded to his earthly kingdom in his place, as a young man of about thirty, and ruled for twenty-eight troubled years. He was attacked by the heathen people, the Mercians, who had slain his brother, and in addition, by his own son Alhfrith[1] and his nephew Oethelwald,[2] the son of his brother and predecessor.

In his second year, that is in the year of our Lord 644, the most reverend father Paulinus, once bishop of York and then of Rochester, departed to be with the Lord on 10 October having held the office of bishop for nineteen years, two months, and

[1] See p. 279, n. 3. [2] See p. 286, n. 1.

secretario[1] beati apostoli Andreae, quod[a] rex Aedilberct a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi ciuitate construxit. In cuius locum Honorius archiepiscopus ordinauit Ithamar, oriundum quidem de gente Cantuariorum sed uita et eruditione antecessoribus suis aequandum.

Habuit autem Osuiu primis regni sui temporibus consortem regiae dignitatis, uocabulo Osuini,[2] de stirpe regis Eduini, hoc est filium Osrici, de quo supra rettulimus, uirum eximiae pietatis et
p. 155 religionis, qui / prouinciae Derorum septem annis in maxima omnium rerum affluentia, et ipse amabilis omnibus, praefuit. Sed nec cum eo ille qui ceteram Transhumbranae gentis partem ab aquilone, id est Berniciorum prouinciam, regebat, habere pacem potuit; quin potius, ingrauescentibus causis dissensionum, miserrima hunc caede peremit. Siquidem congregato contra inuicem exercitu, cum uideret se Osuini cum illo, qui plures habebat auxiliarios, non posse bello confligere, ratus est utilius tunc demissa intentione bellandi seruare se ad tempora meliora. Remisit ergo exercitum quem congregauerat, ac singulos domum redire praecepit a loco qui uocatur Uilfaresdun,[3] id est Mons Uilfari, et est a uico Cataractone x ferme milibus[b] passuum contra solstitialem occasum secretus; diuertitque ipse cum uno tantum milite sibi fidissimo, nomine Tondheri, celandus in domum comitis Hunualdi, quem etiam ipsum sibi amicissimum autumabat. Sed heu! pro dolor! longe aliter erat; nam ab eodem comite[4] proditum eum Osuiu cum praefato ipsius milite per praefectum suum Ediluinum detestanda omnibus morte interfecit. Quod factum est die tertia decima kalendarum Septembrium, anno regni eius nono, in loco qui dicitur Ingetlingum; ubi postmodum castigandi huius facinoris gratia monasterium[5] constructum est, in quo pro utriusque regis, et occisi uidelicet et eius qui occidere iussit, animae redemtione cotidie Domino preces offerri deberent.

Erat autem rex Osuini et aspectu uenustus et statura sublimis et affatu iucundus et moribus ciuilis et manu omnibus, id est nobilibus simul atque ignobilibus, largus; unde contigit ut ob
p. 156 regiam eius et / animi et uultus et meritorum dignitatem ab omnibus diligeretur, et undique ad eius ministerium de cunctis prope

[a] *So the Hatton MS.; our early authorities all apparently read* quam
[b] milia *c2*

[1] See p. 132, n. 1.

[2] He was the son of that Osric who reverted to paganism and was killed by Cadwallon (iii. 1). During Oswald's reign Bernicia and Deira were united, but were divided again after Oswald's death, between Oswine and Oswiu. Oswine was canonized after his death, probably as a result of Bede's encomiums. His burial place at Tynemouth was a famous sanctuary church in the Middle Ages.

twenty-one days. He was buried in the sanctuary[1] of the church of the blessed apostle Andrew, which King Æthelberht had built from its foundations at Rochester. In his place Archbishop Honorius consecrated Ithamar, a man of Kentish extraction but the equal of his predecessors in learning and in holiness of life.

At the beginning of his reign Oswiu had as a partner in the royal dignity a man called Oswine,[2] of the family of King Edwin, a son of Osric who has already been mentioned. He was a man of great piety and religion and ruled the kingdom of Deira for seven years in the greatest prosperity, beloved by all. But Oswiu, who ruled over the rest of the northern land beyond the Humber, that is the kingdom of Bernicia, could not live at peace with him. The causes of dissension increased so greatly that Oswiu cruelly made an end of him. Each raised an army against the other but Oswine, realizing that he could not fight against an enemy with far greater resources, considered it wiser to give up the idea of war and wait for better times. So he disbanded the army which he had assembled at a place called *Wilfaræsdun*,[3] that is the hill of Wilfare, about ten miles north-west of the village of Catterick. He went with one faithful thegn named Tondhere and hid in the home of a *gesith* named Hunwold, whom he believed to be his friend. But alas, it was quite otherwise. The *gesith*[4] betrayed him to Oswiu who caused him to be foully murdered, together with his thegn, by a reeve called Æthelwine. This happened on 20 August, in the ninth year of his reign at a place called Gilling. There in after days, to atone for his crime, a monastery[5] was built in which prayers were to be offered daily to the Lord for the redemption of the souls of both kings, the murdered king and the one who ordered the murder.

King Oswine was tall and handsome, pleasant of speech, courteous in manner, and bountiful to nobles and commons alike; so it came about that he was beloved by all because of the royal dignity which showed itself in his character, his appearance, and his actions; and noblemen from almost every kingdom flocked to

[3] This place has not been identified.

[4] The betrayal of a lord by a *gesith* or thegn was one of the greatest crimes against the Germanic code of honour.

[5] It was built at Queen Eanflæd's request (iii. 24). The first abbot, Trumhere, was a kinsman of the murdered king. Abbot Ceolfrith entered this monastery as a novice and so would be very familiar with the story of Oswine. *HAA*, Plummer, I. 388.

prouinciis uiri etiam nobilissimi concurrerent.[1] Cuius inter ceteras uirtutis et modestiae et, ut ita dicam, specialis benedictionis glorias etiam maxima fuisse fertur humilitas, ut uno probare sat erit exemplo.

Donauerat equum optimum antistiti Aidano, in quo ille, quamuis ambulare solitus, uel amnium fluenta transire uel, si alia quaelibet necessitas insisteret, uiam peragere posset. Cui cum paruo interiecto tempore pauper quidam occurreret elimosynam petens, desiliens ille praecepit equum, ita ut erat stratus regaliter, pauperi dari; erat enim multum misericors et cultor pauperum ac uelut pater miserorum. Hoc cum regi esset relatum, dicebat episcopo, cum forte ingressuri essent ad prandium: 'Quid uoluisti, domine antistes, equum regium, quem te conueniebat proprium habere, pauperi dare? Numquid non habuimus equos uiliores plurimos, uel alias species quae ad pauperum dona sufficerent, quamuis illum eis equum[a] non dares, quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi?' Cui statim episcopus 'Quid loqueris' inquit, 'rex? Num tibi carior est ille filius equae quam ille filius Dei?'[2] Quibus dictis intrabant ad prandendum. Et episcopus quidem residebat in suo loco; porro rex (uenerat enim de uenatu) coepit consistens ad focum calefieri cum ministris, et repente inter calefaciendum recordans uerbum quod dixerat illi antistes, discinxit se gladio suo et dedit illum ministro, festinusque accedens ante pedes episcopi conruit, postulans ut sibi placatus esset, 'quia numquam' inquit 'deinceps aliquid loquar de hoc aut iudicabo quid uel quantum de pecunia nostra filiis Dei tribuas.' Quod
p. 157 uidens episcopus, / multum pertimuit, ac statim exsurgens leuauit eum, promittens se[b] multum illi esse placatum, dummodo ille residens ad epulas tristitiam deponeret. Dumque rex, iubente ac postulante episcopo, laetitiam reciperet, coepit econtra episcopus tristis usque ad lacrimarum profusionem effici. Quem dum presbyter suus lingua patria, quam rex et domestici eius non nouerant, quare lacrimaretur interrogasset, 'Scio' inquit 'quia non multo tempore uicturus est rex; numquam enim ante haec uidi humilem regem. Vnde animaduerto illum citius ex hac uita rapiendum; non enim digna est haec gens talem habere rectorem.' Nec multo post dira antistitis praesagia tristi regis funere, de quo supra

[a] equum *om. c2* [b] eum *c2*

[1] It was usual for Germanic kings who had a warlike reputation to attract to their retinues young men from other nations and courts.

[2] Referring of course to the beggar.

serve him as retainers.[1] Among all the other graces of virtue and modesty with which, if I may say so, he was blessed in a special manner, his humility is said to have been the greatest, as a single example is enough to prove.

He had given Bishop Aidan an excellent horse so that, though he was normally accustomed to walk, he could ride if he had to cross a river or if any other urgent necessity compelled him. A short time afterwards Aidan was met by a beggar who asked him for an alms. He at once alighted and offered the horse with all its royal trappings to the beggar; for he was extremely compassionate, a friend of the poor and a real father to the wretched. The king was told of this and, happening to meet the bishop as they were going to dinner, he said, 'My lord bishop, why did you want to give a beggar the royal horse intended for you? Have we not many less valuable horses or other things which would have been good enough to give to the poor, without letting the beggar have the horse which I had specially chosen for your own use?' The bishop at once replied, 'O King, what are you saying? Surely this son of a mare is not dearer to you than that son of God?'[2] After these words they went in to dine. The bishop sat down in his own place and the king, who had just come in from hunting, stood warming himself by the fire with his thegns. Suddenly he remembered the bishop's words; at once he took off his sword, gave it to a thegn, and then hastening to where the bishop sat, threw himself at his feet and asked his pardon. 'Never from henceforth', he said, 'will I speak of this again nor will I form any opinion as to what money of mine or how much of it you should give to the sons of God.' When the bishop saw this he was greatly alarmed; he got up immediately and raised the king to his feet, declaring that he would be perfectly satisfied if only the king would banish his sorrow and sit down to the feast. The king, in accordance with the bishop's entreaties and commands, recovered his spirits, but the bishop, on the other hand, grew sadder and sadder and at last began to shed tears. Thereupon a priest asked him in his native tongue, which the king and his thegns did not understand, why he was weeping, and Aidan answered, 'I know that the king will not live long; for I never before saw a humble king. Therefore I think that he will very soon be snatched from this life; for this nation does not deserve to have such a ruler.' Not long after, the bishop's gloomy forebodings were fulfilled in the sad death of the king

diximus, impleta sunt. Sed et ipse antistes Aidan non plus quam XII post occisionem regis, quem amabat, die, id est pridie kalendas Septembres, de saeculo ablatus[a] perpetua laborum suorum a Domino praemia recepit.

XV

QUI cuius meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit, e quibus tria memoriae causa ponere satis sit. Presbyter quidam nomine Utta,[1] multae grauitatis ac ueritatis uir, et ob id omnibus etiam ipsis principibus saeculi honorabilis, cum mitteretur Cantiam ob adducendam inde coniugem regi Osuio, filiam uidelicet Eduini regis Eanfledam, quae[b] occiso patre illuc fuerat adducta, qui terrestri quidem itinere illo uenire sed nauigio cum
p. 158 uirgine / redire disponebat, accessit ad episcopum Aidanum, obsecrans eum pro se suisque, qui tantum iter erant adgressuri, Domino supplicare. Qui benedicens illos ac Domino commendans, dedit etiam oleum sanctificatum, 'Scio' inquiens 'quia,[c] ubi nauem ascenderitis, tempestas uobis et uentus contrarius superueniet; sed tu memento ut hoc oleum, quod tibi do, mittas in mare, et statim quiescentibus uentis serenitas maris uos laeta prosequetur, ac cupito itinere domum remittet.' Quae cuncta, ut praedixerat antistes, ex ordine conpleta sunt; et quidem inprimis furentibus undis pelagi temtabant nautae anchoris in mare missis nauem retinere, neque hoc agentes aliquid proficiebant. Cumque uerrentibus undique et implere incipientibus nauem fluctibus, mortem sibi omnes inminere et iamiamque adesse uiderent, tandem presbyter reminiscens uerba antistitis adsumta ampulla misit de oleo in pontum, et statim, ut praedictum erat, suo quieuit a feruore. Sicque factum est ut uir Dei et per prophetiae spiritum tempestatem praedixerit futuram, et per uirtutem eiusdem spiritus hanc exortam, quamuis corporaliter absens, sopiuerit. Cuius ordinem miraculi non quilibet dubius relator sed fidelissimus mihi nostrae ecclesiae presbyter, Cynimund[2] uocabulo, narrauit, qui se hoc ab ipso Utta presbytero, in quo et per quem conpletum est, audisse perhibebat.

[a] sublatus *c2* [b] quia *c2* [c] quod *c*

[1] Utta later became abbot of a monastery at Gateshead (iii. 21).

[2] Cynemund is a fairly common name and occurs eleven times in the *Liber Vitae* (see p. 454, n. 1). A Cynemund at Lindisfarne testifies to a miracle associated with Cuthbert (*VP*, *c.* 36), but it is not likely to be the same man.

which we have already described. Bishop Aidan only lived for twelve days after the murder of the king whom he loved; for he was taken from the world on 31 August and received from the Lord the eternal reward of his labours.

CHAPTER XV

He who judges the heart showed by signs and miracles what Aidan's merits were, and of these miracles it will be enough to set down three, which deserve to be remembered. There was a certain priest named Utta,[1] a man of great worth and sincerity and accordingly honoured by all, including the secular rulers; he was sent to Kent to bring back Eanflæd to be Oswiu's queen. She was the daughter of Edwin and had been taken away there when her father was killed. Utta intended to travel to Kent by land but to return with the maiden by sea; so he went to Bishop Aidan and begged him to pray to the Lord for himself and those who were to make the long journey with him. Aidan blessed them, commended them to the Lord, and gave them some holy oil, saying, 'I know that when you board your ship, you will meet storms and contrary winds; but remember to pour the oil I have given you on to the sea; the winds will drop at once, the sea will become calm and serene and will bring you home the way you wish.' All this happened just as the bishop had foretold; at first the sea was stormy and the sailors attempted to hold the ship by throwing out the anchor, but all to no purpose. The waves swept over the ship from all sides; the vessel began to fill and they all realized that death was imminent and that their last hour had come, when the priest, remembering the bishop's words, took out the flask and poured some of the oil into the sea. At once, as Aidan had predicted, the sea calmed down. So it came to pass that the man of God foretold the tempest by the spirit of prophecy, and, by virtue of the same spirit, calmed it when it had arisen, although he was absent in body. I heard the story of this miracle from no dubious source, but from a most trustworthy priest of our church named Cynemund,[2] who declared that he had heard it from the priest Utta on whom and through whom the miracle was wrought.

XVI

ALIUD eiusdem patris memorabile miraculum ferunt multi, qui nosse potuerunt. Nam tempore episcopatus eius hostilis Merciorum exercitus Penda duce Nordanhymbrorum regiones impia clade longe lateque deuastans peruenit ad urbem usque regiam,
p. 159 quae ex / Bebbae quondam reginae uocabulo cognominatur, eamque, quia[a] neque armis neque obsidione capere poterat, flammis absumere conatus est; discissisque uiculis quos in uicinia urbis inuenit, aduexit illo plurimam congeriem trabium, tignorum, parietum uirgeorum et tecti fenei, et his urbem in magna altitudine circumdedit a parte, qua terrae est contigua, et dum uentum oportunum cerneret, inlato igne conburere urbem nisus est. Quo tempore reuerentissimus antistes Aidan in insula Farne,[1] quae duobus ferme milibus passuum ab urbe procul abest, morabatur. Illo enim saepius secretae orationis et silentii causa secedere consuerat; denique usque hodie locum sedis illius solitariae in eadem insula solent ostendere. Qui cum uentis ferentibus globos ignis ac fumum supra muros urbis exaltari conspiceret, fertur eleuatis ad caelum oculis manibusque cum lacrimis dixisse: 'Vide, Domine, quanta mala facit Penda.'[2] Quo dicto statim mutati ab urbe uenti in eos, qui accenderant, flammarum incendia retorserunt, ita ut aliquot laesi, omnes territi, inpugnare ultra urbem cessarent, quam diuinitus iuuari[b] cognouerant.

XVII

HUNC cum dies mortis egredi e[c] corpore cogeret, conpletis annis episcopatus sui XVII erat in uilla regia non longe ab urbe, de qua praefati sumus. In hac enim habens ecclesiam et cubiculum, saepius ibidem diuerti ac manere atque inde ad praedicandum
p. 160 circumquaque exire consueuerat; quod ipsum et in / aliis uillis regiis facere solebat, utpote nil[d] propriae possessionis excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens. Tetenderunt ergo ei egrotanti tentorium ad occidentalem ecclesiae partem, ita ut ipsum

[a] quam *c2* [b] iuuare *c2* [c] de *c2* [d] nihil *c2*

[1] The largest of a group of seventeen islands known as the Inner and Outer Farnes. The island is about two miles from Bamburgh and seven miles from Lindisfarne. It became famous as the scene of Cuthbert's hermitage (iv. 28).

[2] This and the incident in the next chapter show that Penda had made attacks on Oswiu before his final and fatal attempt to conquer him (iii. 24).

CHAPTER XVI

ANOTHER memorable miracle is related about Aidan by many who were in a position to know. During the time of his episcopate a hostile Mercian army, under the leadership of Penda, which had been cruelly devastating the kingdom of Northumbria far and wide, reached the royal city called after a former queen Bebbe (Bamburgh). As he could not capture it by assault or siege, he attempted to set it on fire. He pulled down all the steadings which he found in the neighbourhood of the town and brought thither a vast heap of beams, rafters, walls of wattles, and thatched roofs, and built them up to an immense height around that side of the city which faced the land; then when a favourable wind arose, he set it on fire in an attempt to burn the town. At that time the reverend Bishop Aidan was staying on Farne Island,[1] which is less than two miles from the city. He often used to retire there to pray in solitude and silence; in fact the site of his solitary habitation is shown on the island to this day. When he saw the tongues of flame and the smoke being carried by the winds right above the city walls, the story goes that he raised his eyes and hands towards heaven and said with tears, 'Oh Lord, see how much evil Penda is doing.'[2] As soon as he had uttered these words, the winds veered away from the city and carried the flames in the direction of those who had kindled them, so that, as some of them were hurt and all of them terrified, they ceased to make any further attempt on the city, realizing that it was divinely protected.

CHAPTER XVII

AT the time when death came upon him, after completing seventeen years as bishop, Aidan was on a royal estate, not far away from the city of which we have been speaking. Here he had a church and a cell where he often used to go and stay, travelling about in the neighbourhood to preach. He did the same on the other royal estates; for he had no possessions of his own except the church and a small piece of land around it. They erected a tent for him during his illness, at the west end of the church, the tent itself being attached to the church wall. So it happened that he

tentorium parieti hereret ecclesiae; unde factum est, ut adclinis destinae,[1] quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita, spiritum uitae exhalaret ultimum. Obiit autem septimo decimo episcopatus sui anno, pridie kalendarum Septembrium. Cuius corpus mox inde translatum ad insulam Lindisfarnensium, atque in cymiterio fratrum sepultum est. At interiecto tempore aliquanto, cum fabricata esset ibi basilica maior atque in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis dedicata, illo ossa eius translata atque ad dexteram altaris iuxta uenerationem tanto pontifice dignam condita[a] sunt.

Successit uero ei in episcopatum Finan,[2] et ipse illo ab Hii Scottorum insula ac monasterio destinatus, ac tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit. Contigit autem post aliquot annos, ut Penda Merciorum rex, cum hostili exercitu haec in loca perueniens, cum cuncta quae poterat ferro flammaque perderet, uicus quoque ille, in quo antistes obiit, una cum ecclesia memorata flammis absumeretur. Sed mirum in modum sola illa destina, cui incumbens obiit, ab ignibus circum cuncta uorantibus absumi non potuit. Quo clarescente miraculo, mox ibidem ecclesia restaurata, et haec eadem destina in munimentum est parietis, ut ante fuerat, forinsecus adposita. Rursumque peracto tempore aliquanto, euenit per culpam incuriae uicum eundem et ipsam pariter ecclesiam ignibus consumi. Sed ne tunc quidem eandem[b] tangere flamma destinam ualebat, et cum magno utique miraculo ipsa eius foramina ingrediens, quibus aedificio erat adfixa, perederet, ipsam
p. 161 tamen ledere nullatenus sinebatur. Vnde tertio / aedificata ibi ecclesia, destinam illam non, ut antea, deforis in fulcimentum domus adposuerunt, sed intro ipsam ecclesiam in memoriam miraculi posuerunt, ubi intrantes genu flectere ac misericordiae caelesti supplicare deberent. Constatque multos ex eo tempore gratiam sanitatis in eodem loco consecutos; quin etiam astulis ex ipsa destina excisis et in aquam missis, plures sibi suisque languorum remedia conquisiere.

Scripsi autem haec de persona et operibus uiri praefati, nequaquam in eo laudans aut eligens hoc, quod de obseruatione paschae minus perfecte sapiebat; immo hoc multum detestans, sicut in libro quem de Temporibus conposui manifestissime probaui; sed quasi uerax historicus simpliciter ea, quae de illo siue per illum sunt gesta, describens et quae laude sunt digna in eius actibus

[a] custodita *c2* [b] eandem *om. c2*

[1] This would be made of wood like the rest of the church.
[2] He was bishop from 651 to 661.

breathed his last, leaning against the buttress[1] which supported the church on the outside. He died on 31 August, in the seventeenth year of his episcopate. His body was shortly afterwards translated to the island of Lindisfarne and buried in the cemetery of the brothers. Some time afterwards, when a larger church had been built there and dedicated in honour of the most blessed chief of the apostles, his bones were translated to it and buried on the right side of the altar, with the honour due to so great a bishop.

Finan,[2] who had also been sent from the Irish island monastery of Iona, succeeded him in the bishopric, and remained bishop for no short time. Now it happened a few years afterwards that Penda, king of Mercia, came with a hostile army to these parts destroying everything he could with fire and sword; and the village in which the bishop had died, together with the church just mentioned, was burnt down. But it was astonishing that the buttress alone, against which the bishop had been leaning when he died, could not be devoured by the flames though they destroyed everything around it. When the fame of the miracle spread, the church was speedily restored in the same place and the buttress was placed outside as before to strengthen the walls. Shortly afterwards it happened that the same village and church were again burned down, this time through culpable carelessness. But on this occasion too the flames could not touch the buttress. The miracle was such that, though the flames had entered the very nail holes by which it was attached to the building, yet they could not injure the buttress itself. So when the church was rebuilt for the third time, they put the buttress, not outside as before to support the structure, but inside the church itself as a memorial of the miracle, so that people entering the church could kneel there and ask for God's mercy. Since that time many are known to have obtained the grace of healing at this place; and by cutting splinters from the buttress and putting them into water, they have found the means of curing the sicknesses of themselves and their friends.

I have written these things about the character and work of Aidan, not by any means commending or praising his lack of knowledge in the matter of the observance of Easter; indeed I heartily detest it, as I have clearly shown in the book which I wrote called *De Temporibus*, but, as a truthful historian, I have described in a straightforward manner those things which were

laudans, atque ad utilitatem legentium memoriae commendans: studium uidelicet pacis et caritatis, continentiae et humilitatis; animum irae et auaritiae uictorem, superbiae simul et uanae gloriae contemtorem; industriam faciendi simul et docendi mandata caelestia; sollertiam lectionis et uigiliarum; auctoritatem sacerdote dignam redarguendi superbos ac potentes; pariter et infirmos consolandi ac pauperes recreandi uel defendendi clementiam. Qui, ut breuiter multa conprehendam, quantum ab eis qui illum nouere didicimus, nil ex omnibus, quae in euangelicis siue apostolicis siue propheticis litteris facienda cognouerat, praetermittere, sed cuncta pro suis uiribus operibus explere curabat. Haec in praefato antistite multum conplector et amo, quia nimirum haec Deo placuisse non ambigo. Quod autem pascha non suo tempore obseruabat, uel canonicum eius tempus ignorans uel suae gentis auctoritate ne agnitum sequeretur deuictus, non
p. 162 adprobo nec laudo. In quo / tamen hoc adprobo, quia[a] in celebratione sui paschae non aliud corde tenebat, uenerabatur et praedicabat quam quod nos, id est, redemtionem generis humani per passionem, resurrectionem, ascensionem in caelos mediatoris Dei et hominum hominis Iesu Christi.[1] Vnde et hanc non, ut quidam falso opinantur, quarta decima luna in qualibet feria cum Iudaeis sed die dominica semper agebat a luna quarta decima usque ad uicesimam, propter fidem uidelicet dominicae resurrectionis, quam una sabbati factam, propterque spem nostrae resurrectionis, quam eadem una sabbati, quae nunc dominica dies dicitur, ueraciter futuram cum sancta ecclesia credebat.[2]

XVIII

His temporibus regno Orientalium Anglorum post Erpualdum Redualdi successorem Sigberct[3] frater eius praefuit, homo bonus ac religiosus, qui dudum in Gallia, dum inimicitias Redualdi fugiens exularet, lauacrum baptismi percepit, et patriam reuersus, ubi regno potitus est, mox ea, quae in Gallis bene disposita uidit, imitari[c] cupiens instituit scholam, in qua pueri litteris erudirentur,

[a] quod *c2* [b] opinentur *c2* [c] imitare *c2*

[1] 1 Tim. 2: 5.

[2] St. Gregory also expresses the belief that the general resurrection will take place on a Sunday. *Hom. in. Ezech.* II. 4, *PL.* LXXVI. 973.

[3] King of the East Angles. He came to the throne in 630 or 631 and was brother or half-brother of King Eorpwold. For a further discussion of this confused dynasty see F. M. Stenton, 'The East Anglian Kings of the Seventh Century', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 43–52.

done by him or through him, praising such of his qualities as are worthy of praise and preserving their memory for the benefit of my readers. Such were his love of peace and charity, temperance and humility; his soul which triumphed over anger and greed and at the same time despised pride and vainglory; his industry in carrying out and teaching the divine commandments, his diligence in study and keeping vigil, his authority, such as became a priest, in reproving the proud and the mighty, and his tenderness in comforting the weak, in relieving and protecting the poor. To put it briefly, so far as one can learn from those who knew him, he made it his business to omit none of the commands of the evangelists, the apostles, and the prophets, but he set himself to carry them out in his deeds, so far as he was able. All these things I greatly admire and love in this bishop and I have no doubt that all this was pleasing to God. But I neither praise nor approve of him in so far as he did not observe Easter at the proper time, either because he was ignorant of the canonical time or because, if he knew it, he was compelled by the force of public opinion not to follow it. But, nevertheless, I do approve of this, that in his celebration of Easter he had no other thought in his heart, he reverenced and preached no other doctrine than we do, namely the redemption of the human race by the passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven of the one mediator between God and men, even the man Christ Jesus.[1] And therefore he always kept Easter, not as some falsely believe, on the fourteenth day of the moon, like the Jews, no matter what the day of the week was, but on the Lord's Day which fell between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon. He did this because of his belief that the resurrection of our Lord took place on the first day of the week and also in hope of our resurrection which he, together with holy Church, believed would undoubtedly happen on this same first day of the week now called the Lord's Day.[2]

CHAPTER XVIII

About this time, Sigeberht[3] came to the throne of East Anglia after the death of his brother Eorpwold, who was Rædwald's successor. Sigeberht was a good and religious man and had long been in exile in Gaul, while he was fleeing from the enmity of Rædwald. It was here that he received baptism and, when he

iuuante se episcopo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque pedagogos ac magistros iuxta morem Cantuariorum praebente. Tantumque rex ille caelestis regni amator factus est, ut ad ultimum, relictis regni negotiis et cognato suo Ecgrice commendatis, qui et antea partem eiusdem regni tenebat, intraret monasterium, quod sibi fecerat, atque accepta tonsura pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret. Quod dum multo tempore faceret, contigit /
p. 163 gentem Merciorum duce rege Penda aduersus Orientales Anglos in bellum procedere, qui dum se inferiores in bello hostibus conspicerent, rogauerunt Sigberctum ad confirmandum militem secum uenire in proelium. Illo nolente ac contradicente, inuitum monasterio eruentes duxerunt in certamen, sperantes minus animos militum trepidare, minus praesente duce quondam strenuissimo et eximio posse fugam meditari. Sed ipse professionis suae non inmemor, dum opimo esset uallatus exercitu, nonnisi uirgam tantum habere in manu uoluit; occisusque est una cum rege Ecgrice,[1] et cunctus eorum insistentibus paganis caesus siue dispersus exercitus.

Successor autem regni illorum factus est Anna filius Eni de regio genere, uir optimus atque optimae genitor sobolis, de quibus in sequentibus suo tempore dicendum est; qui et ipse postea ab eodem pagano Merciorum duce, a quo et prodecessores[a] eius, occisus est.

XVIIII

VERUM dum adhuc Sigberct regni infulas teneret, superuenit de Hibernia uir sanctus nomine Furseus,[2] uerbo et actibus clarus sed et egregiis insignis uirtutibus, cupiens pro Domino, ubicumque sibi oportunum inueniret, peregrinam ducere uitam. Qui cum ad prouinciam Orientalium peruenisset Anglorum,[b] susceptus est honorifice a rege praefato, et solitum sibi opus euangelizandi exsequens, multos et exemplo uirtutis et incitamento sermonis uel
p. 164 incredulos ad Christum / conuertit uel iam credentes amplius in fide atque amore Christi confirmauit.

[a] prodecessor *c2* [b] Anglorum peruenisset *c2*

[1] A kinsman of Sigeberht who seems to have been either a joint king or subking of East Anglia during some part or perhaps the whole of Eorpwold's reign. The date of the battle in which both were killed is unknown.

[2] This account of St. Fursa is based upon a Latin Life of unknown authorship. (See *MGH, SRM*, IV. 423–40) He was a bishop when he came to England some time after 630. Like many other Irishmen he made the supreme sacrifice by leaving his country as a *peregrinus pro amore Dei*. For most of them this

returned to his own land to become king, he at once sought to imitate some of the excellent institutions which he had seen in Gaul, and established a school where boys could be taught letters, with the help of Bishop Felix, who had come to him from Kent and who provided him with masters and teachers as in the Kentish school. So greatly did he love the kingdom of heaven that at last he resigned his kingly office and entrusted it to his kinsman Ecgric, who had previously ruled over part of the kingdom. He thereupon entered a monastery which he himself had founded. He received the tonsure and made it his business to fight instead for the heavenly kingdom. When he had been in the monastery for some considerable time, it happened that the East Anglians were attacked by the Mercians under their King Penda. As the East Anglians realized that they were no match for their enemies, they asked Sigeberht to go into the fight with them in order to inspire the army with confidence. He was unwilling and refused, so they dragged him to the fight from the monastery, in the hope that the soldiers would be less afraid and less ready to flee if they had with them one who was once their most vigorous and distinguished leader. But remembering his profession and surrounded though he was by a splendid army, he refused to carry anything but a staff in his hand. He was killed together with King Ecgric,[1] and the whole army was either slain or scattered by the heathen attacks.

Their successor on the throne was Anna, son of Eni, an excellent man of royal descent and the father of a distinguished family, whom we must speak of again in the proper place; he also was slain later on, like his predecessors, by the heathen Mercian leader.

CHAPTER XIX

WHILE Sigeberht was still ruling, there came a holy man from Ireland called Fursa;[2] he was renowned in word and deed and remarkable for his singular virtues. He was anxious to live the life of a pilgrim for the Lord's sake, wherever opportunity offered. When he came to the kingdom of the East Angles, he was honourably received by the king and followed his usual task of preaching the gospel. Thus he converted many both by the example of his virtues and the persuasiveness of his teaching, turning unbelievers to Christ and confirming believers in His faith and love.

voluntary exile lasted for life. See L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, pp. 129 ff., Plummer, II. 170–1, and *BLTW*, p. 137 and note.

Vbi quadam infirmitate corporis arreptus, angelica meruit uisione perfrui, in qua admonitus est coepto Verbi ministerio sedulus insistere, uigiliisque consuetis et orationibus indefessus incumbere, eo quod certus sibi exitus sed incerta eiusdem exitus esset hora futura, dicente Domino: 'Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem neque horam.'[1] Qua uisione confirmatus, curauit locum monasterii, quem a praefato rege Sigbercto acceperat, uelocissime construere ac regularibus instituere disciplinis. Erat autem monasterium siluarum et maris uicinitate amoenum, constructum in castro quodam quod[a] lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg, id est Vrbs Cnobheri, uocatur;[2] quod deinde rex prouinciae illius Anna ac nobiles quique augustioribus aedificiis ac donariis adornarunt.

Erat autem uir iste de nobilissimo genere Scottorum, sed longe animo quam carne nobilior. Ab ipso tempore pueritiae suae curam non modicam lectionibus sacris simul et monasticis exhibebat disciplinis et, quod maxime sanctos decet, cuncta quae agenda didicerat sollicitus agere curabat. Quid multa? Procedente tempore et ipse sibi monasterium, in quo liberius caelestibus studiis uacaret, construxit; ubi correptus infirmitate, sicut libellus de uita eius conscriptus sufficienter edocet, raptus est e corpore,[3] et[b] a uespera usque ad galli cantum corpore exutus, angelicorum agminum et aspectus intueri et laudes beatas meruit audire. Referre autem erat solitus,[c] quod aperte eos inter alia resonare audiret: 'Ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem', et iterum 'Videbitur Deus deorum in Sion'[4]. Qui reductus in corpore, et die
p. 165 tertia / rursum eductus, uidit non solum maiora beatorum gaudia sed et maxima malignorum spirituum certamina, qui crebris accusationibus inprobi iter illi caeleste intercludere contendebant, nec tamen, protegentibus eum angelis, quicquam proficiebant. De quibus omnibus siqui plenius scire uult, id est, quanta fraudis sollertia daemones et actus eius et uerba superflua et ipsas etiam cogitationes quasi in libro descriptas replicauerint, quae ab angelis sanctis, quae a uiris iustis sibi inter angelos apparentibus laeta uel tristia cognouerit, legat ipsum de quo dixi libellum uitae eius, et multum ex illo, ut reor, profectus spiritalis accipiet.

[a] qui *c2* [b] et *om. c* [c] solitus erat *c2*

[1] Matth. 25: 13.

[2] It was by no means rare for monasteries to be established in Roman ruins, e.g. Bass's monastery at Reculver (*ASC*, *s.a.* 669) and Cedd's at Othona (iii. 22). Also *Tumnacæstir* (iv. 22) and *Kælcacæstir* (iv. 23). Monasteries in these ruins could be quickly constructed and the wall of the fort would serve as outside rampart or cashel. See Introduction, p. xxv.

[3] Fursa's visions of the next world, like those of Dryhthelm (v. 12), were very popular throughout the Middle Ages, and separate manuscript copies were often made of them.

[4] Ps. 83 (84): 8.

Once when he was suffering from an illness, he was counted worthy to enjoy a vision of angels, in which he was directed to maintain diligently the task that he had undertaken of ministering the Word, and to continue to watch and pray and not be weary, because death was certain but the hour of death uncertain, as the Lord said, 'Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour.'[1] After he had been strengthened by the vision, he set himself with all speed to build a monastery on a site which he had received from King Sigeberht and to establish there the observance of a Rule. Now the monastery was pleasantly situated close to the woods and the sea, in a Roman camp which is called in English *Cnobheresburg*, that is the city of Cnobhere (Burgh Castle).[2] The king of that realm, Anna, and his nobles afterwards endowed it with still finer buildings and gifts.

He was a man of very noble Irish race, but still nobler in spirit than by birth. From his boyhood's days he had devoted all his energy to the study of sacred books and to the monastic discipline; furthermore, as a saint should, he earnestly sought to do whatever he learned to be his duty. What more need be said? As time went on he built a monastery for himself where he could more freely devote himself to his divine studies. On one occasion when he was attacked by illness, as his Life fully describes, he was snatched from the body;[3] he quitted it from evening to cock-crow and during that time he was privileged to gaze upon the angelic hosts and to listen to their blessed songs of praise. He used to say that he heard them sing among other songs, 'The saints shall go from strength to strength', and again, 'The God of gods shall be seen in Sion'.[4] He returned to his body and, two days afterwards, was taken out of it a second time and saw not only the very great joys of the blessed but also the fierce onslaughts of the evil spirits who, by their manifold accusations, wickedly sought to prevent his journey to heaven; but they failed utterly for he was protected by angels. If anyone wishes to know more of these matters, let him read the book I have mentioned and I think that he will gain great spiritual benefit from it. There he will learn with what subtlety and deceit the devils reported Fursa's deeds, his idle words, and his very thoughts, just as if they had written them down in a book; and the joyful and sad things that he learned both from the angels and from the righteous men who appeared to him in the company of the angels.

In quibus tamen unum est, quod et nos in hac historia ponere multis commodum duximus. Cum ergo in altum esset elatus, iussus est ab angelis, qui eum ducebant, respicere in mundum. At ille oculos in inferiora deflectens, uidit quasi uallem tenebrosam subtus se in imo positam, uidit et quattuor ignes in aere non multo abinuicem spatio distantes. Et interrogans angelos, qui essent hi ignes, audiuit hos esse ignes qui mundum succendentes essent consumturi: unum mendacii, cum hoc quod in baptismo abrenuntiare nos Satanae et omnibus operibus eius promisimus minime inplemus; alterum cupiditatis, cum mundi diuitias amori caelestium praeponimus; tertium dissensionis, cum animos proximorum etiam in superuacuis rebus offendere non formidamus; quartum[a] impietatis, cum infirmiores spoliare et eis fraudem facere pro nihilo ducimus. Crescentes uero paulatim ignes usque adinuicem sese extenderunt, atque in inmensam adunati sunt flammam; cumque adpropinquassent, pertimescens ille dicit angelo: 'Domine, ecce ignis mihi adpropinquat.' At ille 'Quod non incendisti' inquit 'non ardebit in te;[1] nam etsi terribilis
p. 166 iste ac / grandis esse rogus uidetur, tamen iuxta merita operum singulos examinat, quia uniuscuiusque cupiditas in hoc igni ardebit. Sicut enim quis ardet in corpore per inlicitam uoluptatem, ita solutus corpore ardebit per debitam poenam.' Tunc uidit unum de tribus angelis, qui sibi in tota utraque uisione ductores adfuerunt,[b] praecedentem ignes flammae diuidere, et duos ab utroque latere circumuolantes ab ignium se periculo defendere. Vidit autem et daemones per ignem uolantes incendia bellorum contra iustos struere. Sequuntur aduersus ipsum accusationes malignorum, defensiones spirituum bonorum, copiosior caelestium agminum uisio; sed et uirorum de sua natione sanctorum, quos olim sacerdotii gradu non ignobiliter potitos fama iam uulgante conpererat, a quibus non pauca, quae uel ipsi uel omnibus qui audire uellent multum salubria essent, audiuit. Qui cum uerba finissent et cum angelicis spiritibus ipsi quoque ad caelos redirent, remanserunt cum beato Furseo tres angeli, de quibus diximus, qui eum ad corpus referrent. Cumque praefato igni maximo adpropiarent, diuisit quidem angelus, sicut prius, ignem flammae. Sed uir Dei ubi ad patefactam usque inter flammas ianuam

[a] *The early MSS. all read* quartus, *as in Bede's source, the Life of St. Fursey*
[b] adfuerant *c2*

[1] Isa. 43: 2.

But there is one of these incidents which we have thought it might be helpful to many to include in this history. When Fursa had been taken up to a great height, he was told by the angels who were conducting him to look back at the world. As he looked down, he saw some kind of dark valley immediately beneath him and four fires in the air, not very far from one another. When he asked the angels what these fires were, he was told that they were the fires which were to kindle and consume the world. One of them is falsehood, when we do not fulfil our promise to renounce Satan and all his works as we undertook to do at our baptism; the second is covetousness, when we put the love of riches before the love of heavenly things; the third is discord, when we do not fear to offend our neighbours even in trifling matters; the fourth is injustice, when we think it a small thing to despoil and defraud the weak. Gradually these fires grew together and merged into one vast conflagration. As it approached him, he cried out in fear to the angel, 'Look, sir, the fire is coming near me.' But the angel answered, 'That which you did not kindle will not burn you;[1] for although the conflagration seems great and terrible, it tests each man according to his deserts, and the evil desires of everyone will be burned away in this fire. For just as in the body a man burns with illicit pleasures, so when he is free from the body, he makes due atonement by burning.' Then he saw one of the three angels who had been his guides throughout both visions go forward and divide the flames, while the other two flew on each side of him to defend him from the peril of the conflagration. He also saw devils flying through the flames and stirring up fires of hostility against the righteous. There follow, in the book, the accusations of the evil spirits against himself, the defence of the good spirits, and a fuller vision of the heavenly hosts, as well as of the saints of his own nation, whose names he knew by repute and who had been devoted priests in days gone by. From them he learned many things valuable both to himself and to those who might be willing to listen. When they had finished speaking and had returned to heaven in their turn with the angelic spirits, the three angels we have mentioned remained with Fursa to restore him to his body. When they approached the conflagration, the angel, as before, parted the flames. But when the man of God came to the passage opened up in the midst of the fire, the evil spirits seized one of those who were burning in the flames, hurled

peruenit, arripientes inmundi spiritus unum de eis, quos in ignibus torrebant, iactauerunt in eum, et contingentes humerum maxillamque eius incenderunt; cognouitque hominem, et quia uestimentum eius morientis acceperit, ad memoriam reduxit. Quem angelus sanctus statim adprehendens in ignem reiecit; dicebatque hostis malignus: 'Nolite repellere quem ante suscepistis; nam sicut bona eius peccatoris suscepistis, ita et de poenis eius participes esse debetis.' Contradicens angelus 'Non' inquit 'propter auaritiam, sed propter saluandam eius animam suscepit'; cessauitque ignis.
p. 167 Et conuersus ad eum angelus 'Quod incendisti' / inquit, 'hoc arsit in te. Si enim huius uiri in peccatis suis mortui pecuniam non accepisses, nec poena eius in te arderet.' Et plura locutus, quid erga salutem eorum qui ad mortem poeniterent esset agendum, salubri sermone docuit. Qui postmodum in corpore restitutus, omni uitae suae tempore signum incendii, quod in anima pertulit, uisibile cunctis in humero maxillaque portauit, mirumque in modum quid anima in occulto passa sit, caro palam praemonstrabat. Curabat autem semper, sicut et antea facere consuerat, omnibus opus uirtutum et exemplis ostendere et praedicare sermonibus. Ordinem autem uisionum suarum illis solummodo, qui propter desiderium conpunctionis interrogabant, exponere uolebat. Superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri, qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem, quod ipsum Furseum uiderit in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, illasque uisiones ex ipsius ore audierit, adiciens quia tempus hiemis fuerit[a] acerrimum et glacie constrictum, cum sedens in tenui ueste[1] uir ita inter dicendum propter magnitudinem memorati timoris uel suauitatis quasi in mediae aestatis caumate sudauerit.

Cum ergo, ut ad superiora redeamus, multis annis in Scottia uerbum Dei omnibus adnuntians tumultus inruentium turbarum non facile ferret, relictis omnibus quae habere uidebatur, ab ipsa quoque insula patria discessit, et paucis cum fratribus[2] per Brettones in prouinciam Anglorum deuenit, ibique praedicans Verbum, ut diximus, monasterium nobile construxit. Quibus rite gestis, cupiens se ab omnibus saeculi huius et ipsius quoque monasterii negotiis alienare, reliquit monasterii et animarum
p. 168 curam fratri suo Fullano, et presbyteris / Gobbano et Dicullo, et

[a] fuerit *om. c2*

[1] Compare the very similar story told of Dryhthelm (v. 12).

[2] It would seem from this account that at least five Irishmen and possibly more were in Fursa's party when he came to East Anglia.

him at Fursa, hitting him and scorching his shoulder and jaw. Fursa recognized the man and remembered that on his death he had received some of his clothing. The angel took the man and cast him back at once into the fire. The spiteful foe said, 'Do not reject him whom you once acknowledged; for, since you have received the property of a sinner, you ought to share in his punishment.' The angel withstood him saying, 'He did not receive it out of greed but to save his soul.' The fire then died down and the angel turned to Fursa and said, 'You were burned by the fire you had kindled. For if you had not received the property of this man who died in his sins, you would not have been burned by the fire of his punishment.' He then went on to give helpful advice as to what should be done for the salvation of those who repented in the hour of death. When Fursa had been restored to his body, he bore for the rest of his life the marks of the burns which he had suffered while a disembodied spirit; they were visible to all on his shoulder and his jaw. It is marvellous to think that what he suffered secretly as a disembodied spirit showed openly upon his flesh. He always took care, as he had done before, to encourage all both by his sermons and by his example to practise virtue. But he would only give an account of his visions to those who questioned him about them, because they desired to repent. An aged brother is still living in our monastery who is wont to relate that a most truthful and pious man told him that he had seen Fursa himself in the kingdom of the East Angles and had heard these visions from his own mouth. He added that although it was during a time of severe winter weather and a hard frost and though Fursa sat wearing only a thin garment,[1] yet as he told his story, he sweated as though it were the middle of summer, either because of the terror or else the joy which his recollections aroused.

To return to what we were saying before, he preached the word of God in Ireland for many years until, when he could no longer endure the noise of the crowds who thronged to him, he gave up all that he seemed to have and left his native island. He came with a few companions[2] through the land of the Britons and into the kingdom of the East Angles, where he preached the Word and there, as we have said, built a monastery. Having duly accomplished all this, he longed to free himself from all worldly affairs, even those of the monastery itself; so leaving his brother Foillán in charge of the monastery and its souls and also the priests

ipse ab omnibus mundi rebus liber in anchoretica conuersatione uitam finire disposuit. Habuit alterum fratrem uocabulo Ultanum, qui de monasterii probatione diuturna ad heremiticam peruenerat uitam. Hunc ergo solus petens, annum totum cum eo in continentia et orationibus, in cotidianis manuum uixit laboribus.

Dein turbatam incursione gentilium prouinciam uidens, et monasteriis quoque periculum inminere praeuidens, dimissis ordinate omnibus nauigauit Galliam, ibique a rege Francorum Hloduio[1] uel patricio Ercunualdo honorifice susceptus, monasterium construxit in loco Latineaco nominato, ac non multo post infirmitate correptus diem clausit ultimum.

Cuius corpus idem Ercunualdus patricius accipiens, seruauit in porticu quodam[a] ecclesiae, quam[b] in uilla sua, cui nomen est Perrona,[2] faciebat, donec ipsa ecclesia dedicaretur. Quod dum post dies XXVII esset factum, et corpus ipsum de porticu ablatum prope altare esset recondendum, inuentum est ita inlesum ac si eadem hora de hac luce fuisset egressus. Sed et post annos quattuor constructa domuncula cultiore receptui corporis eiusdem ad orientem altaris, adhuc sine macula corruptionis inuentum, ibidem digno cum honore translatum est, ubi merita illius multis saepe constat Deo operante claruisse uirtutibus. Haec et de corporis eius incorruptione breuiter attigimus, ut quanta esset uiri sublimitas, legentibus notius existeret. Quae cuncta in libello eius sufficientius, sed et de aliis conmilitonibus ipsius, quisque legerit, inueniet.

p. 169

XX

INTEREA, defuncto Felice Orientalium Anglorum episcopo post X et VII annos accepti episcopatus, Honorius loco eius ordinauit Thomam diaconum eius de prouincia Gyruiorum;[3] et hoc post quinque annos sui episcopatus de hac uita subtracto, Berctgislum cognomine Bonifatium de prouincia Cantuariorum loco eius substituit. Et ipse quoque Honorius, postquam metas sui cursus inpleuit, ex hac luce migrauit anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLIII, pridie kalendarum Octobrium; et cessante episcopatu per

[a] quadam *c2* [b] quem *c2*

[1] Clovis II became king of Neustria in 638 and died in 656. Eorcenwold was the Neustrian mayor of the palace from 640 to 657. Lagny is on the Marne.

[2] Péronne is on the Somme. It was called *Perrona Scottorum* on account of the number of Irish who went there.

[3] There were two tribes, the North and South Gyrwe, who lived on the western edge of the Fens. It is possible that the land of the South Gyrwe is to be identified with the Isle of Ely. See also iv. 6, 19.

Gobán and Dícuill and, being free from all worldly cares, he resolved to end his life as a hermit. He had another brother called Últán, who, after a long time of probation in the monastery, had passed on to the life of a hermit. So Fursa sought him out in his solitude and for a whole year lived with him in austerity and prayer, labouring daily with his hands. Then, seeing that the kingdom was disturbed by heathen invasions and that the monasteries were also threatened with danger, he left all things in order and sailed for Gaul, where he was honourably entertained by Clovis,[1] king of the Franks, and by the patrician Eorcenwold. He built a monastery in a place called Lagny, where, not long afterwards, he was taken ill and died.

The patrician Eorcenwold took his body and placed it in one of the chapels of the church which he was building in his own town called Péronne,[2] until such time as the church was dedicated. This happened twenty-seven days afterwards, when the body was translated from the chapel and reburied near the altar. It was found as whole as if he had died that very hour. Four years afterwards, when a very beautiful shrine was built for the reception of his body, on the east side of the altar, it was still found without taint of corruption and was translated thither with all due honour. It is well known that through the mediation of God, many miracles have been performed there to show his merits. We have briefly touched on these matters and about the incorruption of his body so that readers may clearly know how eminent a man he was. All these subjects, as well as an account of his fellow warriors, will be found more fully set out in his Life for all those who wish to read it.

CHAPTER XX

MEANWHILE Felix died seventeen years after becoming bishop of the East Angles, and Honorius consecrated in his place his deacon named Thomas who belonged to the nation of the Gyrwe.[3] When he died five years afterwards, Honorius put in his place Berhtgisl, also named Boniface, from the kingdom of Kent. Then Honorius himself, after he had finished his course, departed in the year of our Lord 653, on 30 September. After the see had

annum et sex menses, electus est archiepiscopus cathedrae Doruuernensis sextus Deusdedit de gente Occidentalium Saxonum, quem ordinaturus uenit illuc Ithamar, antistes ecclesiae Hrofensis. Ordinatus est autem die septimo kalendarum Aprilium,[1] et rexit ecclesiam annos VIIII, menses IIII et duos dies; et ipse, defuncto Ithamar, consecrauit pro eo Damianum, qui de genere Australium Saxonum erat oriundus.

XXI

His temporibus Middilengli, id est Mediterranei Angli,[2] sub principe Peada filio Pendan regis fidem et sacramenta ueritatis perceperunt. Qui cum esset iuuenis optimus, ac regis nomine ac persona dignissimus, praelatus est a patre regno gentis illius, uenitque ad regem Nordanhymbrorum Osuiu, postulans filiam /
p. 170 eius Alchfledam sibi coniugem dari. Neque aliter quod petebat inpetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi ac baptisma cum gente cui praeerat acciperet. At ille, audita praedicatione ueritatis et promissione regni caelestis speque resurrectionis ac futurae inmortalitatis, libenter se Christianum fieri uelle confessus est, etiamsi uirginem non acciperet, persuasus maxime ad percipiendam fidem a filio regis Osuiu, nomine Alchfrido,[3] qui erat cognatus et amicus eius, habens sororem ipsius coniugem, uocabulo Cyniburgam, filiam Pendan regis.

Baptizatus est ergo a Finano episcopo cum omnibus, qui secum uenerant, comitibus ac militibus eorumque famulis uniuersis in uico regis inlustri, qui uocatur Ad Murum, et acceptis quattuor presbyteris, qui ad docendam baptizandamque gentem illius et eruditione et uita uidebantur idonei, multo cum gaudio reuersus est. Erant autem presbyteri Cedd et Adda et Betti et Diuma, quorum ultimus natione Scottus, ceteri fuere de Anglis. Adda autem erat frater Uttan presbyteri inlustris et abbatis monasterii,

[1] It seems very possible that the true date was 12 March 655 and that Bede by a slip has substituted the date of the consecration of Theodore, Deusdedit's immediate successor. 12 March agrees with the exact length of his episcopate which Bede gives here. 26 March would have been Maundy Thursday in 655, a most unlikely date for the consecration of an archbishop. See P. Grosjean, 'La date du colloque de Whitby', *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXVIII (1960), 233 ff.

[2] Apparently Bede reckoned the Middle Angles as being quite distinct from the Mercian people, though it is clear that by this time they were under the

been vacant for eighteen months, Deusdedit, a West Saxon by race, was elected sixth archbishop of Canterbury. Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, went thither to consecrate him. He was consecrated on 26 March[1] and ruled the church for nine years, four months, and two days. Deusdedit, on the death of Ithamar, consecrated Damian in his place, a man of the South Saxon race.

CHAPTER XXI

At this time the Middle Angles,[2] that is the Angles of the Midlands, accepted the faith and the mysteries of the truth under their chief Peada who was the son of King Penda. As he was a most noble youth, worthy both of the name and office of king, he was placed by his father on the throne of the kingdom of the Middle Angles. He thereupon went to Oswiu, and asked for the hand of his daughter Alhflæd. But his request was granted only on condition that he and his nation accepted the Christian faith and baptism. When Peada heard the truth proclaimed and the promises of the kingdom of heaven, the hope of resurrection and of future immortality, he gladly declared himself ready to become a Christian even though he were refused the hand of the maiden. He was earnestly persuaded to accept the faith by Alhfrith,[3] son of King Oswiu, who was his brother-in-law and friend, having married Penda's daughter, Cyneburh.

So Peada was baptized by Bishop Finan together with all the *gesiths* and thegns who had come with him, as well as all their servants, at a famous royal estate called *Ad Murum* (Wallbottle?). He took four priests with him who were considered suitable, by reason of their learning and character, to teach and baptize his people, and so he returned home joyfully. The priests were Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, the last of whom was an Irishman while the others were English. Adda was the brother of the famous

dominion of the Mercians. It is not certain where they dwelt but their land included Leicestershire and Northamptonshire and probably a much wider area. See also p. 280, n. 1.

[3] He was the son of Oswiu and friend of Wilfrid. He was a great supporter of the Roman party. He married Cyneburh, daughter of King Penda of Mercia, He seems to have been sub-king of Deira but after 664 he is heard of no more. either as the result of his rebellion against his father (iii. 14) or because of his death.

quod uocatur Ad Caprae Caput, cuius supra meminimus. Venientes ergo in prouinciam memorati sacerdotes cum principe praedicabant Verbum, et libenter auditi sunt, multique cotidie et nobilium et infimorum,[a] abrenuntiata sorde idolatriae, fidei sunt fonte abluti.

Nec prohibuit Penda rex, quin etiam in sua, hoc est Merciorum, natione Verbum, siqui uellent audire, praedicaretur. Quin potius odio habebat et despiciebat eos, quos fide Christi inbutos opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros, qui Deo suo, in quem crederent, oboedire contemnerent. Coepta sunt haec biennio ante mortem Pendan regis. Ipso autem
p. 171 occiso, cum Osuiu rex Christianus regnum / eius acciperet, ut in sequentibus dicemus, factus est Diuma unus ex praefatis quattuor sacerdotibus episcopus Mediterraneorum Anglorum, simul et Merciorum, ordinatus a Finano episcopo. Paucitas enim sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis praefici. Qui cum pauco sub tempore non paucam Domino plebem adquisisset, defunctus est apud Mediterraneos Anglos in regione quae uocatur Infeppingum.[1] Suscepitque pro illo episcopatum Ceollach, et ipse de natione Scottorum,[b] qui non multo post, relicto episcopatu, reuersus est ad insulam Hii, ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum; succedente illi in episcopatum Trumheri, uiro religioso et monachica uita instituto, natione quidem Anglo[c] sed a Scottis ordinato episcopo. Quod temporibus Uulfheri regis, de quo in sequentibus dicemus, factum est.

XXII

Eo tempore etiam Orientales Saxones fidem, quam olim expulso Mellito antistite abiecerant, instantia regis Osuiu receperunt. Erat enim rex eiusdem gentis Sigberct,[2] qui post Sigberctum cognomento Paruum regnauit, amicus eiusdem Osuiu regis, qui cum frequenter ad eum in prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum ueniret, solebat eum hortari ad intellegendum deos esse non posse, qui hominum manibus facti essent; dei creandi materiam lignum

[a] *Many of our earliest MSS. read* infirmorum [b] Scottorum natione *c2*
[c] Anglorum *c2*

[1] There is no trace of this place in Middle Anglia but the name seems to be preserved in the first element of the Worcestershire place-name *Phepson*. The tract on the resting-places of the English saints (p. 234, n. 1) says that Diuma

priest Utta, abbot of the monastery at the place called Gateshead, already mentioned. After these priests had come with the king into his kingdom, they preached the Word and were listened to gladly, so that many, both nobles and commons, renounced the filth of idolatry and were washed in the fountain of the faith.

Now King Penda did not forbid the preaching of the Word, even in his own Mercian kingdom, if any wished to hear it. But he hated and despised those who, after they had accepted the Christian faith, were clearly lacking in the works of faith. He said that they were despicable and wretched creatures who scorned to obey the God in whom they believed. All this started two years before Penda's death. When he was killed and the Christian King Oswiu had gained the throne of Mercia, as we shall describe later, Diuma, one of the four priests already mentioned, was consecrated bishop of the Middle Angles and the Mercians by Bishop Finan, since a shortage of bishops made it necessary for one bishop to be set over both nations. After he had won no small number for the Lord in a short space of time, he died in the country of the Middle Angles in a district called *Infeppingum.*[1] Ceollach became bishop after him, another man of Irish race, who, not long after, left his bishopric and returned to the island of Iona where the Irish monastery was, which was chief and head of many monasteries. Trumhere followed him as bishop, a pious man trained in the monastic life, who though of English race was consecrated bishop by the Irish. This happened in the time of King Wulfhere, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter.

CHAPTER XXII

ABOUT this time the East Saxons, at the instance of King Oswiu, received the faith which they had once rejected when they expelled Bishop Mellitus. Now Sigeberht[2] was king of this people, successor of Sigeberht the Small and friend of King Oswiu. The latter used to urge Sigeberht, on his frequent visits to the kingdom of Northumbria, to realize that objects made by the hands of men could not be gods. Neither wood nor stone were materials from which

lies buried in Charlbury, Oxfordshire, so that it may be that the Feppingas lived in this area (*EHD*, I. 635, n. 1).

[2] King of the East Saxons; he was sometimes known as 'Sanctus'. He came to the throne some time before the events of this chapter (i.e. 653) and was dead in 664, the date of the Council of Whitby (Plummer, II. 177).

uel lapidem esse non posse, quorum recisurae uel igni absumerentur uel in uasa quaelibet humani usus formarentur uel
p. 172 certe dispectui habita foras proicerentur et pedibus / conculcata in terram uerterentur.[1] Deum potius intellegendum maiestate inconprehensibilem, humanis oculis inuisibilem, omnipotentem, aeternum, qui caelum et terram et humanum genus creasset, regeret et iudicaturus esset orbem in aequitate,[2] cuius sedes aeterna non in uili et caduco metallo[a] sed in caelis esset credenda; meritoque intellegendum quia omnes, qui uoluntatem eius a quo creati sunt discerent et facerent,[b] aeterna ab illo praemia essent percepturi. Haec et huiusmodi multa cum rex Osuiu regi Sigbercto amicali et quasi fraterno consilio saepe inculcaret, tandem iuuante amicorum consensu credidit, et facto cum suis consilio cum exhortatione, fauentibus cunctis et adnuentibus fidei, baptizatus est cum eis a Finano episcopo in uilla regia, cuius supra meminimus, quae[c] cognominatur Ad Murum. Est enim iuxta murum, quo olim Romani Brittaniam insulam praecinxere, XII milibus[d] passuum a mari orientali secreta.

Igitur rex Sigberct aeterni regni iam ciuis effectus, temporalis sui regni sedem repetit, postulans ab Osuiu rege, ut aliquos sibi doctores daret, qui gentem suam ad fidem Christi conuerterent ac fonte salutari abluerent. At ille mittens ad prouinciam Mediterraneorum Anglorum clamauit ad se uirum Dei Cedd, et dato illi socio altero quodam presbytero, misit praedicare Verbum genti Orientalium Saxonum. Vbi cum omnia perambulantes multam Domino ecclesiam congregassent, contigit tempore quodam eundem Cedd redire domum, ac peruenire ad ecclesiam Lindisfaronensem propter conloquium Finani episcopi. Qui ubi prosperatum ei opus euangelii conperiit, fecit eum episcopum in
p. 173 gentem Orientalium Saxonum, uocatis / ad se in ministerium ordinationis aliis duobus episcopis.[3] Qui accepto gradu episcopatus rediit ad prouinciam, et maiore auctoritate coeptum opus explens fecit per loca ecclesias, presbyteros et diaconos ordinauit, qui se in uerbo fidei et ministerio baptizandi adiuuarent, maxime in ciuitate quae lingua Saxonum Ythancaestir[4] appellatur, sed et

[a] metallo caduco *c2* [b] facerent et discerent *c2* [c] *All our authorities read* qui [d] milia *c2*

[1] Cf. Isa. 44: 9–19. [2] Ps. 95 (96): 13.

[3] The two bishops summoned by Oswiu would probably be Celtic bishops subject to Iona, so that his consecration, like that of Chad his brother (iv 2), would have been considered of doubtful validity by the Roman party.

[4] This is the Old English name of the Roman fort of Othona, and within its bounds at Bradwell-on-Sea there still stands an ancient church mostly dating

gods could be created, the remnants of which were either burned in the fire or made into vessels for men's use or else cast out as refuse, trodden underfoot and reduced to dust.[1] God must rather be looked upon as incomprehensible in His majesty, invisible to human eyes, omnipotent, eternal, Creator of heaven and earth and of mankind, who rules over the world and will judge it in righteousness.[2] We must believe that His eternal abode is in heaven, not in base and perishable metal. It is therefore only right to believe that all those who learn to do the will of Him by whom they were created will receive from Him an eternal reward. King Oswiu often put forward these and many other similar reasons to King Sigeberht in friendly and brotherly counsel until at last, supported by the consent of his friends, he believed. He took counsel with his followers and, after he had addressed them, they all agreed to accept the faith and so he was baptized with them by Bishop Finan in the royal estate mentioned above called *Ad Murum* (Wallbottle?) because it stands close to the wall which the Romans once built across the island of Britain. It is about twelve miles from the east coast.

So King Sigeberht returned to the seat of his temporal kingdom, having been made a citizen of the eternal kingdom. He asked King Oswiu to send him teachers to convert his people to the faith of Christ and wash them in the fountain of salvation. Oswiu thereupon sent to the kingdom of the Middle Angles and summoned the man of God, Cedd, to his presence. He gave him another priest as a companion and sent them to preach the Word to the East Saxons. After these priests had traversed the whole kingdom and built up a great Church for the Lord, it happened that on a certain occasion Cedd returned home and came to Lindisfarne to consult with Bishop Finan. Finan, finding that his evangelistic work had prospered, made him bishop of the East Saxons, summoning two other bishops to assist in the consecration.[3] Cedd, having received the rank of a bishop, returned to his kingdom carrying on with greater authority the work he had begun. He established churches in various places and ordained priests and deacons to assist him in preaching the word of faith and in the administration of baptism, especially in the city called *Ythancæstir*[4] in the Saxon tongue (Bradwell-on-Sea) and also in

from the seventh or early eighth century. See Clapham, pl. 2 and p. 22, and Taylor, I. 91–93.

in illa quae Tilaburg cognominatur; quorum prior locus est in ripa Pentae[a] amnis, secundus[b] in ripa Tamensis. In quibus, collecto examine famulorum Christi, disciplinam uitae regularis, in quantum rudes adhuc capere poterant, custodiri[c] docuit.

Cumque tempore non pauco in praefata prouincia, gaudente rege, congaudente uniuerso populo, uitae caelestis institutio cotidianum sumeret augmentum, contigit ipsum regem instigante omnium bonorum Inimico, propinquorum suorum manu interfici. Erant autem duo germani fratres, qui hoc facinus patrarunt; qui cum interrogarentur, quare hoc facerent, nil[d] aliud respondere potuerunt, nisi ob hoc se iratos fuisse et inimicos regi, quod ille nimium suis parcere soleret inimicis, et factas ab eis iniurias mox obsecrantibus placida mente dimitteret. Talis erat culpa regis, pro qua occideretur, quod euangelica praecepta deuoto corde seruaret. In qua tamen eius morte innoxia, iuxta praedictum uiri Dei, uera est eius culpa punita. Habuerat enim unus ex his, qui eum occiderunt, comitibus inlicitum coniugium; quod cum episcopus prohibere et corrigere non posset, excommunicauit eum atque omnibus, qui se audire uellent, praecepit, ne domum eius intrarent neque de cibis illius acciperent. Con-
p. 174 temsit autem rex praeceptum, et rogatus / a comite intrauit epulaturus domum eius. Qui cum abisset, obuiauit ei antistes; at rex intuens eum, mox tremefactus desiluit equo ceciditque ante pedes eius, ueniam reatus postulans. Nam et episcopus pariter desiluit; sederat enim et ipse in equo. Iratus autem tetigit regem iacentem uirga, quam tenebat manu, et pontificali auctoritate protestatus, 'Dico tibi,' inquit 'quia noluisti te continere a domo perditi et damnati illius, tu in ipsa domo mori habes.' Sed credendum est, quia talis mors uiri religiosi non solum talem culpam diluerit, sed etiam meritum eius auxerit, quia nimirum ob causam pietatis, quia propter obseruantiam mandatorum Christi contigit.

Successit autem Sigbercto in regnum Suidhelm, filius Sexbaldi, qui baptizatus est ab ipso Cedde in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, in uico regio qui dicitur Rendlaesham,[1] id est mansio Rendili; suscepitque eum ascendentem de fonte sancto Aediluald rex ipsius gentis Orientalium Anglorum, frater Anna regis eorundem.

[a] Paente *c2* [b] secunda *c2* [c] custodire *c2* [d] nihil *c2*

[1] This is in Suffolk and close to Sutton Hoo, where the seventh-century burial ship, with its amazing contents of armour, jewellery, etc., now in the British Museum, was unearthed in 1939.

the place called Tilbury. The former is on the river *Penta* (Blackwater) and the latter on the banks of the Thames. In these places he gathered together a multitude of Christ's servants and taught them to observe the discipline of a Rule, so far as these rough people were capable of receiving it.

For a long time the instruction of the people in the heavenly life prospered day by day in the kingdom, to the joy of the king and the whole nation; but it then happened that the king was murdered, at the instigation of the enemy of all good men, by his own kinsmen. It was two brothers who perpetrated the crime. When they were asked why they did it, they could make no reply except that they were angry with the king and hated him because he was too ready to pardon his enemies, calmly forgiving them for the wrongs they had done him, as soon as they asked his pardon. Such was the crime for which he met his death, that he had devoutly observed the gospel precepts. But nevertheless, by this innocent death a real offence was punished in accordance with the prophecy of the man of God. For one of these *gesiths* who murdered him was unlawfully married, a marriage which the bishop had been unable to prevent or correct. So he excommunicated him and ordered all who would listen to him not to enter the man's house nor take food with him. But the king disregarded this command and accepted an invitation of the *gesith* to dine at his house. As the king was coming away, the bishop met him. When the king saw him, he leapt from his horse and fell trembling at the bishop's feet, asking his pardon. The bishop, who was also on horseback, alighted too. In his anger he touched the prostrate king with his staff which he was holding in his hand, and exercising his episcopal authority, he uttered these words, 'I declare to you that, because you were unwilling to avoid the house of this man who is lost and damned, you will meet your death in this very house.' Yet we may be sure that the death of this religious king was such that it not only atoned for his offence but even increased his merit; for it came about as a result of his piety and his observance of Christ's command.

Swithhelm, the son of Seaxbald, was successor to Sigeberht. He was baptized by Cedd in East Anglia, in the royal village called Rendlesham,[1] that is, the residence of Rendil. King Æthelwold of East Anglia, the brother of King Anna, the previous king of the East Angles, was his sponsor.

XXIII

SOLEBAT autem idem uir Domini, cum apud Orientales Saxones episcopatus officio fungeretur, saepius etiam suam, id est Nordanhymbrorum, prouinciam exhortandi gratia reuisere. Quem cum Oidiluald,[1] filius Osualdi regis, qui in Derorum partibus regnum habebat, uirum sanctum et sapientem probumque moribus
p. 175 uideret, postulauit eum possessionem terrae aliquam / a se ad construendum monasterium accipere, in quo ipse rex et frequentius ad deprecandum Dominum Verbumque audiendum aduenire, et defunctus sepeliri deberet. Nam et se ipsum fideliter credidit multum iuuari eorum orationibus cotidianis, qui illo in loco Domino seruirent. Habuerat autem idem rex secum fratrem germanum eiusdem episcopi, uocabulo Caelin, uirum aeque Deo deuotum, qui ipsi ac familiae ipsius uerbum et sacramenta fidei (erat enim presbyter) ministrare solebat, per cuius notitiam maxime ad diligendum noscendumque episcopum peruenit. Fauens ergo uotis regis antistes elegit sibi locum monasterii construendi in montibus arduis ac remotis, in quibus latronum magis latibula ac lustra ferarum quam habitacula fuisse uidebantur hominum; ut, iuxta prophetiam Isaiae 'in cubilibus, in quibus prius dracones habitabant, oriretur uiror calami et iunci',[2] id est fructus bonorum operum ibi nascerentur, ubi prius uel bestiae commorari uel homines bestialiter uiuere consuerant.

Studens autem uir Domini acceptum monasterii locum primo precibus ac ieiuniis a pristina flagitiorum sorde purgare, et sic in eo monasterii fundamenta iacere, postulauit a rege, ut sibi totum Quadragesimae tempus, quod instabat, facultatem ac licentiam ibidem orationis causa demorandi concederet. Quibus diebus cunctis, excepta dominica, ieiunium ad uesperam usque iuxta morem protelans, ne tunc quidem nisi panis permodicum et unum ouum gallinacium cum paruo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. Dicebat enim hanc esse consuetudinem eorum, a quibus normam disciplinae regularis didicerat, ut accepta nuper loca ad faciendum monasterium uel ecclesiam prius orationibus ac ieiuniis Domino
p. 176 consecrent. Cumque x dies Quadragesimae / restarent, uenit qui clamaret eum ad regem. At ille, ne opus religiosum negotiorum regalium causa intermitteretur, petiit presbyterum suum Cynibillum, qui etiam frater germanus erat ipsius, pia coepta conplere.

[1] He gained the throne of Deira after the death of Oswine, possibly with the help of Penda, king of Mercia, and was present at the battle of Winwæd (iii. 24). He is not heard of again after the battle.

CHAPTER XXIII

WHILE Cedd was acting as bishop of the East Saxons, he used very often to re-visit his own land, the kingdom of Northumbria, to preach. Oethelwald,[1] son of King Oswald who reigned over Deira, seeing that Cedd was a wise, holy, and upright man, asked him to accept a grant of land, on which to build a monastery where he himself might frequently come to pray and hear the Word and where he might be buried; for he firmly believed that the daily prayers of those who served God there would greatly help him. This king had previously had with him Cælin, Cedd's brother, a man equally devoted to God, who had been accustomed to minister the word and the sacraments of the faith to himself and his family; for he was a priest. It was through him chiefly that the king had got to know and had learned to love the bishop. So, in accordance with the king's desire, Cedd chose himself a site for the monastery amid some steep and remote hills which seemed better fitted for the haunts of robbers and the dens of wild beasts than for human habitation; so that, as Isaiah says, 'In the habitations where once dragons lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes',[2] that is, the fruit of good works shall spring up where once beasts dwelt or where men lived after the manner of beasts.

The man of God was anxious first of all to cleanse the site which he had received for the monastery from the stain of former crimes by prayer and fasting, before laying the foundations. So he asked the king to grant him permission and opportunity to spend the whole of the approaching season of Lent there in prayer. Every day except Sunday he prolonged his fast until evening as his custom was and then he took nothing but a small quantity of bread, one hen's egg, and a little milk mixed with water. He explained that this was a custom of those from whom he had learned the discipline of a Rule that, when they had received a site for building a monastery or a church, they should first consecrate it to the Lord with prayer and fasting. But ten days before the end of Lent, a messenger came to summon him to the king. Thereupon in order that this holy labour might not be interrupted because of the king's affairs, he asked his own brother Cynebill, who was a priest, to complete the sacred task. The latter gladly

[2] Isa. 35: 7.

Cui cum ille libenter adquiesceret, expleto studio ieiuniorum et orationis, fecit ibi monasterium, quod nunc Laestingaeu uocatur, et religiosis moribus iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium, ubi educatus erat, instituit.

Qui cum annis multis et in praefata prouincia episcopatum administraret et huius quoque monasterii statutis propositis curam gereret, casu contigit ut ad ipsum monasterium tempore mortalitatis aduenientes,[1] tactus ibidem infirmitate corporis obiret. Qui primo quidem foris sepultus est; tempore autem procedente, in eodem monasterio ecclesia est in honorem beatae Dei genetricis de lapide facta, et in illa corpus ipsius ad dexteram altaris reconditum.

Dedit autem episcopus regendum post se monasterium fratri suo Ceadda, qui postea episcopus factus est, ut in sequentibus dicemus. Quattuor siquidem hii, quos diximus, germani fratres, Cedd et Cynibill et Caelin et Ceadda, quod raro inuenitur, omnes sacerdotes Domini fuere praeclari, et duo ex eis etiam summi sacerdotii gradu functi sunt. Cum ergo episcopum defunctum ac sepultum in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum audirent fratres, qui in monasterio eius erant in prouincia Orientalium Saxonum, uenerunt illo de suo monasterio homines circiter xxx, cupientes ad corpus sui patris aut uiuere, si sic Deo placeret, aut morientes ibi sepeliri. Qui libenter a suis fratribus et conmilitonibus suscepti, omnes ibidem superueniente praefatae pestilentiae clade defuncti sunt, excepto uno puerulo, quem orationibus patris sui a morte constat esse seruatum. Nam cum multo post haec tempore uiueret,
p. 177 et scripturis legendis operam daret, tandem / didicit se aqua baptismatis non esse regeneratum, et mox fonte lauacri salutaris ablutus, etiam postmodum ad ordinem presbyterii promotus est, multisque in ecclesia utilis fuit. De quo dubitandum non crediderim, quin intercessionibus, ut dixi, sui patris, ad cuius corpus dilectionis ipsius gratia uenerat, sit ab articulo mortis retentus, ut et ipse sic mortem euaderet aeternam et aliis quoque fratribus ministerium uitae ac salutis docendo exhiberet.

XXIIII

His temporibus rex Osuiu, cum aceruas atque intolerabiles pateretur inruptiones saepe dicti regis Merciorum, qui fratrem eius occiderat, ad ultimum necessitate cogente promisit se ei

[1] There were a number of visitations of the plague in the seventh century, especially during the second half, which affected both England and Ireland. One of the worst of these was in 664 when Cedd died. Plummer, II. 194–6.

agreed and, when the work of fasting and prayer was ended, he built a monastery now called Lastingham and established in it the religious observances according to the usage of Lindisfarne where he had been brought up.

When Cedd had been bishop in the kingdom for many years and had borne the responsibility of this monastery, whose rules he had established, he happened to come to it while the plague was raging there,[1] fell sick and died. He was first of all buried outside the walls, but in course of time a stone church was built in the monastery in honour of the blessed Mother of God, and his body was buried in it on the right side of the altar.

The bishop left the monastery to be governed after him by his brother Chad who was afterwards consecrated bishop as we shall hear later. There were then four brothers whom we have mentioned, Cedd, Cynebill, Cælin and Chad, who were all famous priests of the Lord, a very rare thing to happen, and two of them reached the rank of bishop. When the brothers who were in his monastery in the kingdom of the East Saxons heard that the bishop was dead and buried in the kingdom of Northumbria, about thirty of them came from that monastery, wishing to live near the body of their father or, if the Lord so willed, to die and be buried there. They were gladly received by their brothers and fellow soldiers in Christ, but another attack of the pestilence came upon them and they all died, with the exception of one small boy who was preserved from death by the intercession of Cedd his father. After a long time devoted to the reading of the scriptures, a moment came when he realized that he had not been baptized. He was speedily washed in the waters of the font of salvation and afterwards admitted to priest's orders, rendering useful service to many in the church. I do not doubt that he was delivered from the jaws of death by the intercession of his father Cedd, to whose tomb he had come out of love for him; so he himself escaped eternal death and, by his teaching, exercised a ministry of life and salvation for the brethren.

CHAPTER XXIV

ABOUT this time King Oswiu was exposed to the savage and insupportable attacks of Penda, so often mentioned before, the king of the Mercians who had killed Oswiu's brother. Oswiu was

innumera et maiora quam credi potest ornamenta regia uel donaria in pretium pacis largiturum, dummodo ille domum rediret et prouincias regni eius usque ad internicionem uastare desineret. Cumque rex perfidus nullatenus precibus illius assensum praeberet, qui totam eius gentem a paruo usque ad magnum delere atque exterminare decreuerat, respexit ille ad diuinae auxilium pietatis, quo ab impietate barbarica posset eripi; uotoque se obligans, 'Si paganus' inquit 'nescit accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei, qui nouit, Domino Deo nostro.' Vouit ergo quia, si uictor existeret, filiam suam Domino sacra uirginitate dicandam offerret, simul et XII possessiones praediorum[1] ad construenda monasteria donaret; et sic cum paucissimo exercitu se certamini dedit. Denique fertur, quia tricies maiorem pagani habuerint
p. 178 exercitum; / siquidem ipsi XXX legiones ducibus nobilissimis instructas in bello habuere, quibus Osuiu rex cum Alchfrido filio perparuum, ut dixi, habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus occurrit. Nam alius filius eius Ecgfrid eo tempore in prouincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynuise obses tenebatur; filius autem Osualdi regis Oidiluald, qui eis auxilio esse debuerat, in parte erat aduersariorum, eisdemque contra patriam et patruum suum pugnaturis ductor extiterat, quamuis ipso tempore pugnandi sese pugnae subtraxerat, euentumque discriminis tuto in loco exspectabat. Inito ergo certamine fugati sunt et caesi pagani, duces regii XXX,[2] qui ad auxilium uenerant, pene omnes interfecti; in quibus Aedilheri, frater Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum, qui post eum regnauit, auctor ipse belli,[3] perditis militibus siue auxiliis interemtus.[4] Et quia prope fluuium Uinued[5] pugnatum est, qui tunc prae inundantia pluuiarum late alueum suum, immo omnes ripas suas transierat, contigit ut multo plures aqua fugientes quam bellantes perderet ensis.

Tum[a] rex Osuiu, iuxta quod Domino uouerat, pro conlata sibi uictoria gratias Deo referens dedit filiam suam Aelffledam,[6] quae

[a] tunc *c2*

[1] Each of these estates consisted of ten hides. Hartlepool and Whitby were two of the monasteries founded on them. They would of course be exempt from the payment of royal dues.

[2] The mention of Æthelhere would suggest that the thirty *duces regii* included rulers of provinces which were under Penda's overlordship and so were not reckoned as kings but *ealdormen* (*EHD*, I. 637, n. 1).

[3] Æthelhere is a mysterious figure who found himself, whether by compulsion or choice, fighting for the heathen Penda against a Christian king. It is not clear what Bede means by describing him as the *auctor* of the war. The Old English translation reads *ordfruma*, meaning source or origin.

at last forced to promise him an incalculable and incredible store of royal treasures and gifts as the price of peace, on condition that Penda would return home and cease to devastate, or rather utterly destroy, the kingdoms under his rule. But the heathen king would not accept this offer, for he was determined to destroy and exterminate the whole people from the greatest to the least; so Oswiu turned to God's mercy for help seeing that nothing else could save them from this barbarous and evil enemy. Oswiu therefore bound himself with an oath, saying, 'If the heathen foe will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him who will, even the Lord our God.' So he vowed that if he gained the victory he would dedicate his daughter to the Lord as a holy virgin and give twelve small estates[1] to build monasteries. In this spirit he entered the fight with his tiny army. Indeed it is said that the heathens had an army which was thirty times as great. They had thirty legions of soldiers experienced in war and commanded by the most famous ealdormen; King Oswiu and his son Alhfrith, as we have said, had a very small force but they met the foe trusting in Christ their leader. Oswiu's other son Ecgfrith was at the time a hostage in the Mercian kingdom with Queen Cynewise. But Oethelwald, King Oswald's son, who ought to have helped them, was on the side of his foes and was leading the enemies of his own uncle and of his native land; he withdrew, however, in the hour of battle and awaited the outcome in a place of safety. The battle was joined and the heathen were put to flight or destroyed; of the thirty royal ealdormen[2] who had come to Penda's help nearly all were killed. Among them was Æthelhere, brother and successor to Anna, king of the East Angles and the cause of the war;[3] he was cut down, having suffered the loss of all his thegns and followers.[4] The battle was fought near the river Winwæd[5] which, owing to heavy rains, had overflowed its channels and its banks to such an extent that many more were drowned in flight than were destroyed by the sword in battle.

Then King Oswiu, in fulfilment of his vow to the Lord, returned thanks to God for the victory granted him and gave his daughter Ælfflæd,[6] who was scarcely a year old, to be consecrated to God

[4] See p. 164, n. 4. Professor Whitelock suggests that the phrase *militibus siue auxiliis* may mark the distinction between his personal followers and the rest of his force (*EHD*, I. 637, n. 2).

[5] The river is unidentified but is probably one of the many tributaries of the Humber.

[6] See p. 429, n. 5.

uixdum unius anni aetatem inpleuerat, perpetua ei uirginitate consecrandam; donatis insuper XII possessiunculis terrarum, in quibus ablato studio militiae terrestris[1] ad exercendam militiam caelestem supplicandumque pro pace gentis eius aeterna deuotioni sedulae monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret. E quibus uidelicet possessiunculis sex in prouincia Derorum, sex in Berniciorum dedit. Singulae uero possessiones X erant familiarum, id est
p. 179 simul omnes CXX. Intrauit autem praefata regis / Osuiu filia Deo dicanda monasterium, quod nuncupatur Heruteu, id est Insula Cerui, cui tunc Hild abbatissa praefuit. Quae post biennium conparata possessione X familiarum in loco, qui dicitur Streanaeshalch, ibi monasterium construxit; in quo memorata regis filia primo discipula uitae regularis, deinde etiam magistra extitit, donec conpleto undeLX annorum numero, ad conplexum et nuptias sponsi caelestis uirgo beata intraret. In quo monasterio et ipsa et pater eius Osuiu et mater eius Eanfled et pater matris eius Eduini et multi alii nobiles in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri sepulti sunt. Hoc autem bellum rex Osuiu in regione Loidis tertio decimo regni sui anno, septima decima die kalendarum Decembrium, cum magna utriusque populi utilitate confecit. Nam et suam gentem ab hostili paganorum depopulatione liberauit, et ipsam gentem Merciorum finitimarumque prouinciarum, desecto capite perfido, ad fidei Christianae gratiam conuertit.

Primus autem in prouincia Merciorum, simul et Lindisfarorum ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum, factus est episcopus Diuma, ut supra diximus, qui apud Mediterraneos Anglos defunctus ac sepultus est; secundus Cellach, qui relicto episcopatus officio uiuens ad Scottiam rediit,[2] uterque de genere Scottorum; tertius Trumheri, de natione quidem Anglorum, sed edoctus et ordinatus a Scottis, qui erat abbas in monasterio quod dicitur Ingetlingum. Ipse est locus, ubi occisus est rex Osuini, ut supra meminimus. Nam regina Eanfled propinqua illius ob castigationem necis eius
p. 180 iniustae postulauit a rege Osuio, ut do/naret ibi locum monasterio construendo praefato Dei famulo Trumherae, quia propinquus et ipse erat regis occisi; in quo uidelicet monasterio orationes assiduae pro utriusque regis, id est et occisi et eius qui occidere iussit, salute aeterna fierent. Idem autem rex Osuiu tribus annis post

[1] This means that the inhabitants of the monasteries could not be called upon for military service of any kind. Bede later complains in his *Letter to Egbert* that spurious monasteries were arising so that their inhabitants could avoid military service; hence the supply of secular troops was dwindling (*EHD*, I. 741).

[2] But in iii. 21 Ceollach is said to have returned to Iona. Apparently here as

in perpetual virginity. He also gave twelve small estates on which, as they were freed from any concern about earthly military service,[1] a site and means might be provided for the monks to wage heavenly warfare and to pray with unceasing devotion that the race might win eternal peace. Six of the estates which he gave were in Deira and six in Bernicia. Each estate consisted of ten hides so that there were a hundred and twenty hides altogether. Oswiu's daughter who had been dedicated to God entered the monastery named *Heruteu* (Hartlepool), that is, the island of the hart, over which Hild was then abbess. Two years later she gained possession of ten hides in the place known as *Streanæshealh* (Whitby) and there built a monastery; in it the king's daughter was first a pupil and then she became a teacher, of life under the Rule; then, about the age of sixty, the blessed virgin departed to be united with her heavenly bridegroom. She is buried in this monastery together with her father Oswiu, her mother Eanflæd, her grandfather Edwin, and many other nobles, all in the church of the holy apostle Peter. King Oswiu brought the campaign to a close in the district of *Loidis* (Leeds) on 15 November in the thirteenth year of his reign, to the great benefit of both peoples; for he freed his own subjects from the hostile devastations of the heathen people and converted the Mercians and the neighbouring kingdoms to a state of grace in the Christian faith, having destroyed their heathen ruler.

The first bishop in the kingdom of Mercia, of Lindsey, and the Middle Angles was Diuma: as has already been said, he died and was buried among the Middle Angles. The second bishop was Ceollach, who resigned his bishopric before his death and returned to Ireland,[2] for both he and Diuma were Irish. The third bishop was Trumhere, an Englishman but educated and consecrated by the Irish. He was abbot of the monastery called Gilling, the place where King Oswine was killed, as described above. Queen Eanflæd, his kinswoman, had asked King Oswiu to expiate Oswine's unjust death by granting God's servant Trumhere, also a near relative of the murdered king, a site at Gilling to build a monastery; in it prayer was continually to be said for the eternal welfare of both kings, for the one who planned the murder and for his victim. King Oswiu ruled over the Mercian race, as

in iii. 3 Bede is thinking of Iona as part of Ireland. Ceollach's retirement probably took place when Wulfhere was restored to the Mercian throne in 659.

occisionem Pendan regis Merciorum genti, necnon et ceteris australium prouinciarum populis praefuit; qui etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subiecit.

Quo tempore donauit praefato Peada[a] filio regis Pendan, eo quod esset cognatus suus, regnum Australium Merciorum, qui sunt, ut dicunt, familiarum quinque milium, discreti fluuio Treanta ab Aquilonaribus Mercis, quorum terra est familiarum VII milium. Sed idem Peada proximo uere multum nefarie peremtus est, proditione, ut dicunt, coniugis suae in ipso tempore festi paschalis. Conpletis autem tribus annis post interfectionem Pendan regis, rebellarunt aduersus regem Osuiu duces gentis Merciorum, Immin et Eafa[b] et Eadberct, leuato in regem Uulfhere filio eiusdem Pendan adulescente, quem occultum seruauerant, et eiectis principibus regis non proprii fines suos fortiter simul et libertatem receperunt; sicque cum suo rege liberi, Christo uero regi pro sempiterno in caelis regno seruire gaudebant. Praefuit autem rex idem genti Merciorum annis X et VII, habuitque primum episcopum Trumheri, de quo supra diximus, secundum Iaruman, tertium Ceaddan, quartum Uynfridum. Omnes hi per ordinem sibimet succedentes sub rege Uulfhere gentis Merciorum episcopatu sunt functi.

p. 181

XXV

INTEREA, Aidano episcopo de hac uita sublato, Finan pro illo gradum episcopatus a Scottis ordinatus ac missus acceperat. Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totam conposuit atque harundine texit; quam tempore sequente reuerentissimus archiepiscopus Theodorus in honore beati apostoli Petri dedicauit. Sed et episcopus loci ipsius Eadberct ablata harundine plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curauit.

His temporibus quaestio facta est frequens et magna de obseruatione paschae, confirmantibus eis qui de Cantia uel de Gallis[c] aduenerant, quod Scotti dominicum paschae diem[d] contra uniuersalis ecclesiae morem celebrarent. Erat[e] in his acerrimus ueri paschae defensor nomine Ronan, natione quidem Scottus, sed in Galliae uel Italiae partibus regulam ecclesiasticae ueritatis edoctus. Qui cum Finano confligens multos quidem correxit uel

[a] Peadan *c2* [b] Eaba *c2* [c] Galliis *c2* [d] dominicam diem paschae *c2* [e] erat enim *c2*

well as the rest of the southern kingdoms, for three years after King Penda was killed. Oswiu also subjected the greater part of the Pictish race to the dominion of the English.

At this time Oswiu gave Peada, the son of King Penda, the kingdom of Southern Mercia because he was his kinsman. It was said to consist of 5,000 hides, being divided by the river Trent from Northern Mercia, which is 7,000 hides in extent. But Peada was most foully murdered in the following spring by the treachery, or so it is said, of his wife during the very time of the Easter festival. Three years after King Penda's death the ealdormen of the Mercian race, Immin, Eafa, and Eadberht, rebelled against King Oswiu and set up as their king Wulfhere, Penda's young son, whom they had kept concealed; and having driven out the ealdormen of the foreign king, they boldly recovered their lands and their liberty at the same time. So being free and having their own king, they rejoiced to serve their true king, Christ, for the sake of an everlasting kingdom in heaven. King Wulfhere ruled over the Mercians for seventeen years and had as his first bishop Trumhere, whom we have already mentioned, his second, Jaruman, his third, Chad and his fourth, Winfrith. All these in succession held the bishopric of the Mercians under King Wulfhere.

CHAPTER XXV

MEANWHILE, after Bishop Aidan's death, Finan succeeded him as bishop, having been consecrated and sent over by the Irish. He constructed a church on the island of Lindisfarne suitable for an episcopal see, building it after the Irish method, not of stone but of hewn oak, thatching it with reeds; later on the most reverend Archbishop Theodore consecrated it in honour of the blessed apostle Peter. It was Eadberht, who was bishop of Lindisfarne, who removed the reed thatch and had the whole of it, both roof and walls, covered with sheets of lead.

In those days there arose a great and active controversy about the keeping of Easter. Those who had come from Kent or Gaul declared that the Irish observance of Easter Sunday was contrary to the custom of the universal church. One most violent defender of the true Easter was Ronan who, though Irish by race, had learned the true rules of the church in Gaul or Italy. In disputing with Finan he put many right or at least encouraged them to make

ad sollertiorem ueritatis inquisitionem accendit, nequaquam tamen Finanum emendare potuit; quin potius, quod esset homo ferocis animi,[1] aceruiorem castigando et apertum ueritatis aduersarium reddidit. Obseruabat autem Iacob diaconus quondam, ut supra docuimus, uenerabilis archiepiscopi Paulini, uerum et catholicum pascha cum omnibus, quos ad correctiorem uiam erudire poterat. Obseruabat et regina Eanfled cum suis, iuxta quod in Cantia fieri uiderat, habens secum de Cantia presbyterum /
p. 182 catholicae obseruationis, nomine Romanum. Vnde nonnumquam contigisse fertur illis temporibus, ut bis in anno uno pascha celebraretur, et cum rex pascha dominicum solutis ieiuniis faceret, tum regina cum suis persistens adhuc in ieiunio diem palmarum celebraret.[2] Haec autem dissonantia paschalis obseruantiae uiuente Aidano patienter ab omnibus tolerabatur, qui patenter intellexerant quia, etsi pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei pietatis et dilectionis iuxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum diligenter exsequi curauit. Vnde ab omnibus, etiam his qui de pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur, nec solum a mediocribus uerum ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, uenerationi habitus est.

Defuncto autem Finano, qui post illum fuit, cum Colmanus in episcopatum succederet, et ipse missus a Scottia, grauior de obseruatione paschae necnon et de aliis ecclesiasticae uitae disciplinis controuersia nata est. Vnde merito mouit haec quaestio sensus et corda multorum, timentium ne forte accepto Christianitatis uocabulo in uacuum currerent aut cucurrissent.[3] Peruenit et ad ipsas principum aures, Osuiu uidelicet regis et filii eius Alchfridi, quia nimirum Osuiu a Scottis edoctus ac baptizatus, illorum etiam lingua optime inbutus, nil melius quam quod illi docuissent autumabat; porro Alchfrid magistrum habens eruditionis Christianae Uilfridum uirum doctissimum (nam et Romam prius propter doctrinam ecclesiasticam adierat, et apud Dalfinum[4] archiepiscopum Galliarum Lugdoni[a] multum temporis egerat, a quo etiam tonsurae ecclesiasticae coronam susceperat), huius

[a] Lugduni *c2*

[1] Nothing seems to be known of this *peregrinus*. It is not quite clear from the context whether it was Ronan or Finan who had the fierce temper, though Ronan, who is described just above as *acerrimus*, is more probable.

[2] The difference could be as much as a month, as happened in 631 when the Roman Easter fell on 24 March and the Celtic Easter on 21 April. The fact that Eanflæd kept the Roman Easter made matters especially difficult at the Northumbrian court.

[3] Gal. 2: 2.

a more strict inquiry into the truth; but he could by no means put Finan right; on the contrary, as he was a man of fierce temper, Ronan[1] made him the more bitter by his reproofs and turned him into an open adversary of the truth. James, once the deacon of the venerable Archbishop Paulinus, as we have already said, kept the true and catholic Easter with all those whom he could instruct in the better way. Queen Eanflæd and her people also observed it as she had seen it done in Kent, having with her a Kentish priest named Romanus who followed the catholic observance. Hence it is said that in these days it sometimes happened that Easter was celebrated twice in the same year, so that the king had finished the fast and was keeping Easter Sunday, while the queen and her people were still in Lent and observing Palm Sunday.[2] This difference in the observance of Easter was patiently tolerated by all while Aidan was alive, because they had clearly understood that although he could not keep Easter otherwise than according to the manner of those who had sent him, he nevertheless laboured diligently to practise the works of faith, piety, and love, which is the mark of all the saints. He was therefore deservedly loved by all, including those who had other views about Easter. Not only was he respected by the ordinary people but also by bishops, such as Honorius of Kent and Felix of East Anglia.

When Finan, Aidan's successor, was dead and Colman, who had also been sent from Ireland, had become bishop, a still more serious controversy arose concerning the observance of Easter as well as about other matters of ecclesiastical discipline. This dispute naturally troubled the minds and hearts of many people who feared that, though they had received the name of Christian, they were running or had run in vain.[3] All this came to the ears of the rulers themselves, Oswiu and his son Alhfrith. Oswiu, who had been educated and baptized by the Irish and was well versed in their language, considered that nothing was better than what they had taught. But Alhfrith had as his instructor in the Christian faith one Wilfrid, a most learned man who had once been to Rome to study church doctrine and had spent much time at Lyons with Dalfinus,[4] archbishop of Gaul, having received there his ecclesiastical tonsure in the form of a crown; so Alhfrith rightly

[4] Bede borrows a number of phrases in this chapter from Eddius, *Life of Wilfrid*, and follows Eddius too in confusing Annemundus, archbishop of Lyons, with his brother Dalfinus, count of Lyons.

doctrinam omnibus Scottorum traditionibus iure praeferendam
p. 183 sciebat. Vnde ei etiam donauerat monaste/rium XL familiarum in loco qui dicitur Inhrypum; quem uidelicet locum paulo ante eis qui Scottos sequebantur in possessionem monasterii dederat,[1] sed quia illi postmodum data sibi optione magis loco cedere quam suam mutare consuetudinem uolebant, dedit eum illi, qui dignam loco et doctrinam haberet et uitam. Venerat eo tempore Agilberctus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, cuius supra meminimus, amicus Alchfridi regis et Uilfridi abbatis, ad prouinciam Nordanhymbrorum, et apud eos aliquandiu demorabatur. Qui etiam Uilfridum rogatu Alchfridi in praefato suo monasterio presbyterum fecit; habebat autem secum ipse presbyterum nomine Agathonem.

Mota ergo ibi quaestione de pascha uel tonsura uel aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, dispositum est ut in monasterio, quod dicitur Strenaeshalc, quod interpretatur Sinus Fari,[2] cui tunc Hild abbatissa Deo deuota femina praefuit, synodus fieri, et haec quaestio terminari deberet. Veneruntque illo reges ambo, pater scilicet et filius; episcopi Colman cum clericis suis de Scottia, Agilberctus cum Agathone et Uilfrido presbyteris. Iacobus et Romanus in horum parte erant, Hild abbatissa cum suis in parte Scottorum; in qua erat etiam uenerabilis episcopus Cedd, iamdudum ordinatus a Scottis, ut supra docuimus, qui et interpres in eo concilio uigilantissimus utriusque partis extitit.

Primusque rex Osuiu, praemissa praefatione—quod oporteret eos qui uni Deo seruirent unam uiuendi regulam tenere, nec discrepare in celebratione sacramentorum caelestium, qui unum omnes in caelis regnum expectarent; inquirendum potius quae esset uerior traditio, et hanc ab omnibus communiter esse sequen-
p. 184 dam,—iussit primo dicere episcopum suum / Colmanum, qui esset ritus et unde originem ducens ille quem ipse sequeretur. Tum Colmanus 'Pascha' inquit 'hoc, quod agere soleo, a maioribus meis accepi, qui me huc episcopum miserunt; quod omnes patres nostri, uiri Deo dilecti, eodem modo celebrasse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum et reprobandum esse uideatur, ipsum est quod beatus euangelista Iohannes,[3] discipulus specialiter Domino

[1] As we learn from the *VP*, c. 7, Alhfrith first gave Ripon to Eata of Melrose. Cuthbert was guestmaster here for a short time.

[2] The name *Streanæshealh*, whose meaning, in spite of Bede's attempted explanation, is uncertain, was changed to Whitby after the Danish settlement. Cf. *EHD*, I. 638, n. 2, and 640, n. 4.

preferred his teaching to all the traditions of the Irish and had therefore given him a monastery of forty hides in the place called Ripon. He had presented the site, a short time before, to those who followed Irish ways;[1] but because, when given the choice, they preferred to renounce the site rather than change their customs, he gave it to one who was worthy of the place both by his doctrine and his way of life. At that time there had come to the kingdom of Northumbria Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, whom we have mentioned before, a friend of Alhfrith and of Abbot Wilfrid; he stayed some time with them and, at the request of Alhfrith, he ordained Wilfrid priest in his own monastery. Agilbert had with him a priest called Agatho.

When this question of Easter and of the tonsure and other ecclesiastical matters was raised, it was decided to hold a council to settle the dispute at a monastery called *Streanæshealh* (Whitby), a name which means the bay of the lighthouse;[2] at this time Hild, a woman devoted to God, was abbess. There came to the council the two kings, both father and son, Bishop Colman with his Irish clergy, and Agilbert with the priests Agatho and Wilfrid. James and Romanus were on their side while the Abbess Hild and her followers were on the side of the Irish; among these also was the venerable Bishop Cedd, who, as has been mentioned, had been consecrated long before by the Irish and who acted as a most careful interpreter for both parties at the council.

First King Oswiu began by declaring that it was fitting that those who served one God should observe one rule of life and not differ in the celebration of the heavenly sacraments, seeing that they all hoped for one kingdom in heaven; they ought therefore to inquire as to which was the truer tradition and then all follow it together. He then ordered his bishop Colman to say first what were the customs which he followed and whence they originated. Colman thereupon said, 'The method of keeping Easter which I observe, I received from my superiors who sent me here as bishop; it was in this way that all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it. Nor should this method seem contemptible and blameworthy seeing that the blessed evangelist John,[3] the disciple whom the Lord specially loved, is

[3] According to tradition St. John had declared that Easter should be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the moon no matter what day of the week it fell upon. See p. 136, n. 1.

dilectus, cum omnibus quibus praeerat ecclesiis celebrasse legitur.' Quo haec et his similia dicente, iussit rex et Agilberctum proferre in medium morem suae obseruationis, unde initium haberet uel qua hunc auctoritate sequeretur. Respondit Agilberctus: 'Loquatur, obsecro, uice mea discipulus meus Uilfrid presbyter, quia unum ambo sapimus cum ceteris qui hic adsident ecclesiasticae traditionis cultoribus; et ille melius ac manifestius ipsa lingua Anglorum, quam ego per interpretem, potest explanare quae sentimus.' Tum Uilfrid, iubente rege ut diceret, ita exorsus est: 'Pascha quod facimus' inquit 'uidimus Romae, ubi beati apostoli Petrus et Paulus uixere, docuere, passi sunt et sepulti, ab omnibus celebrari; hoc in Italia, hoc in Gallia, quas discendi uel orandi studio pertransiuimus, ab omnibus agi conspeximus; hoc Africam, Asiam, Aegyptum, Greciam et omnem orbem, quacumque Christi ecclesia diffusa est, per diuersas nationes et linguas uno ac non diuerso temporis ordine geri conperimus, praeter hos tantum et obstinationis eorum conplices, Pictos dico et Brettones, cum quibus de duabus ultimis Oceani insulis, et his non totis, contra totum orbem stulto labore pugnant.'

Cui haec dicenti respondit Colmanus: 'Mirum quare stultum appellare uelitis laborem nostrum, in quo tanti apostoli, qui super
p. 185 pectus Domini recumbere dignus / fuit, exempla sectamur, cum ipsum sapientissime uixisse omnis mundus nouerit.' At Uilfridus 'Absit' inquit 'ut Iohannem stultitiae reprehendamus, cum scita legis Mosaicae iuxta litteram seruaret, iudaizante adhuc in multis ecclesia, nec subito ualentibus apostolis omnem legis obseruantiam, quae a Deo instituta est, abdicare, quomodo simulacra, quae a daemonibus inuenta sunt, repudiare omnes, qui ad fidem ueniunt, necesse est; uidelicet ne scandalum facerent eis qui inter gentes erant Iudaeis. Hinc est enim quod Paulus Timotheum circumcidit, quod hostias in Templo immolauit, quod cum Aquila et Priscilla caput Chorinti totondit,[1] ad nihil uidelicet utile, nisi ad scandalum uitandum Iudaeorum;[a] hinc quod eidem Paulo Iacobus ait: "Vides, frater, quot milia sunt in Iudaeis qui crediderunt, et omnes hi aemulatores sunt legis."[2] Nec tamen hodie

[a] Iudaeorum uitandum *c2*

[1] Act. 16: 3; 21: 26; 18: 18. It was actually at Cenchrea, the eastern harbour of Corinth, nine miles away, that Paul shaved his head.

[2] Act. 21: 20.

said to have celebrated it thus, together with all the churches over which he presided.' When he had said all this and more to the same effect, the king ordered Agilbert to expound the method he observed, its origin and the authority he had for following it. Agilbert answered, 'I request that my disciple, the priest Wilfrid, may speak on my behalf, for we are both in agreement with the other followers of our church tradition who are here present; and he can explain our views in the English tongue better and more clearly than I can through an interpreter.' Then Wilfrid, receiving instructions from the king to speak, began thus: 'The Easter we keep is the same as we have seen universally celebrated in Rome, where the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried. We also found it in use everywhere in Italy and Gaul when we travelled through those countries for the purpose of study and prayer. We learned that it was observed at one and the same time in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and throughout the whole world, wherever the Church of Christ is scattered, amid various nations and languages. The only exceptions are these men and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and the Britons, who in these, the two remotest islands of the Ocean, and only in some parts of them, foolishly attempt to fight against the whole world.'

Colman answered, 'I wonder that you are willing to call our efforts foolish, seeing that we follow the example of that apostle who was reckoned worthy to recline on the breast of the Lord; for all the world acknowledges his great wisdom.' Wilfrid replied, 'Far be it from me to charge John with foolishness: he literally observed the decrees of the Mosaic law when the Church was still Jewish in many respects, at a time when the apostles were unable to bring to a sudden end the entire observance of that law which God ordained in the same way as, for instance, they made it compulsory on all new converts to abandon their idols which are of devilish origin. They feared, of course, that they might make a stumbling-block for the Jewish proselytes dispersed among the Gentiles. This was the reason why Paul circumcised Timothy, why he offered sacrifices in the temple, and why he shaved his head at Corinth in company with Aquila and Priscilla;[1] all this was of no use except to avoid scandalizing the Jews. Hence James said to Paul, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of them which have believed; and they are all zealous for the law."[2] But in these days when the light of the

clarescente per mundum euangelio necesse est, immo nec licitum, fidelibus uel circumcidi uel hostias Deo uictimarum offerre carnalium. Itaque Iohannes secundum legis consuetudinem quarta decima die mensis primi ad uesperam incipiebat celebrationem festi paschalis, nil curans utrum haec sabbato an alia qualibet feria proueniret. At uero Petrus cum Romae praedicaret, memor quia Dominus prima sabbati resurrexit a mortuis ac mundo spem resurrectionis contulit, ita pascha faciendum intellexit, ut secundum consuetudinem ac praecepta legis quartam decimam lunam primi mensis, aeque sicut Iohannes, orientem ad uesperam semper expectaret; et hac exorta si dominica dies, quae tunc prima sabbati uocabatur, erat mane uentura, in ipsa uespera pascha dominicum celebrare incipiebat, quomodo et nos omnes hodie facere solemus. Sin autem dominica non proximo mane post lunam quartam decimam, sed sexta decima aut septima decima aut alia qualibet luna usque ad uicesimam primam esset uentura, expectabat eam, et /
p. 186 praecedente sabbato uespere sacrosancta paschae sollemnia inchoabat; sicque fiebat, ut dominica paschae dies nonnisi a quinta decima luna usque ad uicesimam primam seruaretur. Neque haec euangelica et apostolica traditio legem soluit, sed potius adimplet, in qua obseruandum pascha a quarta decima luna primi mensis ad uesperam usque ad uicesimam primam lunam eiusdem mensis ad uesperam praeceptum est; in quam obseruantiam imitandam omnes beati Iohannis successores in Asia post obitum eius, et omnis per orbem ecclesia conuersa est. Et hoc esse uerum pascha, hoc solum fidelibus celebrandum, Niceno concilio non statutum nouiter sed confirmatum est, ut ecclesiastica docet historia. Vnde constat uos, Colmane, neque Iohannis, ut autumatis, exempla sectari neque Petri, cuius traditioni scientes contradicitis, neque legi, neque euangelio in obseruatione uestri paschae congruere. Iohannes enim, ad legis Mosaicae decreta tempus paschale custodiens, nil de prima sabbati curabat; quod uos non facitis, qui nonnisi prima sabbati pascha celebratis. Petrus a quinta decima luna usque ad uicesimam primam diem paschae dominicum celebrabat; quod uos non facitis, qui a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam diem dominicum paschae obseruatis, ita ut tertia decima luna ad uesperam saepius pascha incipiatis; cuius neque

Gospel is spreading throughout the world, it is not necessary, it is not even lawful for believers to be circumcised or to offer God sacrifices of flesh and blood. So John, in accordance with the custom of the law, began the celebration of Easter Day in the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month, regardless of whether it fell on the sabbath or any other day. But when Peter preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord rose from the dead and brought to the world the hope of the resurrection on the first day of the week, he realized that Easter ought to be kept as follows: he always waited for the rising of the moon on the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month in accordance with the custom and precepts of the law, just as John did, but when it had risen, if the Lord's Day, which was then called the first day of the week, followed in the morning, he proceeded to celebrate Easter as we are accustomed to do at the present time. But if the Lord's Day was due, not on the morning following the fourteenth day of the moon but on the sixteenth or seventeenth or any other day until the twenty-first, he waited for it, and began the holy Easter ceremonies the night before, that is, on the Saturday evening; so it came about that Easter Sunday was kept only between the fifteenth day of the moon and the twenty-first. So this evangelical and apostolic tradition does not abolish the law but rather fulfils it, by ordering the observance of Easter from the evening of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month up to the twenty-first of the moon in the same month. All the successors of St. John in Asia since his death and also the whole church throughout the world have followed this observance. That this is the true Easter and that this alone must be celebrated by the faithful was not newly decreed but confirmed afresh by the Council of Nicaea as the history of the Church informs us. So it is plain, Colman, that you neither follow the example of John, as you think, nor of Peter, whose tradition you knowingly contradict; and so, in your observance of Easter, you neither follow the law nor the gospel. For John who kept Easter according to the decrees of the Mosaic law, took no heed of the Sunday; you do not do this, for you celebrate Easter only on a Sunday. Peter celebrated Easter Sunday between the fifteenth and the twenty-first day of the moon; you, on the other hand, celebrate Easter Sunday between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon. Thus you very often begin Easter on the evening of the thirteenth day of the moon, which is

lex ullam fecit mentionem, neque auctor ac dator euangelii Dominus in ea, sed in quarta decima, uel uetus pascha manducauit ad uesperam uel noui testamenti sacramenta in commemorationem suae passionis ecclesiae celebranda tradidit. Itemque lunam uicesimam primam, quam lex maxime celebrandam commendauit, a celebratione uestri paschae funditus eliminatis. Sicque, ut dixi, in celebratione summae festiuitatis neque Iohanni neque Petro neque legi neque euangelio concordatis.'

His contra Colmanus 'Numquid' ait 'Anatolius,[1] uir sanctus et
p. 187 in praefata historia ecclesiastica multum / laudatus, legi uel euangelio contraria sapuit, qui a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam pascha celebrandum scripsit? Numquid reuerentissimum patrem nostrum Columbam et successores eius, uiros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt, diuinis paginis contraria sapuisse uel egisse[a] credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati caelestia signa et uirtutum quae fecerunt miracula testimonium praebuerunt; quos ipse sanctos esse non dubitans, semper eorum uitam, mores et disciplinam sequi non desisto.'

At Uilfridus 'Constat' inquit 'Anatolium uirum sanctissimum, doctissimum ac laude esse dignissimum; sed quid uobis cum illo, cum nec eius decreta seruetis? Ille enim in pascha suo regulam utique ueritatis sequens, circulum X et VIIII annorum posuit, quem uos aut ignoratis aut agnitum et a tota Christi ecclesia custoditum pro nihilo contemnitis. Ille sic in pascha dominico quartam decimam lunam conputauit, ut hanc eadem ipsa die more Aegyptiorum quintam decimam lunam ad uesperam esse fateretur. Sic item uicesimam die dominico paschae adnotauit, ut hanc declinata eadem die esse uicesimam primam crederet. Cuius regulam distinctionis uos ignorasse probat, quod aliquoties pascha manifestissime ante plenilunium, id est in tertia decima luna, facitis. De patre autem uestro Columba et sequacibus eius, quorum sanctitatem uos imitari, et regulam ac praecepta caelestibus signis confirmata sequi perhibetis, possem respondere, quia multis in iudicio dicentibus Domino, quod in nomine eius prophetauerint et daemonia eiecerint et uirtutes multas fecerint, responsurus sit

[a] legisse *c2*

[1] See p. 218, n. 2.

never mentioned in the law. This was not the day—it was the fourteenth, in which the Lord, the author and giver of the Gospel, ate the old passover in the evening and instituted the sacraments of the new testament to be celebrated by the church in remembrance of his passion. Besides, in your celebration of Easter you utterly exclude the twenty-first day, which the law of Moses specially ordered to be observed. So, as I have said, in your celebration of the greatest of the festivals you agree neither with John nor Peter, neither with the law nor the Gospel.'

Colman replied, 'Did Anatolius,[1] a man who was holy and highly spoken of in the history of the Church to which you appeal, judge contrary to the law and the Gospel when he wrote that Easter should be celebrated between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon? Or must we believe that our most reverend father Columba and his successors, men beloved of God, who celebrated Easter in the same way, judged and acted contrary to the holy scriptures, seeing that there were many of them to whose holiness the heavenly signs and the miracles they performed bore witness? And as I have no doubt that they were saints, I shall never cease to follow their way of life, their customs, and their teaching.'

Wilfrid replied, 'It is true that Anatolius was a most holy and learned man, worthy of all praise; but what have you to do with him since you do not observe his precepts? He followed a correct rule in celebrating Easter, basing it on a cycle of nineteen years, of which you are either unaware or, if you do know of it, you despise it, even though it is observed by the whole Church of Christ. He assigned the fourteenth day of the moon to Easter Sunday, reckoning after the Egyptian manner that the fifteenth day of the moon began on the evening of the fourteenth. So also he assigned the twentieth day to Easter Sunday, reckoning that after evening it was the twenty-first day. But it appears that you are ignorant of this distinction, in that you sometimes clearly keep Easter Day before full moon, that is on the thirteenth day of the moon. So far as your father Columba and his followers are concerned, whose holiness you claim to imitate and whose rule and precepts (confirmed by heavenly signs) you claim to follow, I might perhaps point out that at the judgement, many will say to the Lord that they prophesied in His name and cast out devils and did many wonderful works, but the Lord will answer that He never

Dominus, quia numquam eos nouerit.[1] Sed absit, ut hoc de patribus uestris dicam, quia iustius multo est de incognitis bonum credere quam malum. Vnde et illos Dei famulos ac Deo dilectos
p. 188 esse non nego, qui / simplicitate rustica sed intentione pia Deum dilexerunt. Neque illis multum obesse reor talem paschae obseruantiam, quamdiu nullus aduenerat, qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta, quae sequerentur, ostenderet; quos utique credo, siqui tunc ad eos catholicus calculator adueniret, sic eius monita fuisse secuturos, quomodo ea quae nouerant ac didicerant Dei mandata probantur fuisse secuti. Tu autem et socii tui, si audita decreta sedis apostolicae, immo uniuersalis ecclesiae, et haec litteris sacris confirmata sequi contemnitis, absque ulla dubietate peccatis. Etsi enim patres tui sancti fuerunt, numquid uniuersali, quae per orbem est, ecclesiae Christi eorum est paucitas uno de angulo extremae insulae praeferenda? Et si sanctus erat ac potens uirtutibus ille Columba uester, immo et noster si Christi erat, num praeferri potuit beatissimo apostolorum principi, cui Dominus ait: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae Inferi non praeualebunt aduersus eam, et tibi dabo claues regni caelorum'?[2]

Haec perorante Uilfrido, dixit rex: 'Verene, Colmane, haec illi Petro dicta sunt a Domino?' Qui ait: 'Vere, rex.' At ille 'Habetis' inquit 'uos proferre aliquid tantae potestatis uestro Columbae datum?' At ille ait: 'Nihil.' Rursum rex 'Si utrique uestrum' inquit 'in hoc sine ulla controuersia consentiunt, quod haec principaliter Petro dicta, et ei claues regni caelorum sint dati a Domino?' Responderunt 'Etiam' utrique. At ille ita conclusit: 'Et ego uobis dico, quia hic est hostiarius ille, cui ego contradicere nolo; sed,
p. 189 in quantum noui uel ualeo, / huius cupio in omnibus oboedire statutis, ne forte me adueniente ad fores regni caelorum non sit qui reserat, auerso illo qui claues tenere probatur.' Haec dicente rege, fauerunt adsidentes quique siue adstantes maiores una cum

[1] Matth. 7: 22, 23.

[2] Wilfrid's speech is Bede's own version of what Wilfrid said. The very fact that he puts into Wilfrid's mouth such arrogant references to St. Columba and his disciples would seem to emphasize what is clear in other ways, that Bede did not like Wilfrid, though he was always careful to do him strict justice. Eddius in his *Life of Wilfrid* (chapter 10) gives a much shorter account of the proceedings, partly because he was less familiar with the technical problems involved. But he alone gives the dramatic account of the chanting by the whole

knew them.[1] Far be it from me to say this about your fathers, for it is much fairer to believe good rather than evil about unknown people. So I will not deny that those who in their rude simplicity loved God with pious intent, were indeed servants of God and beloved by Him. Nor do I think that this observance of Easter did much harm to them while no one had come to show them a more perfect rule to follow. In fact I am sure that if anyone knowing the catholic rule had come to them they would have followed it, as they are known to have followed all the laws of God as soon as they had learned of them. But, once having heard the decrees of the apostolic see or rather of the universal Church, if you refuse to follow them, confirmed as they are by the holy Scriptures, then without doubt you are committing sin. For though your fathers were holy men, do you think that a handful of people in one corner of the remotest of islands is to be preferred to the universal Church of Christ which is spread throughout the world? And even if that Columba of yours—yes, and ours too, if he belonged to Christ—was a holy man of mighty works, is he to be preferred to the most blessed chief of the apostles, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven'?[2]

When Wilfrid had ended, the king said, 'Is it true, Colman, that the Lord said these words to Peter?' Colman answered, 'It is true, O King.' Then the king went on, 'Have you anything to show that an equal authority was given to your Columba?' Colman answered, 'Nothing.' Again the king said, 'Do you both agree, without any dispute, that these words were addressed primarily to Peter and that the Lord gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven?' They both answered, 'Yes.' Thereupon the king concluded, 'Then, I tell you, since he is the doorkeeper I will not contradict him; but I intend to obey his commands in everything to the best of my knowledge and ability, otherwise when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there may be no one to open them because the one who on your own showing holds the keys has turned his back on me.' When the king had spoken, all who were seated there or standing by, both high and low, signified their

assembly of Matth. 16: 18, 19. Both make Oswiu end the Council by declaring his fear of contradicting St. Peter. There is no reason to suppose that Bede did more than take Eddius' account and amplify it.

mediocribus, et abdicata minus perfecta institutione, ad ea quae meliora cognouerant sese transferre festinabant.

XXVI

FINITOQUE conflictu ac soluta contione, Agilberctus domum rediit. Colman uidens spretam suam doctrinam sectamque esse dispectam, adsumtis his qui se sequi uoluerunt, id est qui pascha catholicum et tonsuram coronae (nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat)[1] recipere nolebant, Scottiam[2] regressus est, tractaturus cum suis quid de his facere deberet. Cedd, relictis Scottorum uestigiis, ad suam sedem rediit, utpote agnita obseruatione catholici paschae. Facta est autem haec quaestio anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXquarto, qui fuit annus Osuiu regis uicesimus secundus, episcopatus autem Scottorum, quam gesserunt in prouincia Anglorum, annus tricesimus; siquidem Aidan decem et septem annis, Finan decem, Colman tribus episcopatum tenuere.

Reuerso autem patriam Colmano, suscepit pro illo pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum famulus Christi Tuda,[3] qui erat apud Scottos austrinos eruditus atque ordinatus episcopus, habens iuxta morem prouinciae illius coronam tonsurae ecclesiasticae, et catholicam temporis paschalis regulam obseruans, uir quidem bonus ac
p. 190 religiosus, sed permodico tempore ecclesiam / regens. Venerat autem de Scottia, tenente adhuc pontificatum Colmano, et diligenter ea quae ad fidem ac ueritatem pertinent et uerbo cunctos docebat et opere. Porro fratribus qui in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia, Scottis abeuntibus, remanere maluerunt, praepositus est abbatis iure uir reuerentissimus ac mansuetissimus Eata, qui erat abbas in monasterio quod uocatur Mailros. Quod aiunt Colmanum abiturum petisse et inpetrasse a rege Osuiu, eo quod esset idem Eata unus de XII pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit. Multum namque eundem episcopum Colmanum rex pro insita illi prudentia diligebat. Ipse est Eata, qui non multo post eidem ecclesiae Lindisfarnensi episcopus factus est. Abiens autem domum Colman adsumsit secum partem ossuum reuerentissimi patris Aidani; partem uero in ecclesia cui praeerat reliquit, et in secretario eius condi praecepit.

[1] See p. 139, n. 3; and p. 548, n. 5.

[2] Again Bede means Iona.

[3] The choice of an Irishman who conformed to Roman usages was obviously tactful. Eddius makes it appear that Wilfrid was chosen immediately.

assent, gave up their imperfect rules, and readily accepted in their place those which they recognized to be better.

CHAPTER XXVI

WHEN the dispute was ended and the assembly had broken up, Agilbert returned home. Colman saw that his teachings were rejected and his principles despised; he took those who wished to follow him, that is, those who would not accept the catholic Easter and the tonsure in the shape of a crown (for there was no small argument about this too),[1] and returned to Ireland[2] in order to discuss with his own party what he ought to do in the matter. Cedd left the practices of the Irish and returned to his own see, having accepted the catholic method of keeping Easter. This dispute took place in the year of our Lord 664, in the twenty-second year of King Oswiu's reign and after the Irish had held the episcopate in the English kingdom for thirty years: that is to say, Aidan for seventeen years, Finan for ten, and Colman for three.

After Colman had returned to his native land, Tuda,[3] a servant of Christ, who had been educated among the southern Irish and there consecrated bishop, became bishop of the Northumbrian people; he had the ecclesiastical tonsure in the form of a crown, according to the custom of that kingdom, and also observed the catholic rules for the date of Easter. He was a good and devoted man but only ruled over the church for a very short time. He had arrived from Ireland during Colman's episcopate and diligently taught the true faith to all by word and example. A man named Eata, gentle and greatly revered, abbot of the monastery called Melrose, was placed as their abbot over the brothers who preferred to remain at Lindisfarne when the Irish departed. It is said that Colman, on his departure, had asked and obtained this favour from King Oswiu, because Eata was one of those twelve boys of English race whom Aidan, when he first became bishop, had taken and instructed in Christ; for the king greatly loved Bishop Colman on account of his innate prudence. This same Eata, not long afterwards, became bishop of the church at Lindisfarne. Colman, on leaving, took with him some of the bones of the reverend father Aidan. He left some in the church over which he had presided, directing that they should be interred in the sanctuary.

Quantae autem parsimoniae, cuius continentiae fuerit ipse cum prodecessoribus suis, testabatur etiam locus ille quem regebant, ubi abeuntibus eis excepta ecclesia paucissimae domus repertae sunt, hoc est illae solummodo sine quibus conuersatio ciuilis esse nullatenus poterat. Nil pecuniarum absque pecoribus habebant; siquid enim pecuniae a diuitibus accipiebant, mox pauperibus dabant. Nam neque ad susceptionem potentium saeculi uel pecunias colligi uel domus praeuideri necesse fuit, qui numquam ad ecclesiam nisi orationis tantum et audiendi uerbi Dei causa ueniebant. Rex ipse, cum oportunitas exegisset, cum quinque tantum aut sex ministris ueniebat, et expleta in ecclesia oratione
p. 191 discedebat. Quodsi forte eos ibi / refici contingeret, simplici tantum et cotidiano fratrum cibo contenti nil ultra quaerebant. Tota enim fuit tunc sollicitudo doctoribus illis Deo seruiendi, non saeculo; tota cura cordis excolendi, non uentris. Vnde et in magna erat ueneratione tempore illo religionis habitus, ita ut, ubicumque clericus aliqui[a] aut monachus aduenire, gaudenter ab omnibus tamquam Dei famulus exciperetur. Etiam si in itinere pergens inueniretur, adcurrebant, et flexa[b] ceruice uel manu signari uel ore illius se benedici gaudebant; uerbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant. Sed et diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam siue ad monasteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis sed audiendi sermonis Dei gratia, confluebant, et siquis sacerdotum in uicum forte deueniret, mox congregati in unum uicani uerbum uitae ab illo expetere curabant. Nam neque alia ipsis sacerdotibus aut clericis uicos adeundi, quam praedicandi baptizandi infirmos uisitandi et, ut breuiter dicam, animas curandi causa fuit; qui in tantum erant ab omni auaritiae peste castigati, ut nemo territoria ac possessiones ad construenda monasteria, nisi a potestatibus saeculi coactus acciperet. Quae consuetudo per omnia aliquanto post haec tempore in ecclesiis Nordanhymbrorum seruata est. Sed de his satis dictum.[1]

XXVII

EODEM autem anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXquarto, facta erat eclipsis solis die tertio mensis Maii,[2] hora circiter decima diei;

[a] aliquis *c2* [b] flexo *m*

[1] Bede, in spite of his strong views on the Easter question, often goes out of his way to praise the Irish party. He here contrasts the simplicity of Colman and his followers with the worldliness of his own times, of which he often complains in his writings.

How frugal and austere he and his predecessors had been, the place itself over which they ruled bears witness. When they left, there were very few buildings there except for the church, in fact only those without which the life of a community was impossible. They had no money but only cattle; if they received money from the rich they promptly gave it to the poor; for they had no need to collect money or to provide dwellings for the reception of worldly and powerful men, since these only came to the church to pray and to hear the word of God. The king himself used to come, whenever opportunity allowed, with only five or six thegns, and when he had finished his prayers in the church he went away. If they happened to take a meal there, they were content with the simple daily fare of the brothers and asked for nothing more. The sole concern of these teachers was to serve God and not the world, to satisfy the soul and not the belly. For this reason the religious habit was held in great respect at that time, so that whenever a cleric or a monk went anywhere he was gladly received by all as God's servant. If they chanced to meet him by the roadside, they ran towards him and, bowing their heads, were eager either to be signed with the cross by his hand or to receive a blessing from his lips. Great attention was also paid to his exhortations, and on Sundays the people flocked eagerly to the church or the monastery, not to get food for the body but to hear the word of God. If by chance a priest came to a village, the villagers crowded together, eager to hear from him the word of life; for the priests and the clerics visited the villages for no other reason than to preach, to baptize, and to visit the sick, in brief to care for their souls. They were so free from all taint of avarice that none of them would accept lands or possessions to build monasteries, unless compelled to by the secular authorities. This practice was observed universally among the Northumbrian churches for some time afterwards. But enough has been said on this subject.[1]

CHAPTER XXVII

In this year of our Lord 664 there was an eclipse of the sun on 3 May[2] about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. In the same year a sudden

[2] This took place in the year 664 on 1 May not 3 May as Bede says. It was at its maximum, as Bede relates, about four o'clock in the afternoon.

p. 192 quo etiam anno subita pesti/lentiae lues depopulatis prius australibus Brittaniae plagis, Nordanhymbrorum quoque prouinciam corripiens atque acerua clade diutius longe lateque desaeuiens, magnam hominum multitudinem strauit. Qua plaga praefatus Domini[a] sacerdos Tuda raptus est de mundo, et in monasterio, quod uocatur Paegnalaech,[1] honorifice sepultus. Haec autem plaga Hiberniam quoque insulam pari clade premebat.

Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, uel diuinae lectionis uel continentioris uitae gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticae conuersationi fideliter mancipauerunt; alii magis circueundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant. Quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes, uictum eis cotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum praebere curabant.

Erant inter hos duo iuuenes magnae indolis de nobilibus Anglorum, Edilhun et Ecgberct,[2] quorum prior frater fuit Edil-uini,[3] uiri aeque Deo dilecti, qui et ipse aeuo sequente Hiberniam gratia legendi adiit; et bene instructus patriam rediit, atque episcopus in prouincia Lindissi factus multo ecclesiam tempore nobilissimè rexit. Hi ergo cum essent in monasterio, quod lingua Scottorum Rathmelsigi[4] appellatur, et omnes socii ipsorum uel mortalitate de saeculo rapti uel per alia essent loca dispersi, correpti sunt ambo morbo eiusdem mortalitatis et grauissime adflicti. E quibus Ecgberct, sicut mihi referebat quidam ueracissimus et uenerandae canitiei presbyter, qui se haec ab ipso audisse perhibe-

p. 193 bat, cum se aestimaret esse / moriturum, egressus est tempore matutino de cubiculo, in quo infirmi quiescebant, et residens solus in loco oportuno coepit sedulus cogitare de actibus suis, et conpunctus memoria peccatorum suorum faciem lacrimis abluebat, atque intimo ex corde Deum precabatur, ne adhuc mori deberet, priusquam uel praeteritas neglegentias, quas in pueritia siue infantia commiserat, perfectius ex tempore castigaret, uel in bonis se operibus habundantius exerceret. Vouit etiam uotum, quia adeo peregrinus uiuere uellet, ut numquam in insulam in qua natus est, id est Brittaniam, rediret; quia praeter sollemnem canonici temporis psalmodiam, si non ualetudo corporis obsisteret, cotidie psalterium totum in memoriam diuinae laudis decantaret; quia[b]

[a] Domini praefatus *c2* [b] et quia *c2*

[1] This place has not been identified. [2] See p. 225, n. 3.
[3] See p. 247, n. 4. [4] This place has not been identified.

pestilence first depopulated the southern parts of Britain and afterwards attacked the kingdom of Northumbria, raging far and wide with cruel devastation and laying low a vast number of people. Bishop Tuda was carried off by it and honourably buried in the monastery called *Pægnalæch*.[1] The plague did equal destruction in Ireland.

At this time there were many in England, both nobles and commons, who, in the days of Bishops Finan and Colman, had left their own country and retired to Ireland either for the sake of religious studies or to live a more ascetic life. In course of time some of these devoted themselves faithfully to the monastic life, while others preferred to travel round to the cells of various teachers and apply themselves to study. The Irish welcomed them all gladly, gave them their daily food, and also provided them with books to read and with instruction, without asking for any payment.

Among these were two young Englishmen of great ability, named Æthelhun and Egbert,[2] both of noble birth. The former was a brother of Æthelwine,[3] a man equally beloved of God, who, later on, also went to Ireland to study; when he had been well grounded he returned to his native land and was made bishop in the kingdom of Lindsey, over which he ruled for a long time with great distinction. Æthelhun and Egbert were in a monastery which the Irish call *Rathmelsigi*,[4] and all their companions were carried off by the plague or scattered about in various places, while they themselves were both stricken by the same disease and were dangerously ill. An aged and venerable priest, a most truthful man, told me this story about Egbert, declaring that he had heard it from his own lips: when Egbert thought he was on the point of death, early in the morning he left the infirmary where all the sick lay and found a convenient spot in which to be alone; there he began earnestly to consider his past life. He was so stricken with remorse at the memory of his sins that he wept bitterly, and prayed God with all his heart that he might not die until he had had time to make amends for all the thoughtless offences of which he had been guilty during infancy and boyhood and to practise good works more abundantly. He also made a vow that he would live in exile and never return to his native island, Britain; that in addition to the solemn psalmody of the canonical offices he would daily recite the whole psalter to the praise of God, unless prevented

in omni septimana diem cum nocte ieiunus transiret. Cumque finitis lacrimis, precibus et uotis domum rediret, inuenit sodalem dormientem, et ipse quoque lectulum conscendens coepit in quietem membra laxare; et cum paululum quiesceret, expergefactus sodalis respexit eum, et ait: 'O frater Ecgbercte, O quid fecisti? Sperabam quia pariter ad uitam aeternam intraremus; uerumtamen scito, quia quae postulasti accipies.' Didicerat enim per uisionem et quid ille petisset, et quia petita inpetrasset. Quid multa? Ipse Edilhun proxima nocte defunctus est; at uero Ecgberct decussa molestia egritudinis conualuit, ac multo postea tempore uiuens, acceptumque sacerdotii gradum condignis ornans actibus, post multa uirtutum bona,[a] ut ipse desiderabat, nuper, id est anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIIII, cum esset ipse annorum XC, migrauit ad regna caelestia. Duxit autem uitam in magna humilitatis, mansuetu/dinis, continentiae, simplicitatis et iustitiae per-
p. 194 fectione. Vnde et genti suae et illis in quibus exulabat nationibus Scottorum siue Pictorum, et exemplo uiuendi et instantia docendi et auctoritate corripiendi et pietate largiendi de his, quae a diuitibus acceperat, multum profuit. Addidit autem uotis quae diximus, ut semper in Quadragesima non plus quam semel in die reficeret, non aliud quam panem ac lac tenuissimum, et hoc cum mensura gustaret; quod uidelicet lac pridie nouum in fiala ponere solebat, et post noctem ablata superficie crassiore, ipse residuum cum modico, ut diximus, pane bibebat. Cuius modum continentiae etiam XL diebus ante natale Domini, totidem quoque post peracta sollemnia pentecostes, hoc est Quinquagesimae, semper obseruare curabat.

XXVIII

INTEREA rex Alchfrid misit Uilfridum presbyterum ad regem Galliarum, qui eum sibi suisque consecrari faceret episcopum.[1] At ille misit eum ordinandum ad Agilberectum, de quo supra diximus, qui relicta Brittania Parisiacae ciuitatis factus erat episcopus; et consecratus est magno cum honore ab ipso, conuenientibus plurimis episcopis in uico regio, qui uocatur In Conpendio. Quo adhuc in transmarinis partibus propter ordinationem demorante,

[a] dona *c2*

[1] Of all the bishops in England still surviving, Berhtgisl (Boniface) of East Anglia remained, whom Wilfrid could not object to on either moral or orthodox grounds. Wilfrid wishing to be ordained by at least three orthodox bishops, had to go to Gaul.

by illness; and every week he would fast for a day and a night. When he had ended his tears, his prayers, and his vows, he returned home and found his companion asleep; he too lay on his bed and began to settle down to rest. After a short time of quiet, his companion awoke, looked at him, and said, 'Brother Egbert, what have you done? I hoped that we should both enter into eternal life together; but you are to know that your request will be granted.' He had learned in a vision what it was that Egbert had prayed for and also that his prayer had been answered. To put it briefly, Æthelhun died the same night while Egbert threw off his sickness, recovered, and lived for a long time afterwards, gracing the office of bishop which he had received by deeds worthy of it. After having lived a virtuous life according to his wish, he recently passed away to the heavenly realms, in the year of our Lord 729, at the age of ninety. He lived a life of great humility, gentleness, temperance, simplicity, and righteousness. He brought much blessing both to his own race and to those among whom he lived in exile, the Irish and the Picts, by the example of his life, the earnestness of his teaching, the authority with which he administered reproof, and his goodness in distributing whatever he received from the rich. In addition to the vows we have already mentioned, he never ate more than once a day throughout Lent, taking only bread and the thinnest of milk, and even these in great moderation. He used to place the previous day's new milk in a vessel, skim off the cream in the morning, and drink what was left, taking a little bread with it, as we have said. He always practised the same abstinence for forty days before Christmas and for the same number after the solemn feast of the fifty days, that is, Pentecost.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MEANWHILE King Alhfrith sent the priest Wilfrid to the king of Gaul to be consecrated bishop for himself and his people.[1] This king sent him to Agilbert for his consecration, a bishop who has already been mentioned and who, after he left Britain, became bishop of Paris. He was consecrated by him with great splendour in the presence of a number of bishops in the royal town called Compiègne. As Wilfrid lingered abroad for his consecration,

imitatus industriam filii rex Osuiu misit Cantiam uirum sanctum,[1] modestum moribus, scripturarum lectione sufficienter instructum et ea quae in scripturis agenda[a] didicerat operibus sollerter
p. 195 exsequentem, qui Eburacensis ecclesiae ordinaretur episcopus. Erat autem presbyter uocabulo Ceadda,[2] / frater reuerentissimi antistitis Ceddi, cuius saepius meminimus, et abbas monasterii illius, quod uocatur Laestingaeu. Misitque cum eo rex presbyterum suum uocabulo Eadhaedum, qui postea regnante Ecgfrido Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est. Verum illi Cantiam peruenientes, inuenerunt archiepiscopum Deusdedit iam migrasse de saeculo, et necdum alium pro eo constitutum fuisse pontificem. Vnde diuerterunt ad prouinciam Occidentalium Saxonum, ubi erat Uini episcopus; et ab illo est uir praefatus consecratus antistes, adsumtis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brettonum gente episcopis, qui dominicum paschae diem, ut saepius dictum est, secus morem canonicum a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Uine, in tota Brittania canonice ordinatus episcopus. Consecratus ergo in episcopum[b] Ceadda maximam mox coepit ecclesiasticae ueritati et castitati curam inpendere, humilitati continentiae lectioni operam dare, oppida rura casas uicos castella[3] propter euangelizandum non equitando sed apostolorum more pedibus incedendo peragrare. Erat enim de discipulis Aidani, eisdemque actibus ac moribus iuxta exemplum eius ac fratris sui Ceddi suos instituere curauit auditores. Veniens quoque Brittaniam Uilfrid iam episcopus factus et ipse perplura catholicae obseruationis moderamina ecclesiis Anglorum sua doctrina contulit. Vnde factum est ut, crescente per dies institutione catholica, Scotti omnes, qui inter Anglos morabantur, aut his manus darent aut suam redirent ad patriam.

[a] agenda in scripturis *c2* [b] episcopatum *c2*

[1] Deusdedit died 14 July 664 (iv. 1), so it appears that Chad must have left before that date or at any rate before the news reached Northumbria.

[2] Chad, brother of Cedd and disciple of Aidan, became abbot of Lastingham after the death of Cedd. It is not easy to understand why Oswiu appointed Chad, apparently in Wilfrid's place; it may have been connected with his quarrel with his son Alhfrith, who was Wilfrid's patron. It may be that he was appointed to

King Oswiu, imitating the activities of his son, sent a holy man,[1] modest in his ways, learned in the scriptures, and zealous in carrying out their teachings, to Kent, to be consecrated bishop of the church of York. This was a priest named Chad,[2] brother of the most reverend Bishop Cedd, who has often been mentioned and abbot of the monastery of Lastingham. The king sent with him his priest Eadhæd, who was afterwards made bishop of Ripon during Ecgfrith's reign. When they reached Kent they found that Deusdedit had died and no other archbishop had been appointed in his place. From there they went to the kingdom of the West Saxons where Wine was bishop. The latter consecrated Chad with the assistance of two bishops of the British race who as has repeatedly been said, keep Easter Sunday, according to their rule, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon; but there was not a single bishop in the whole of Britain except Wine who had been canonically ordained. So Chad was consecrated bishop and immediately devoted himself to the task of keeping the Church in truth and purity, to the practice of humility and temperance, and to study. He visited cities and country districts, towns, houses, and strongholds,[3] preaching the gospel, travelling not on horseback but on foot after the apostolic example. He was one of Aidan's disciples and sought to instruct his hearers in the ways and customs of his master and of his brother Cedd. When Wilfrid returned to Britain after his consecration, he also introduced many catholic customs into the English churches so that, as the catholic principles daily gained strength, all the Irish who had remained among the English either gave way or returned to their own land.

assist rather than replace Wilfrid. But his consecration, carried out by Wine, a bishop who was later accused of simony, and two unorthodox British bishops, could certainly not have been considered satisfactory by the Roman party. If Wine had been strictly orthodox, he would not have been likely to have accepted the co-operation of British bishops in the ceremony. Chad followed very much in Aidan's ways as in his evangelistic zeal, even in his objection to riding on horseback, but he seems to have accepted the outward customs as regards Easter, the tonsure, etc.

[3] Professor Whitelock suggests that *castella* is a translation of Old English *byrig*, 'fortified places'; this could well mean a nobleman's residence, which would normally be fortified. *EHD*, I. 644, n. 2.

p. 196

XXVIIII

His temporibus reges Anglorum nobilissimi, Osuiu prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum et Ecgberct Cantuariorum, habito inter se consilio[1] quid de statu ecclesiae Anglorum esset agendum (intellexerat enim ueraciter Osuiu, quamuis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica ecclesia), adsumserunt cum electione et consensu sanctae ecclesiae gentis Anglorum uirum bonum et aptum episcopatu, presbyterum nomine Uighardum de clero Deusdedit episcopi, et hunc antistitem ordinandum Romam miserunt, quatinus accepto ipse gradu archiepiscopatus catholicos per omnem Brittaniam ecclesiis Anglorum ordinare posset antistites. Verum Uighard Romam perueniens, priusquam consecrari in episcopatum posset, morte praereptus est; et huiusmodi litterae regi Osuiu Brittaniam remissae:

Domino excellenti filio Osuiu regi Saxonum Uitalianus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei.

Desiderabiles litteras excellentiae uestrae suscepimus, quas relegentes cognouimus eius piissimam deuotionem feruentissimumque amorem, quem habet propter beatam uitam, et quia dextera Domini protegente ad ueram et apostolicam fidem sit conuersus,[2] sperans ut sicut in sua gente regnat, ita et cum Christo de futuro conregnare. Benedicta igitur gens, quae talem sapientissimum et Dei cultorem promeruit habere regem, quia non solum ipse Dei cultor extitit sed etiam omnes subiectos
p. 197 suos medi/tatur die ac nocte ad fidem catholicam atque apostolicam pro suae animae redemtione conuerti. Quis enim audiens haec suauia non laetetur? Quis non exultet et gaudeat in his piis operibus? Quia et gens uestra Christo omnipotenti Deo credidit secundum diuinorum prophetarum uoces, sicut scriptum est in Esaia: 'In die illa radix Iesse, qui stat in signum populorum, ipsum gentes deprecabuntur';[3] et iterum: 'Audite insulae, et adtendite populi de longe'; et post paululum 'Parum' inquit 'est, ut mihi sis seruus ad suscitandas tribus Iacob et feces Israel conuertendas. Dedi te in lucem gentium, ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terrae'; et rursum: 'Reges uidebunt, et consurgent principes, et adorabunt'; et post pusillum: 'Dedi te in foedus populi, ut suscitares terram, et possideres hereditates dissipatas, et diceres his qui uincti

[1] It would appear that it was in his capacity as *Bretwalda* that Oswiu consulted with Egbert of Kent on the state of the English Church. It shows a growth in the conception of the Church as a unity, though Oswiu, as his dealings with Wilfrid show, was still inclined to treat the Church as an appanage to the throne.

CHAPTER XXIX

AT this time the most noble English kings, Oswiu of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent, consulted together[1] as to what ought to be done about the state of the English Church; for Oswiu, although educated by the Irish, clearly realized that the Roman Church was both catholic and apostolic; so with the choice and consent of the holy Church of the English people, they took a priest named Wigheard, a good man and well fitted for the office of bishop, one of the clerics of Bishop Deusdedit, and sent him to Rome to be consecrated bishop so that, when he had received the rank of archbishop, he could himself consecrate catholic bishops for the English churches throughout the whole of Britain. Wigheard duly reached Rome but died before he could be consecrated; and this is the letter which was sent to King Oswiu in Britain:

To the most excellent lord, our son Oswiu, king of the Saxons, Bishop Vitalian, servant of the servants of God.

We have received your Highness's welcome letter. As we read it we recognized your most sincere devotion and fervent desire for the life everlasting. We know that, by God's protecting hand, you have been converted to the true and apostolic faith[2] and we hope that, as you now reign over your people, so in the future you may reign with Christ. That race is indeed blessed which has been found worthy to have so wise a king and one who is a worshipper of God; for you not only worship God yourself but you also labour day and night to bring about the conversion of all your subjects to the catholic and apostolic faith and so save your own soul. Who could fail to be glad over such good news? And who will fail to exult and rejoice over these devoted efforts? For your race has believed in Christ who is God Almighty, as it is written in Isaiah, 'In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the Gentiles seek.'[3] And again, 'Listen, O isles, unto me, and hearken, ye peoples from afar.' And a little further on, 'It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the dregs of Israel. I have given thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.' And again, 'Kings shall see, princes also shall arise and worship.' And immediately after, 'I have given thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth and possess the scattered heritages; that thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that

[2] The pope is referring to the decision to accept the Roman Easter and form of tonsure which was taken at the Council of Whitby. [3] Isa. 11: 10.

sunt Exite, et his qui in tenebris Reuelamini';[1] et rursum: 'Ego Dominus uocaui te in iustitia, et adprehendi manum tuam, et seruaui, et dedi te in foedus populi, in lucem gentium, ut aperires oculos caecorum, et educeres de conclusione uinctum, de domo carceris sedentes in tenebris.'[2] Ecce, excellentissime fili, quam luce clarius est non solum de uobis sed etiam de omnibus prophetatum gentibus, quod sint crediturae in Christo omnium conditore. Quamobrem oportet uestram celsitudinem, utpote membrum existens Christi, in omnibus piam regulam sequi perenniter principis apostolorum, siue in pascha celebrandum siue in omnibus quae tradiderunt sancti apostoli Petrus et Paulus, qui ut duo luminaria caeli inluminant mundum, sic doctrina eorum corda hominum cotidie inlustrat credentium.

Et post nonnulla, quibus de celebrando per orbem totum uno uero pascha loquitur,

p. 198 Hominem denique, inquit, docibilem et in omnibus / ornatum antistitem, secundum uestrorum scriptorum tenorem, minime ualuimus nunc repperire pro longinquitate itineris. Profecto enim dum huiusmodi apta reppertaque persona fuerit, eum instructum ad uestram dirigemus patriam, ut ipse et uiua uoce et per diuina oracula omnem inimici zizaniam ex omni uestra insula cum diuino nutu eradicet.[3]

Munuscula a uestra celsitudine beato principi apostolorum directa pro aeterna eius memoria suscepimus, gratiasque ei agimus ac pro eius incolumitate iugiter Deum deprecamur cum Christi clero. Itaque qui haec obtulit munera, de hac subtractus est luce, situsque ad limina apostolorum: pro quo ualde sumus contristati, cum hic esset defunctus. Verumtamen gerulis harum nostrarum litterarum uestris missis, et beneficia sanctorum, hoc est reliquias beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sanctorum martyrum Laurentii, Iohannis et Pauli, et Gregorii atque Pancrati eis fecimus dari, uestrae excellentiae profecto omnes contradendas. Nam et coniugi uestrae, nostrae spiritali filiae, direximus per praefatos gerulos crucem clauem auream habentem de sacratissimis uinculis beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum:[a] de cuius pio studio cognoscentes, tantum cuncta sedes apostolica una nobiscum laetatur, quantum eius pia opera coram Deo flagrant et uernant. Festinet igitur, quaesumus, uestra celsitudo, ut optamus, totam suam insulam Deo Christo dicare. Profecto enim habet protectorem, humani generis redemtorem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui ei cuncta prospera inpertiet, uti nouum Christi populum coaceruet, catholicam ibi et apostolicam constituens fidem. Scriptum est enim: 'Quaerite primum regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adicientur uobis.'[4] Nimirum

[a] apostolorum Petri et Pauli *c2*

[1] Isa. 49: 1, 6, 7, 8, 9. [2] Isa. 42: 6, 7.

are in darkness, Show yourselves.'[1] And again, 'I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and have held thine hand and have kept thee and have given thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoner from the prison and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house.'[2] Most excellent son, as you see, it is clearer than day that it is here foretold that not only you but also all peoples will believe in Christ the Maker of all things. Therefore your Highness must, as a member of Christ, always follow the holy rule of the chief of the apostles in all things, both in the celebration of Easter and in everything delivered by the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, who, like two heavenly lights, illuminate the world, while their teaching daily illuminates the hearts of believers.

After some remarks about celebrating the true Easter uniformly throughout the whole world, he goes on:

Finally, in view of the length of the journey, we are not at present able to find a man who is entirely suitable and fitted to be your bishop, as you request in your letter. But as soon as a fit person is found, we will send him to your land with full instructions so that he may, by his preaching and with the help of the word of God, entirely root out, with His blessing, the tares sown by the enemy throughout your island.[3]

We have received the gifts sent by your Highness to the blessed chief of the apostles to be a lasting memorial of you. We thank you and will pray continually for your safety and that of the Christian clergy. But the bearer of your gifts has departed this life and is buried in the threshold of the apostles: his death has greatly grieved us. Nevertheless we have directed that the blessings of the saints, in the form of relics of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and of the holy martyrs Laurence, John and Paul, as well as Gregory and Pancras, should be given to your messengers who are the bearers of this letter to be delivered to your Highness. To your wife, our spiritual daughter, we send by the same bearers a cross with a golden key, made from the holy fetters of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul: for, hearing of her pious zeal, the whole apostolic see rejoices with us, just as her works of piety smell sweet and blossom in the presence of God. We trust that your Highness will speedily fulfil our desire and dedicate the whole of your island to Christ our God; for you indeed have a Protector in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, who will prosper you in all your efforts to gather together a new people for Christ and establish among them the catholic and apostolic faith. For it is written, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.'[4] All your islands shall indeed be made subject

[3] Cf. Matth. 13: 24–30. [4] Matth. 6: 33; Luc. 12: 31.

enim quaerit et inpetrabit, et ei omnes suae insulae, ut optamus, subdentur. Paterno itaque affectu salutantes uestram excellentiam, diuinam
p. 199 precamur iugiter clemen/tiam, quae uos uestrosque omnes in omnibus bonis operibus auxiliari[a] dignetur, ut cum Christo in futuro regnetis[b] saeculo. Incolumem excellentiam uestram gratia superna custodiat.[1]

Quis sane pro Uighardo reppertus ac dedicatus sit antistes, libro sequente oportunius dicetur.

XXX

EODEM tempore prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum post Suidhelmum, de quo supra diximus, praefuere reges Sigheri et Sebbi,[2] quamuis ipsi regi Merciorum Uulfherae[3] subiecti. Quae uidelicet prouincia cum praefatae mortalitatis clade premeretur, Sigheri cum sua parte populi, relictis Christianae fidei sacramentis, ad apostasiam conuersus est. Nam et ipse rex et plurimi de plebe siue optimatibus, diligentes hanc uitam et futuram non quaerentes, siue etiam non esse credentes, coeperunt fana, quae derelicta erant, restaurare, et adorare simulacra, quasi per haec possent a mortalitate defendi. Porro socius eius et coheres regni eiusdem Sebbi magna fidem perceptam cum suis omnibus deuotione seruauit, magna, ut in sequentibus dicemus, uitam fidelem felicitate conpleuit. Quod ubi rex Uulfheri conperit, fidem uidelicet prouinciae ex parte profanatam, misit ad corrigendum errorem reuocandamque ad fidem ueritatis prouinciam Iaruman episcopum, qui successor erat Trumheri. Qui multa agens sollertia, iuxta quod mihi presbyter, qui comes itineris illi et cooperator
p. 200 Verbi extiterat, referebat, (erat enim religiosus et bonus uir) / longe lateque omnia peruagatus, et populum et regem praefatum ad uiam iustitiae reduxit; adeo ut relictis siue destructis fanis arisque quas fecerant, aperirent ecclesias, ac nomen Christi, cui contradixerant, confiteri gauderent, magis cum fide resurrectionis in illo mori quam in perfidiae sordibus inter idola uiuere cupientes. Quibus ita gestis, et ipsi sacerdotes doctoresque eorum domum rediere laetantes.

[a] auxiliare *c2* [b] regnetis in futuro *c2*

[1] The pope does not mention the fact that Wigheard was the archbishop-elect whom he had been asked to consecrate. It may be that, knowing the chaotic state of the English hierarchy, he was not altogether in favour of a choice which had been made by the two leading kings of England. But circumstances played into his hands. So he tactfully took it for granted that they wished him to find a suitable successor to Deusdedit without explicitly referring to Wigheard as the original candidate. [2] See p. 152, n. 1.

[3] Son of Penda, reigned over Mercia from 659 to 674. After Wulfhere's succession to the Mercian throne he gradually acquired power over most of the

to Him which is what we both desire. We greet your Excellency with paternal affection and continually pray God in His mercy to assist you and yours in all good works, so that you may reign with Christ in the world to come. May the grace of heaven keep your Excellency in safety.'[1]

The next book will provide a more suitable place for telling who was selected and consecrated archbishop in place of Wigheard.

CHAPTER XXX

ABOUT the same time Kings Sigehere and Sebbi[2] succeeded Swithhelm, already mentioned, as rulers of the East Saxons, though they were themselves subject to the Mercian King Wulfhere.[3] When this kingdom was suffering from the disastrous plague described above, Sigehere, together with his part of the nation, deserted the sacraments of the Christian faith and apostatized. For the king himself and the majority of both commons and nobles loved this present life, seeking no other and not even believing in any future existence; so they began to restore the derelict temples and to worship images, as if they could protect themselves by such means from the plague. But Sebbi, his colleague and fellow king, held devotedly to the faith which he and his people had accepted and, as we shall see, remained faithful and ended his life happily. As soon as King Wulfhere found that part of the kingdom had apostatized from the faith, he sent Bishop Jaruman, Trumhere's successor, to correct their error and to recall the kingdom to a true belief. A priest who was a companion on his journeys and shared his preaching told me that he acted with great discretion, for he was a religious and good man and, travelling far and wide, he succeeded in bringing back both the people and their King Sigehere to the paths of righteousness. As a result they either abandoned or destroyed the temples and altars they had erected, they reopened their churches, and rejoiced to confess the name of Christ which they had denied, choosing rather to die believing that they would rise again in Him than to live in the filth of unbelief among their idols. When they had accomplished their task, the priests and teachers returned home rejoicing.

southern peoples, including the two rulers of Essex mentioned here. Bede does not mention Wulfhere among his list of *Bretwaldan* (ii. 5). There is no question about his power, for when he invaded Northumbria and attacked Ecgfrith (iv. 12) he was head of an army drawn from all the southern English peoples. (Cf. Eddius, chapter 20.)

LIBER QVARTVS

Haec continentur in libro quarto historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum:

I. Vt defuncto Deusdedit Uighard ad suscipiendum episcopatum Romam sit missus; sed illo ibidem defuncto Theodorus archiepiscopus ordinatus et cum Hadriano abbate sit Brittaniam missus.

II. Vt Theodoro cuncta peragrante, Anglorum ecclesiae cum catholica ueritate litterarum quoque sanctarum coeperint studiis imbui; et ut Putta pro Damiano Hrofensis ecclesiae sit factus antistes.

III. Vt Ceadda, de quo supra dictum est, prouinciae Merciorum sit episcopus datus, et de uita et obitu et[a] sepultura eius.

IIII. Vt Colman episcopus relicta Brittania duo monasteria in Scottia, unum Scottis, alterum Anglis quos secum adduxerat, fecerit.

V. De morte Osuiu et Ecgbercti regum, et de synodo facta ad locum Herutforda, cui praesidebat archiepiscopus Theodorus.

VI. Vt deposito Uynfrido Sexuulf episcopatum eius acceperit, et Earconuald Orientalibus Saxonibus sit episcopus datus.[b]

VII. Vt in monasterio Bericinensi, ubi corpora sanctimonialium feminarum poni deberent, caelesti sit luce monstratum.

VIII. Vt in eodem monasterio puerulus moriens uirginem, quae se erat secutura, clamauerit; utque alia de corpore egressura iam particulam futurae lucis aspexerit.

VIIII. Quae sint ostensa caelitus signa, cum et ipsa mater congregationis illius e mundo transiret.

X. Vt ad cymiterium eiusdem monasterii orans caeca lucem receperit.

XI. Vt rex eiusdem prouinciae Sebbi in monachica uitam conuersatione finierit.

XII. Vt episcopatum Occidentalium Saxonum pro Leutherio Haeddi, episcopatum Hrofensis ecclesiae pro Putta Cuichelm[c] et pro ipso Gebmund[d] acceperit; et qui tunc Nordanhymbrorum fuerint episcopi.

XIII. Vt Uilfrid episcopus prouinciam Australium Saxonum ad Christum conuerterit.[e]

[a] ac *c* [b] episcopus datur (*omitting* sit) *c* [c] Quichelm *c* [d] Gemmund *c* [e] *c adds* quae tamen illo abeunte propter aceruam hostium obpressionem proprium episcopum habere nequiuerit

BOOK IV

These are the contents of the fourth book of the church of the English people.

1. How, when Deusdedit died, Wigheard was sent to Rome to be made archbishop; but, on his death there, Theodore was consecrated and sent to Britain with Abbot Hadrian.
2. How Theodore made a general visitation and how the English churches began to receive instruction in the study of the holy Scriptures as well as in catholic truth; and how Putta was made bishop of the church at Rochester in place of Damian.
3. How Chad, already mentioned, was appointed bishop of the Mercian kingdom, and about his life, death, and burial.
4. How Bishop Colman left Britain and founded two monasteries in Ireland, one for the Irish and the other for the English whom he had taken with him.
5. About the deaths of Kings Oswiu and Egbert; and about the synod held at Hertford over which Archbishop Theodore presided.
6. How when Winfrith was deposed, Seaxwulf took his place and Eorcenwold was made bishop of the East Saxons.
7. How a heavenly light showed where the bodies of the nuns of Barking were to be buried.
8. How a little boy, when dying there, called upon the nun who was to follow him; and how another nun, when on the point of departure from the body, had a glimpse of the light to come.
9. Of the signs which were revealed from heaven and how the mother of that congregation departed this life.
10. How a blind woman who prayed in the cemetery of the monastery received her sight.
11. How Sebbi, the king of that land, ended his life as a monk.
12. How Hædde was made bishop of the West Saxons in place of Leuthere; how Cwichelm succeeded Putta as bishop of Rochester while Gefmund succeeded Cwichelm; and who were then bishops of Northumbria.
13. How Bishop Wilfrid converted the kingdom of the South Saxons to Christ.

XIIII (XVI).[a] Vt Uecta insula Christianos incolas susceperit, cuius regii duo pueri statim post aeceptum baptisma sint interemti.

XV (XVII). De synodo facta in campo Haetfelda praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro.

XVI (XVIII). De Iohanne cantatore sedis apostolicae, qui propter docendum Brittaniam uenerit.

XVII (XIX). Vt Edilthryd regina uirgo perpetua permanserit, cuius nec corpus in monumento corrumpi potuerit.

XVIII (XX). Hymnus de illa.

XIX (XXI). Vt Theodorus episcopus inter Ecgfridum et Aedilredum reges pacem fecerit.

XX (XXII). Vt uincula cuiusdam captiui, cum pro eo missae cantarentur, soluta sint.

XXI (XXIII). De uita et obitu Hildae abbatissae.

XXII (XXIIII). Quod in monasterio eius fuerit frater, cui donum canendi sit diuinitus concessum.[b]

XXIII (XXV). Qualis uisio cuidam uiro Dei apparuerit, priusquam monasterium Coludanae urbis esset incendio consumtum.

XXIIII (XXVI). De morte Ecgfridi et Hlotheri regum.

XXV (XXVII). Vt uir Domini Cudberct sit episcopus factus, utque in monachica adhuc uita positus uixerit uel docuerit.

XXVI (XXVIII). Vt idem in uita anachoretica et fontem de arente terra orando produxerit, et segetem de labore manuum ultra tempus serendi acceperit.

XXVII (XXIX). Vt idem iam episcopus obitum suum proxime[c] futurum Hereberchto anachoritae praedixerit.

XXVIII (XXX). Vt corpus illius post XI annos sepulturae sit corruptionis inmune reppertum, nec multo post successor episcopatus eius de mundo transierit.

XXIX (XXXI). Vt quidam[d] ad tumbam eius sit a paralysi sanatus.[e]

XXX (XXXII). Vt alter ad reliquias eius[f] nuper fuerit ab oculi languore curatus.

INCIPIT IPSE LIBER

[a] *Henceforward the modern chapter-numbering is added in brackets; what is now chapter xiiii has no heading because it is an addition (in m only), xv has none because in the authentic texts it is continuous with what precedes it. The headings given by Plummer are in the edition of 1500, but not in the* editio princeps
[b] concessum *in c was probably written at the end of the line above to save space, and therefore appears in its copies both before and after* sit
[c] proxime *om. c*
[d] *In c this heading (but not the text of the chapter) stands after the following, with* alter *for* quidam
[e] curatus *c*
[f] Vt ad reliquias eius quidam *c*

14 (16). How the Isle of Wight received Christian settlers; and how two young princes of the island were put to death immediately after baptism.

15 (17). About a synod held in the plain called Hatfield, Archbishop Theodore presiding.

16 (18). About John, the precentor of the apostolic see, who came to Britain to teach.

17 (19). How Queen Æthelthryth always preserved her virginity and how her body could suffer no corruption in the grave.

18 (20). A hymn about her.

19 (21). How Archbishop Theodore made peace between Kings Ecgfrith and Æthelred.

20 (22). How the bonds of a certain captive were loosed when masses were sung on his behalf.

21 (23). About the life and death of Abbess Hild.

22 (24). How there was a brother in her monastery who received a divine gift of song.

23 (25). How a vision appeared to a certain man of God before the monastery at Coldingham was destroyed by fire.

24 (26). About the deaths of Kings Ecgfrith and Hlothhere.

25 (27). How Cuthbert the man of God was made a bishop; and how up to that time he had lived and taught as a monk.

26 (28). How, when living as a hermit, he produced a fountain of water from dry soil and how he won a crop from seed which he himself had sown out of season with his own hands.

27 (29). How this bishop predicted his own imminent death to Herbert the anchorite.

28 (30). How his body was found free from corruption eleven years after his death; and how, soon afterwards, his successor in the bishopric departed this life.

29 (31). How a certain man was healed of paralysis at his tomb.

30 (32). How another man was lately cured of a disease of the eye at his shrine.

BEGINNING OF BOOK IV

I

p. 201 ANNO[a] memorato praefatae eclypsis et mox sequentis pestilentiae, quo et Colman episcopus[b] unanima catholicorum intentione superatus ad suos reuersus est, Deusdedit sextus ecclesiae Doruernensis episcopus obiit pridie iduum Iuliarum; sed et Erconberct rex Cantuariorum eodem mense ac die defunctus Ecgbercto filio sedem regni reliquit, quam ille susceptam per nouem annos tenuit. Tunc cessante non pauco tempore episcopatu, missus est Romam ab ipso simul et a rege Nordanhymbrorum Osuio, ut in praecedente libro paucis diximus, Uighard presbyter, uir in ecclesiasticis disciplinis doctissimus de genere Anglorum, petentibus hunc ecclesiae Anglorum archiepiscopum ordinari, missis pariter apostolico papae donariis et aureis atque argenteis uasis non paucis. Qui ubi Romam peruenit, cuius sedi apostolicae tempore illo Uitalianus praeerat, postquam itineris sui causam praefato
p. 202 papae apos/tolico patefecit, non multo post et ipse et omnes pene qui cum eo aduenerant socii[c] pestilentia superueniente deleti sunt.

At apostolicus papa habito de his consilio quaesiuit sedulus, quem ecclesiis Anglorum archiepiscopum mitteret. Erat autem in monasterio Hiridano,[d1] quod est non longe a Neapoli Campaniae, abbas Hadrianus, uir natione Afir sacris litteris diligenter inbutus, monasterialibus simul et ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutus, Grecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus. Hunc ad se accitum papa iussit episcopatu accepto Brittaniam uenire. Qui indignum se tanto gradui respondens, ostendere posse se dixit alium, cuius magis ad suscipiendum episcopatum et eruditio conueniret et aetas; cumque monachum quendam de uicino uirginum monasterio[2] nomine Andream pontifici offerret, hic ab omnibus qui nouere dignus episcopatu iudicatus est. Verum pondus corporeae infirmitatis ne episcopus fieri posset obstitit, et rursum Hadrianus ad suscipiendum episcopatum actus est.

[a] In anno *c* [b] episcopus *om. c* [c] socii eius *c2* [d] Niridano *c2; m* and *the Kassel MS. have* Hiridano

[1] This place has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

CHAPTER I

In the year of the eclipse already mentioned and of the pestilence which quickly followed, Colman, defeated by the unanimous decision of the catholic party, returned to his own people; and Deusdedit, the sixth bishop of the church at Canterbury, died on 14 July. Eorcenberht, king of Kent, died on the same day, leaving his throne to his son Egbert, who held it for nine years. As the see had remained vacant for a considerable time, a priest named Wigheard was sent to Rome by Egbert and also by Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, with the request that he might be consecrated archbishop of the English Church. This was briefly mentioned in the preceding book. He was a man of English race and very learned in Church affairs. At the same time they sent presents to the pope and no small number of gold and silver vessels. When he arrived in Rome, Vitalian was presiding over the apostolic see; but not long after Wigheard had explained the object of his journey, he and almost all the companions who had travelled with him were carried off by a visitation of the plague.

The pope took advice about the matter and tried very hard to find someone to send out as archbishop of the English Church. Now there was in the monastery of Hiridanum,[1] not far from Naples in Campania, a certain Abbot Hadrian, a man of African race and well versed in the holy Scriptures, trained both in monastic and ecclesiastical ways and equally skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues. The pope sent for him and ordered him to accept the bishopric and go to Britain. Hadrian answered that he was unworthy of so exalted a rank, adding that he could point to another who was much better fitted both by age and learning to undertake the office of bishop. He suggested to the pope a certain monk named Andrew, attached to a neighbouring convent of women,[2] who was considered by all who knew him to be worthy of the rank; but his bodily infirmities prevented him from being consecrated bishop. So Hadrian was again urged to accept the bishopric.

[1] He would be the chaplain of the women's convent.

Qui petens indutias, si forte alium qui episcopus ordinaretur ex tempore posset inuenire, erat ipso tempore Romae monachus Hadriano notus nomine Theodorus, natus Tarso Ciliciae,[1] uir et saeculari et diuina litteratura et Graece instructus et Latine,[a2] probus moribus et aetate uenerandus, id est annos habens aetatis LX et VI. Hunc offerens Hadrianus pontifici, ut episcopus ordinaretur obtinuit, his tamen condicionibus interpositis, ut ipse eum perduceret Brittaniam, eo quod iam bis partes Galliarum diuersis ex causis adisset, et eb id maiorem huius itineris peragendi notitiam haberet, sufficiensque esset in possessione hominum
p. 203 propriorum; et ut ei / doctrinae cooperator existens diligenter adtenderet, ne quid ille contrarium ueritati fidei Graecorum more in ecclesiam cui praeesset introduceret.[3] Qui subdiaconus ordinatus[4] quattuor exspectauit menses, donec illi coma cresceret, quo in coronam tondi posset; habuerat enim tonsuram more orientalium sancti apostoli Pauli. Qui ordinatus est a Uitaliano papa anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXVIII sub die VII kalendarum Aprilium, dominica, et ita una cum Hadriano VI kalendas Iunias Brittaniam missus est.[5] Qui cum pariter per mare ad Massiliam, ac deinde per terram Arhelas peruenissent, et tradidissent Iohanni archiepiscopo ciuitatis illius[6] scripta commendaticia Uitaliani pontificis, retenti sunt ab eo, quousque Ebrinus[7] maior domus regiae copiam pergendi quoquo uellent tribuit eis. Qua accepta Theodorus profectus est ad Agilberctum Parisiorum episcopum, de quo superius diximus, et ab eo benigne susceptus et multo tempore habitus est; Hadrianus perrexit primum ad Emme Senonum et postea ad Faronem[8] Meldorum episcopos, et bene sub eis diutius fuit: coegerat enim eos inminens hiems ut ubicumque potuissent quieti manerent. Quod cum nuntii certi narrassent regi Ecgbercto, esse scilicet episcopum quem petierant a Romano

[a] et latine instructus *c*

[1] Tarsus, after having been subject to constant aggression by the Persians, was finally captured by the Arabs in 660. This must have resulted in many refugees making their way to Europe. Perhaps some of them came in Theodore's train to England or were amongst Hadrian's followers.

[2] Pope Zacharias writing to St. Boniface says that Theodore had studied in Athens (Tangl, no. 80).

[3] The pope was perhaps thinking of the Monothelite heresy and also, it may be, of the Monophysite heresy (p. 387, n. 2). Theodore, like all the Greeks, accepted the Roman Easter but not apparently the Roman form of tonsure (see p. 139, n. 3).

[4] Theodore was only in minor orders like many monks and would therefore have to be ordained sub-deacon, the lowest of all the major orders. It is not clear whether he was then ordained successively through the intermediate grades or whether he was consecrated archbishop immediately. The wording seems to suggest the latter.

Hadrian then asked for a respite to see if he could, in the time, find a man suitable to be consecrated bishop. Just then there was in Rome a monk known to Hadrian whose name was Theodore. He was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia,[1] a man well trained in secular and divine literature, both Greek and Latin.[2] He was of upright character and of venerable age, being sixty-six years old. Hadrian proposed his name to the pope, who agreed to consecrate him but on one condition, that Hadrian himself should take Theodore to Britain, because he had already travelled twice through Gaul on various missions and was therefore better acquainted with the road and had an adequate number of followers; also, being a fellow labourer in his teaching work, he would take great care to prevent Theodore from introducing into the church over which he presided any Greek customs which might be contrary to the true faith.[3] So he was ordained sub-deacon,[4] waiting for four months until his hair grew, in order that he might receive the tonsure in the shape of a crown; for he had received the tonsure of the holy apostle Paul, after the Eastern manner. He was consecrated by Pope Vitalian in the year of our Lord 668, on Sunday, 26 March. He was sent to Britain in company with Hadrian on 27 May.[5] They came together by sea to Marseilles and then by land to Arles and handed to John, the archbishop of that town,[6] the commendatory letters of Pope Vitalian. They were kept back by John until Ebroin,[7] the king's mayor of the palace, gave them leave to go where they pleased. Thereupon Theodore went to Agilbert, the bishop of Paris, of whom we have spoken before. He was kindly received and entertained by the bishop for a long period. Hadrian went first to Emme, bishop of Sens, and then to Faro,[8] bishop of Meaux, and lived comfortably with them for a long time; for the approach of winter compelled them to stay quietly wherever they could. When King Egbert had been told that a bishop, the one they had asked for from the bishop of Rome, was in the kingdom

[5] The pope also sent Benedict Biscop with the party to act as guide and interpreter (*HAB*, Plummer, 1. 366). 27 May was the eve of Pentecost.

[6] Archbishop of Arles from 658 to 675.

[7] Mayor of the palace in Neustria under Theodoric III. Like the other mayors of the palace he was practically ruler of the realm. He remained master of both Neustria and Burgundy until he was assassinated in 681. He was a ruthless ruler and Wilfrid's implacable enemy.

[8] Faro, bishop of Meaux from 626 to 672, was the brother of the Fara mentioned in iii. 8.

antistite in regno Francorum, misit illo continuo Raedfridum praefectum suum ad adducendum eum. Quo cum uenisset, adsumsit Theodorum cum Ebrini licentia et perduxit eum ad portum, cui nomen est Quaentauic,[1] ubi fatigatus infirmitate aliquantisper moratus est et, cum conualescere coepisset, nauigauit Brittaniam. Hadrianum autem Ebrinus retinuit, quoniam suspicabatur eum habere aliquam legationem imperatoris ad Brittaniae
p. 204 reges / aduersus regnum, cuius tunc ipse maximam curam gerebat.[2] Sed cum nihil tale illum habere uel habuisse ueraciter conperisset, absoluit eum et post Theodorum ire permisit. Qui statim ut ad illum uenit,[a3] dedit ei monasterium beati Petri apostoli, ubi archiepiscopi Cantiae sepeliri, ut praefatus sum, solent. Praeceperat enim Theodoro abeunti domnus apostolicus, ut in diocesi sua prouideret et daret ei locum, in quo cum suis apte degere potuisset.

II

PERUENIT autem Theodorus ad ecclesiam suam secundo postquam consecratus est anno sub die sexta kalendarum Iuniarum, dominica,[4] et fecit in ea annos XX et unum menses tres dies XXVI.[5] Moxque[b] peragrata insula tota, quaquauersum Anglorum gentes morabantur (nam et libentissime ab omnibus suscipiebatur atque audiebatur), rectum uiuendi ordinem, ritum celebrandi paschae canonicum per omnia comitante et cooperante Hadriano disseminabat; isque primus erat[c] in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia[d] manus dare consentiret. Et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant, ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus /

[a] peruenit *c* [b] *Chapter ii begins here in c* [c] erat *om. c*
[d] ecclesia Anglorum *c2*

[1] At the mouth of the river Canche and the regular port of embarkation for Britain all through the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. It was near modern Étaples.

[2] The emperor would be Constans II who was murdered at Syracuse in Sicily in September 668. Constans was looked upon with suspicion by the

of the Franks, he at once sent his reeve named Rædfrith to bring Theodore to him. When Rædfrith arrived, he took Theodore with the permission of Ebroin and brought him to the port called *Quæntavic*.[1] Here he was delayed for some time owing to sickness, but when he had begun to recover, he sailed to Britain. Ebroin kept Hadrian because he suspected him of having some mission from the emperor to the kings of Britain, which might be directed against the kingdom over which at that time he held the chief charge.[2] But when he discovered the truth, that Hadrian had never had any such mission at any time, he freed him and allowed him to go after Theodore. As soon as he arrived,[3] Theodore gave him the monastery of the blessed apostle Peter, where, as I have said, the archbishops of Canterbury are buried. The pope had instructed Theodore at his departure to provide for Hadrian in his province and to give him a suitable place to live with his followers.

CHAPTER II

THEODORE came to his church on Sunday, 27 May, in the second year after his consecration,[4] and there he spent twenty-one years, three months, and twenty-six days.[5] Soon after he arrived, he visited every part of the island where the English peoples lived and was gladly welcomed and listened to by all. He was accompanied everywhere and assisted by Hadrian, as he gave instruction on the ordering of a holy life and the canonical custom of celebrating Easter. He was the first of the archbishops whom the whole English Church consented to obey. And because both of them were extremely learned in sacred and secular literature, they attracted a crowd of students into whose minds they daily poured the streams of wholesome learning. They gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of holy Scripture but also in the art of metre,

Franks, and Hadrian's monastery at Naples was near enough to Sicily to suggest possible communication between him and Constans. Ebroin's suspicions also show that England was very much bound up in continental politics.

[3] Hadrian reached England about 670. Meanwhile Benedict Biscop was abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul for two years until Hadrian was ready to take his place. Bede is probably exaggerating slightly when he says that Hadrian became abbot 'as soon as he arrived'. See *HAB*, Plummer, I. 367.

[4] The year must have been 669 when 27 May fell on a Sunday.

[5] Theodore died on 19 September 690.

p. 205 contraderent.[1] Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Graecamque linguam aeque ut propriam in qua nati sunt norunt.[2] Neque umquam prorsus, ex quo Brittaniam petierunt Angli, feliciora fuere tempora, dum et fortissimos Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium uota ad nuper audita caelestis regni gaudia penderent, et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promtu magistros qui docerent.

Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto Iacobo de quo supra[a] diximus, cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis Aeddi cognomento Stephanus fuit,[3] inuitatus de Cantia a reuerentissimo uiro[b] Uilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent catholicum uiuendi morem[4] ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

Itaque Theodorus perlustrans uniuersa ordinabat locis oportunis episcopos,[5] et ea quae minus perfecta repperit his quoque iuuantibus corrigebat. In quibus et Ceadda episcopum cum argueret non fuisse rite consecratum, respondens ipse uoce humillima 'Si me' inquit 'nosti episcopatum non rite suscepisse, libenter ab officio discedo, quippe qui neque me umquam hoc esse dignum arbitrabar, sed oboedientiae causa iussus subire hoc quamuis indignus consensi.' At ille audiens humilitatem responsi eius, dixit non eum episcopatum dimittere debere, sed ipse ordinationem eius denuo catholica ratione consummauit.[6] Eo autem tempore quo defuncto Deusdedit Doruuernensi ecclesiae episcopus quaerebatur ordinabatur mittebatur, Uilfrid quoque de Brittania Gal-
p. 206 liam / ordinandus est missus, et quoniam ante Theodorum rediit, ipse etiam in Cantia presbyteros et diaconos, usquedum

[a] superius *c* [b] uiro *om. c2*

[1] It was the influence of this school which led to the foundation of the schools at Jarrow and York. The subjects too must have been very similar, to judge by Bede's own writings, many of which were intended as school-books. Compare also Alcuin's account of the York school in his poem on the saints of York (*MGH, Poet. Lat.* I. 203–4). Aldhelm, writing to a friend, complains of the number of scholars who resorted to Ireland in 'streams and flotillas' when they could have got their learning from Theodore and Hadrian (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* XV. 492).

[2] Bede mentions particularly Tobias, bishop of Rochester, and Albinus, who succeeded Hadrian as abbot (v. 8, 20). There is good reason for thinking that Bede himself was a competent Greek scholar (*BLTW*, pp. 257 ff.).

[3] Æddi or Eddius Stephanus is generally believed to be the author of the *Life of Wilfrid*, which Bede uses considerably in his account of Wilfrid in v. 19.

[4] Bede presumably means the practices of the Western Church as opposed to the Celtic, e.g. the keeping of Easter, the Benedictine Rule, and the Roman form of music.

astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation.[1] As evidence of this, some of their students still survive who know Latin and Greek just as well as their native tongue.[2] Never had there been such happy times since the English first came to Britain; for having such brave Christian kings, they were a terror to all the barbarian nations, and the desires of all men were set on the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had only lately heard; while all who wished for instruction in sacred studies had teachers ready to hand.

From that time also the knowledge of sacred music, which had hitherto been known only in Kent, began to be taught in all the English churches. With the exception of James already mentioned, the first singing master in the Northumbrian churches was Æddi surnamed Stephen,[3] who was invited from Kent by the most worthy Wilfrid, who was the first bishop of the English race to introduce the catholic way of life[4] to the English churches.

So Theodore journeyed to every district, consecrating bishops[5] in suitable places and, with their help, correcting whatever he found imperfect. Among these he made it clear to Bishop Chad that his consecration had not been regular, whereupon the latter humbly replied, 'If you believe that my consecration was irregular, I gladly resign from the office; indeed I never believed myself to be worthy of it. But I consented to receive it, however unworthy, in obedience to the commands I received.' When Theodore heard his humble reply, he said that he ought not to give up his office; but he completed his consecration a second time after the catholic manner.[6] At the same time, when Deusdedit was dead and while a bishop for the church at Canterbury was being sought for, consecrated, and sent, Wilfrid was also sent to Gaul from Britain to be consecrated and, since he returned before Theodore's arrival, he ordained priests and deacons even in Kent until such time as the archbishop arrived at his own see. When Theodore

[5] At the time of his visitation, the only bishop in office south of the Humber was Wine, bishop of London. Cf. p. 235 and n. 5. North of the Humber there was Chad, while Wilfrid was living at Ripon and possibly exercising episcopal functions from there.

[6] It is not quite clear what Bede means here. His words seem to suggest that Chad's consecration (iii. 28) may have been lacking in some ritual formality which Theodore put right. Eddius, whose accuracy is often questionable, asserts that Theodore reconsecrated Chad 'through all the ecclesiastical degrees' (Eddius, chapter 15), thus throwing doubt on the validity of Chad's orders.

archiepiscopus ad sedem suam perueniret, ordinabat. At ipse ueniens mox in ciuitate Hrofi, ubi defuncto Damiano episcopatus iam diu cessauerat, ordinauit uirum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et uitae simplicitate contentum quam in saeculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta,[1] maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati papae Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

III

Eo tempore prouinciae Merciorum rex Uulfheri praefuit, qui cum mortuo Iarumanno[2] sibi quoque suisque a Theodoro episcopum dari peteret, non eis nouum uoluit ordinare episcopum, sed postulauit a rege Osuio ut illis episcopus Ceadda daretur, qui tunc in monasterio suo quod est in Laestingaé quietam uitam agebat, Uilfrido administrante episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiae necnon et omnium Nordanhymbrorum sed et Pictorum, quousque rex Osuiu imperium protendere poterat. Et quia moris erat eidem reuerentissimo antistiti opus euangelii magis ambulando per loca quam equitando perficere, iussit eum Theodorus, ubicumque longius iter instaret, equitare, multumque renitentem studio et amore pii laboris[3] ipse eum manu sua leuauit in equum, quia nimirum sanctum esse uirum conperiit atque equo uehi, quo esset
p. 207 necesse, conpulit. Susceptum itaque / episcopatum gentis Merciorum simul et Lindisfarorum Ceadda iuxta exempla patrum antiquorum in magna uitae perfectione administrare curauit; cui etiam rex Uulfheri donauit terram L familiarum ad construendum monasterium in loco qui dicitur Ad Baruae, id est Ad Nemus,[4] in prouincia Lindissi, in quo usque hodie instituta ab ipso regularis uitae uestigia permanent.

Habuit autem sedem episcopalem in loco qui uocatur Licidfelth, in quo et defunctus ac sepultus est, ubi usque hodie sequentium quoque prouinciae illius episcoporum sedes est.

[1] He was bishop until the sack of Rochester by Æthelred, king of Mercia, in 676 (iv. 12).

[2] Jaruman was Trumhere's successor and may have been consecrated by Celtic bishops. It was he who reconverted the East Saxons when they apostatized (iii. 30). He died in 667 and, according to Eddius, Wilfrid carried out episcopal duties in Mercia until the appointment of Chad in 669.

[3] This was strictly in the Celtic tradition (p. 226, n. 2).

came soon afterwards to the city of Rochester, where the bishopric had long been vacant after the death of Damian, he consecrated a man whose name was Putta.[1] The latter was very learned in ecclesiastical matters but showed little interest in secular affairs and was content with a simple life. He was especially skilled in liturgical chanting after the Roman manner, which he had learned from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory.

CHAPTER III

At this time King Wulfhere was ruling over the kingdom of Mercia and, since Jaruman[2] was dead, he asked Theodore to provide him and his people with a bishop; as Theodore did not wish to consecrate a new bishop for them, he asked King Oswiu to give them Bishop Chad, who was then living in retirement in his own monastery of Lastingham. Wilfrid was administering the see of the church at York and of all the Northumbrians and Picts, as far as Oswiu's power extended. And because it was the custom of the reverend Bishop Chad to carry out his evangelistic work on foot rather than on horseback, Theodore ordered him to ride whenever he was faced with too long a journey; but Chad showed much hesitation, for he was deeply devoted to this religious exercise,[3] so the archbishop lifted him on to the horse with his own hands since he knew him to be a man of great sanctity and he determined to compel him to ride a horse when necessity arose. Chad accepted the position of bishop of the Mercian race and of the people of Lindsey and, following the example of the early fathers, he administered the diocese in great holiness of life. King Wulfhere gave him fifty hides of land to build a monastery, in a place called *Adbaruae*, that is At the Grove (Barrow),[4] in the province of Lindsey, where up to the present day traces of the monastic Rule which he established still survive.

He had his episcopal seat at a place called Lichfield, where he also died and was buried, and where the succeeding bishops of the kingdom have their see to this day. He built himself a more

[4] Barrow in Lincolnshire. The prefix *ad-*, which Bede often uses, is the Latin equivalent of OE. *Æt* which came to be regarded as an integral part of a place name: it seems to have been in general confined to names which refer to a geographical feature; cf. *Ad Lapidem* (iv. 16), *Ad Tuifyrdi* (iv. 28). The prefix *In* as in *Infeppingum* (iii. 21) or *Inberecingum* (iv. 6) was generally used with Old English regional and tribal names.

Fecerat uero sibi mansionem non longe ab ecclesia remotiorem, in qua secretius cum paucis, id est septem siue octo, fratribus, quoties a labore et ministerio Verbi uacabat, orare ac legere solebat. Qui cum in illa prouincia duobus annis ac dimidio ecclesiam gloriosissime rexisset, adfuit superno dispensante iudicio tempus, de quo loquitur Ecclesiastes, quia 'Tempus mittendi lapides et tempus colligendi'.[1] Superuenit namque clades diuinitus missa, quae per mortem carnis uiuos ecclesiae lapides[2] de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium caeleste transferret. Cumque plurimis de ecclesia eiusdem reuerentissimi antistitis de carne subtractis ueniret hora ipsius, ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad Dominum,[3] contigit die quadam ut in praefata mansione forte ipse cum uno tantum fratre, cui uocabulum erat Ouini,[4] commoraretur, ceteris eius sociis pro causa oportuna ad ecclesiam reuersis. Erat autem idem Ouini monachus magni meriti et pura intentione supernae retributionis mundum derelinquens, dignusque per omnia cui Dominus specialiter sua reuelaret arcana, dignus cui fidem narranti audi-
p. 208 entes accommodarent. Venerat enim / cum regina Aedilthryde[5] de prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, eratque primus ministrorum et princeps domus eius. Qui cum crescente fidei feruore saeculo abrenuntiare disponeret, non hoc segniter fecit, sed adeo se mundi rebus exuit, ut relictis omnibus quae habebat, simplici tantum habitu indutus et securim atque asciam in manu ferens, ueniret ad monasterium eiusdem reuerentissimi patris, quod uocatur Laestingaeu. Non enim ad otium, ut quidam, sed ad laborem se monasterium intrare signabat.[6] Quod ipsum etiam facto monstrauit, nam quo minus sufficiebat meditationi[a] scripturarum, eo amplius operi manuum studium inpendebat. Denique cum episcopo in praefata mansione pro suae reuerentia deuotionis inter fratres habitus, cum illi intus lectioni uacabant, ipse foris quae opus esse uidebantur operabatur. Qui cum die quadam tale aliquid foris ageret, digressis ad ecclesiam sociis, ut dicere coeperam,

[a] meditatione *c*

[1] Eccl. 3: 5. [2] 1 Pet. 2: 5; cf. Eph. 2: 21, and 2 Cor. 5: 1. [3] Joh. 13: 1.

[4] A stone monument, the base and part of a cross, is still preserved in Ely cathedral and bears the inscription:

LUCEM TUAM OVINO
DA DEUS ET REQUIĒ
AMEN

The stone once stood at Haddenham, a village a few miles from Ely.

[5] See p. 234, n. 1. The main events of her life are related in iv. 19. She is perhaps better known as St. Etheldreda, the latinized form of her name, and also as St. Audrey. From the latter form of the name is derived the modern word 'tawdry'. For the connexion with the saint see *OED*, s.v.

retired dwelling-place not far from the church, in which he could read and pray privately with a few of his brothers, that is to say, seven or eight of them; this he did as often as he was free from his labours and from the ministration of the word. After he had ruled the Church in that kingdom with great success for two and a half years, divine providence ordained a time such as Ecclesiastes speaks of, 'a time for scattering stones and a time for gathering them together'.[1] A plague sent from heaven came upon them which, through the death of the body, translated the living stones[2] of the church from their earthly sites to the heavenly building. After many from the church of this most reverend bishop had been taken from the flesh, his own hour was at hand when he must pass from this world to be with the Lord.[3] Now it happened one day that he was in the dwelling already mentioned, with one brother only, whose name was Owine,[4] since their other companions had had occasion to return to the church. This Owine was a monk of great merit who had left the world with the sole object of winning a heavenly reward, and therefore in every respect a fit person to receive a special revelation of the mysteries of the Lord and worthy too of being believed by such as heard his story. He had come with Queen Æthelthryth[5] from the kingdom of the East Angles, being the chief of her officers and the head of her household. As his faith and zeal increased, he decided to renounce the world and this he did in no half-hearted way: he stripped himself so completely of his worldly possessions that he left all that he had and, dressed only in a plain garment and carrying an axe and an adze in his hands, he came to the most reverend father's monastery at Lastingham. He did this to show that he was not entering the monastery for the sake of ease, as some did, but to work hard.[6] This he also proved by his deeds; for as he was less capable of the study of the Scriptures, he applied himself more earnestly to manual labour. In fact, although because he was so reverent and devout he was received into the company of the bishop and the brothers and into their house, yet when they were engaged in reading inside the house, he used to work outside at whatever seemed necessary. To resume my narrative: on one such day he was occupied with some task outside and his brothers had gone

[6] Bede lays much stress on the importance of manual labour. See his description of Cuthbert's way of life both on Farne Island and at Lindisfarne (*VP*, chapters 16, 19); he may also be thinking of the pseudo-monasteries which he condemns very strongly in his *Letter to Egbert* (*EHD*, 1. 741–2).

et episcopus solus in oratorio loci lectioni uel orationi operam daret, audiuit repente, ut postea referebat, uocem suauissimam cantantium atque laetantium de caelo ad terras usque discendere; quam uidelicet uocem ab euroaustro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus, primo se audisse dicebat, ac deinde paulatim eam sibi adpropiare, donec ad tectum usque oratorii, in quo erat episcopus, perueniret, quod ingressa totum impleuit atque in gyro circumdedit. At ille, dum sollicitus in ea quae audiebat animum intenderet, audiuit denuo, transacto quasi dimidiae horae spatio, ascendere de tecto eiusdem oratorii idem laetitiae canticum, et ipsa qua uenerat uia ad caelos usque cum ineffabili dulcedine
p. 209 reuerti. Qui cum aliquantulum horae quasi adtonitus maneret / et, quid haec essent, sollerti animo scrutaretur, aperuit episcopus fenestram oratorii et sonitum manu faciens, ut saepius consueuerat, siqui foris esset, ad se intrare praecepit. Introiuit ille concitus, cui dixit antistes: 'Vade cito ad ecclesiam, et hos septem fratres huc uenire facito; tu quoque simul adesto.' Qui cum uenissent, primo admonuit eos ut uirtutem dilectionis et pacis ad inuicem et ad omnes fideles seruarent; instituta quoque disciplinae regularis, quae uel ab ipso didicissent et in ipso uidissent, uel in patrum praecedentium factis siue dictis inuenissent, indefessa instantia sequerentur. Deinde subiunxit diem sui obitus iam proxime instare. 'Namque hospes' inquit 'ille amabilis,[1] qui fratres nostros uisitare solebat, ad me quoque hodie uenire meque de saeculo euocare dignatus est. Propter quod reuertentes ad ecclesiam dicite fratribus, ut et meum exitum Domino precibus commendent et suum quoque exitum, cuius hora incerta est, uigiliis orationibus bonis operibus praeuenire meminerint.' Cumque haec et huiusmodi plura loqueretur, atque illi percepta eius benedictione iam multum tristes exissent, rediit ipse solus, qui carmen caeleste audierat, et prosternens se in terram, 'Obsecro', inquit, 'pater, licet aliquid interrogare?' 'Interroga' inquit 'quod uis.' At ille 'Obsecro' inquit 'dicas, quod erat canticum illud laetantium quod audiui, uenientium de caelis super oratorium hoc et post tempus redeuntium ad caelos?' Respondit ille: 'Si uocem

to the church, while the bishop was engaged alone in the oratory in reading or prayer; suddenly, as Owine afterwards related, he heard the sound of sweet and joyful singing descend from the sky to the earth. He said he heard the sound first of all from the south-east, that is, from the highest point of the rising of the winter sun; from there it gradually approached him until it reached the roof of the oratory where the bishop was; it entered in, filling it and all its surroundings. He listened with close attention to what he heard and then, after the space of half an hour, he heard the same joyful song ascend from the roof of the oratory and return with unspeakable sweetness to the sky in the same way as it had come. He had been standing for some time amazed and earnestly considering what this could mean, when the bishop opened the window of the oratory, clapping his hands to make a signal as he was accustomed to do, to call the attention of anyone outside, and told him to come in. As Owine hurried in, the bishop said to him, 'Go at once to the church and bid those seven brothers come here and you also come with them.' When they had come, he first of all urged them to live virtuously in love and peace with each other and with all the faithful; also to follow with unwearied constancy the Rule of life which he had taught them and which they had seen him carry out, or had learned from the words and deeds of the fathers who had gone before. Then he added that the day of his death was close at hand. 'For', he said, 'the beloved guest[1] who has been in the habit of visiting our brothers has deigned to come today to me also, to summon me from this world. So return to the church and tell the brothers to commend my departure to the Lord by their prayers and that they also remember to prepare for their own departure, the hour of which is uncertain, by fasting and prayers and good works.' When he had said this and much more in the same strain and when they had received his blessing and gone away in great sorrow, the man who had heard the heavenly song returned alone, threw himself to the ground, and said, 'Father, I beg you to let me ask you something.' 'Ask what you wish', Chad replied. Then Owine said, 'I pray you tell me what was the song of joyful voices which I heard descending from heaven upon the oratory and, after a time, returning to heaven again.' He answered,

[1] This is his brother Cedd, as is made clear later on in the chapter. After his death he seems to have watched over the community just as Egbert did at Iona (v. 22).

carminis audisti et caelestes superuenire coetus cognouisti, praecipio tibi in nomine Domini, ne hoc cuiquam ante meum obitum dicas.[1] Re uera autem angelorum fuere spiritus, qui me ad caelestia, quae semper amabam ac desiderabam, praemia uocare uenerunt, et post dies septem se redituros ac me secum adducturos
p. 210 esse promiserunt.'[2] Quod / quidem ita ut dictum ei erat opere conpletum est. Nam confestim languore corporis tactus est, et hoc per dies ingrauescente, septimo, ut promissum ei fuerat, die, postquam obitum suum dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione muniuit, soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta ducentibus, ut credi fas est, angelis comitibus aeterna gaudia petiuit.

Non autem mirum, si diem mortis uel potius diem Domini laetus aspexit, quem semper, usque dum ueniret, sollicitus expectare curauit. Namque inter plura continentiae humilitatis doctrinae orationum uoluntariae paupertatis et ceterarum uirtutum merita, in tantum erat timori Domini subditus, in tantum nouissimorum suorum in omnibus operibus suis memor ut, sicut mihi frater quidam de his qui me in scripturis erudiebant, et erat in monasterio ac magisterio illius educatus, uocabulo Trumberct, referre solebat, si forte legente eo uel aliud quid agente repente flatus uenti maior adsurgeret, continuo misericordiam Domini inuocaret et eam generi humano propitiari rogaret. Si autem uiolentior aura insisteret, iam clauso codice procideret in faciem atque obnixius orationi incumberet. At si procella fortior aut nimbus perurgeret, uel etiam corusci ac tonitrua terras et aera terrerent, tunc ueniens ad ecclesiam sollicitius orationibus ac psalmis, donec serenitas aeris rediret, fixa mente uacaret. Cumque interrogaretur a suis, quare hoc faceret, respondebat: 'Non legistis quia "intonuit de caelo Dominus et Altissimus dedit uocem suam. Misit sagittas suas et dissipauit eos, fulgora multiplicauit et conturbauit eos"?[3]
p. 211 Mouet enim aera Dominus, uentos excitat, / iaculatur fulgora, de caelo intonat, ut terrigenas ad timendum se suscitet, ut corda eorum in memoriam futuri iudicii reuocet, ut superbiam eorum

[1] It is extremely common in saints' Lives for a saint to command those who have witnessed a miracle not to make mention of it until after his death. It is probably based upon Christ's injunction to the three apostles after the transfiguration (Matth. 17: 9). Cf. Wilfrid's injunction to Acca after his vision at Meaux (v. 19). See *Two Lives*, p. 319.

'If you heard the sound of singing and saw a heavenly company come down, I command you in the name of the Lord to tell no one before my death.[1] They were indeed angel spirits come to summon me to the heavenly joys which I have always loved and longed for; and they have promised to return in seven days and take me with them.'[2] This was fulfilled just as he had been told, for he was immediately afflicted with bodily weakness which daily grew worse until, on the seventh day as he had been promised, after he had prepared for death by receiving the body and blood of the Lord, his holy soul was released from the prison-house of the body and in the company of angels, as one may rightly believe, sought the joys of heaven.

Nor is it any wonder that he joyfully beheld the day of his death or rather the day of the Lord, whose coming he had always anxiously awaited. For in addition to all his merits of temperance, humility, zeal in teaching, prayers, and voluntary poverty and other virtues too, he was greatly filled with the fear of the Lord and mindful of his last end in all he did. One of his brothers named Trumberht, a monk educated in his monastery and under his Rule and one of those who taught me the Scriptures, used to tell me this about him: if he happened to be reading or doing something else and suddenly a high wind arose, he would at once invoke the mercy of the Lord and beg Him to have pity upon the human race. If the wind increased in violence he would shut his book, fall on his face, and devote himself still more earnestly to prayer. But if there were a violent storm of wind and rain or if lightning and thunder brought terror to earth and sky, he would enter the church and, with still deeper concentration, earnestly devote himself to prayers and psalms until the sky cleared. When his people asked him why he did it he replied, 'Have you not read, "The Lord also thundered in the heavens and the Highest gave His voice. Yea, He sent out His arrows and scattered them and He shot out lightnings and discomfited them"?[3] For the Lord moves the air, raises the winds, hurls the lightnings, and thunders forth from heaven so as to rouse the inhabitants of the world to fear Him, to call them to remember the future judgement in order

[2] Saints were frequently warned of the exact time of their death so that they might make adequate preparations, as in the story of Cædmon (iv. 24) and Wilfrid's vision at Meaux (v. 19). Cf. *BLTW*, pp. 211 ff.

[3] Ps. 17 (18): 14, 15.

dissipet et conturbet audaciam, reducto ad mentem tremendo illo tempore, quando ipse caelis ac terris ardentibus uenturus est in nubibus, in potestate magna et maiestate, ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos.[1] Propter quod' inquit 'oportet nos admonitioni eius caelesti debito cum timore et amore respondere ut, quoties aere commoto manum quasi ad feriendum minitans exerit nec adhuc tamen percutit, mox inploremus eius misericordiam et, discussis penetrabilibus cordis nostri atque expurgatis uitiorum ruderibus, solliciti ne umquam percuti mereamur agamus.'

Conuenit autem reuelationi et relationi praefati fratris de obitu huius antistitis etiam sermo reuerentissimi patris Ecgbercti, de quo supra diximus, qui dudum cum eodem Ceadda adulescente et ipse adulescens in Hibernia monachicam in orationibus et continentia et meditatione diuinarum scripturarum uitam sedulus agebat. Sed illo postmodum patriam reuerso, ipse peregrinus pro Domino usque ad finem uitae permansit. Cum ergo ueniret ad eum longo post tempore gratia uisitationis de Brittania uir sanctissimus et continentissimus uocabulo Hygbald, qui erat abbas in prouincia Lindissi, et, ut sanctos decebat, de uita priorum patrum sermonem facerent atque[a] hanc aemulari gauderent, interuenit mentio reuerentissimi antistitis Ceadda, dixitque Ecgberct: 'Scio hominem in hac insula adhuc in carne manentem qui, cum uir ille de mundo transiret, uidit animam Ceddi fratris ipsius cum agmine angelorum descendere[b] de caelo, et adsumta secum anima eius ad
p. 212. caelestia regna redire.'[2] / Quod utrum de se an de alio aliquo diceret, nobis manet incertum, dum tamen hoc, quod tantus uir dixit, quia uerum sit, esse non possit incertum.

Obiit autem Ceadda sexto die nonarum Martiarum, et sepultus est primo quidem iuxta ecclesiam sanctae Mariae; sed postmodum constructa ibidem ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri,[3] in eandem[c] sunt eius ossa translata. In quo utroque loco ad indicium uirtutis illius solent crebra sanitatum miracula operari. Denique nuper freneticus quidam, dum per cuncta errando discurreret, deuenit ibi uespere, nescientibus siue non curantibus loci custodibus, et ibi tota nocte requiescens, mane sanato sensu egressus mirantibus et gaudentibus cunctis, quid ibi

[a] et *c* [b] descendentium *c2* [c] eadem *c*

[1] Luc. 21: 27; 2 Tim. 4: 1; 2 Pet. 3: 12.

[2] This kind of vision of a departing soul being carried to heaven by angels seen by someone not present at the deathbed (in this case doubtless Egbert himself) is common in saints' Lives. See *BLTW*, pp. 213–14. It was such a vision of the departure of Aidan's soul which led Cuthbert to enter Melrose as a monk (*VP*, chapter 4). Compare also Begu's vision of Hild's death (iv. 23)

that He may scatter their pride and confound their boldness by bringing to their minds that dread time when He will come in the clouds in great power and majesty, to judge the living and the dead, while the heavens and the earth are aflame.[1] And so', said he, 'we ought to respond to His heavenly warning with due fear and love; so that as often as He disturbs the sky and raises His hand as if about to strike, yet spares us still, we should implore His mercy, examining the innermost recesses of our hearts and purging out the dregs of our sins, and behave with such caution that we may never deserve to be struck down.'

This brother's account of the bishop's death also agrees with the story of a vision related by the most reverend father Egbert already mentioned, who had lived the monastic life with Chad, when they were both youths in Ireland, diligently engaged in prayer and fasting and meditating on the divine Scriptures. But while Chad returned to his native land, Egbert remained there until the end of his life, an exile for the Lord's sake. A long time afterwards, a very holy and abstemious man named Higebald, who was abbot in the province of Lindsey, came to visit him. As was fitting for holy men they were talking about the lives of the early fathers and saying how gladly they would imitate them, when mention was made of the revered Bishop Chad; whereupon Egbert said, 'I know a man in this island, still in the flesh, who saw the soul of Chad's brother Cedd descend from the sky with a host of angels and return to the heavenly kingdom, taking Chad's soul with him.'[2] Whether he was speaking of himself or of another is uncertain, but what cannot be uncertain is that whatever such a man said must be true.

Chad died on 2 March and was first of all buried close to the church of St. Mary; but when the church of St. Peter,[3] the most blessed chief of the apostles, was later built, his bones were translated there. In each place frequent miracles of healing occur as a sign of his virtue. For example, quite recently a madman, who had been wandering from one place to another, came there one evening unknown to or unregarded by the guardians of the church, and spent the whole night there. The next morning he came out in his right mind and, to the amazement and joy of all,

[3] This stood on the site of the present cathedral. The bones of saints were commonly elevated and placed in a shrine a few years after their burial as happened in the case of Æthelthryth (iv. 19) and Cuthbert (iv. 30).

sanitatis Domino largiente consequeretur, ostendit. Est autem locus idem sepulchri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta[1] coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi qui causa deuotionis illo adueniunt manum suam inmittere ac partem puluueris inde adsumere; quam cum in aquas miserint atque has infirmantibus iumentis siue hominibus gustandas dederint, mox infirmitatis ablata molestia cupitae sospitatis gaudia redibunt.

In cuius locum ordinauit Theodorus Uynfridum, uirum bonum ac modestum, qui, sicut prodecessores eius, prouinciis Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum et Lindisfarorum episcopatus officio praeesset, in quibus cunctis Uulfheri, qui adhuc supererat, sceptrum regni tenebat. Erat autem Uynfrid de clero eius, cui ipse successerat, antistitis, et diaconatus officio sub eo non pauco tempore fungebatur.

p. 213

IIII

INTEREA Colmanus,[2] qui de Scottia erat episcopus,[a] relinquens Brittaniam tulit secum omnes quos in Lindisfarnensium insula congregauerat Scottos, sed et de gente Anglorum uiros circiter xxx, qui utrique monachicae conuersationis erant studiis imbuti. Et relictis in ecclesia sua fratribus aliquot, primo uenit ad insulam Hii, unde erat ad praedicandum Verbum Anglorum genti destinatus; deinde secessit ad insulam quandam paruam, quae ad occidentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta sermone Scottico Inisboufinde,[3] id est Insula uitulae albae, nuncupatur. In hanc ergo perueniens construxit monasterium, et monachos inibi, quos de utraque natione collectos adduxerat, collocauit. Qui cum inuicem concordare non possent, eo quod Scotti tempore aestatis, quo fruges erant colligendae, relicto monasterio per nota sibi loca dispersi uagarentur, at uero hieme succedente redirent et his quae Angli praeparauerant communiter uti desiderarent, quaesiuit Colmanus huic dissensioni remedium, et circuiens omnia prope uel longe inuenit locum in Hibernia insula aptum monasterio construendo, qui lingua Scottorum Mag éo nominatur; emitque

[a] episcopus qui de Scotia erat *c2*

[1] This would be an elementary form of shrine. Pictures and descriptions of medieval shrines prove them to have often been shaped like a house or church with gable ends; possibly the shape was derived from the Roman stone coffins, which often had these gable ends. Compare too the description of the tombs of the patriarchs as reported by Bede in v. 17.

demonstrated how he had regained his health there through the goodness of God. Chad's place of burial is a wooden coffin in the shape of a little house,[1] having an aperture in its side, through which those who visit it out of devotion can insert their hands and take out a little of the dust. When it is put in water and given either to cattle or men who are ailing, they get their wish and are at once freed from their ailments and rejoice in health restored.

In Chad's place Theodore consecrated Winfrith, a good and discreet man, who, like his predecessors, presided as bishop over the kingdoms of Mercia, the Middle Angles, and Lindsey, over all which King Wulfhere, who was still alive, held sway. Winfrith was one of the clergy of the bishop and had been his deacon for some considerable time.

CHAPTER IV

MEANWHILE Colman,[2] who was a bishop from Ireland, left Britain and took with him all the Irish whom he had gathered together on the island of Lindisfarne. He also took about thirty men of English race, both companies having been instructed in the duties of monastic life. Leaving some of the brothers in the church at Lindisfarne, he went first to the island of Iona, from which he had been sent to preach the word to the English. From there he went on to a small island some distance off the west coast of Ireland, called in Irish Inisboufinde (Inishbofin),[3] the island of the white heifer. When he reached this island, he built a monastery and placed in it monks whom he had brought from both nations. But they could not agree together because the Irish, in summer time when the harvest had to be gathered in, left the monastery and wandered about, scattering into various places with which they were familiar; then when winter came, they returned and expected to have a share in the things which the English had provided. Colman sought to put an end to this dispute and at last, having travelled about far and near, he found a place suitable for building a monastery on the Irish mainland called in the Irish tongue *Mag éo* (Mayo). He bought a small part

[2] Bishop of Lindisfarne. See iii. 26.

[3] Inishbofin is an island off the coast of County Galway. Mayo is on the mainland, in county Mayo.

partem eius non grandem ad constituendum ibi monasterium a comite ad cuius possessionem pertinebat, ea condicione addita, ut pro ipso etiam, qui eis locum commodaret, consistentes ibi monachi Domino preces offerrent. Et constructo statim monasterio, iuuante etiam comite ac uicinis omnibus, Anglos ibidem locauit,
p. 214 relictis in praefata insula Scottis. Quod / uidelicet monasterium usque hodie ab Anglis tenetur incolis. Ipsum namque est quod nunc grande de modico effectum Muigéo consuete uocatur, et conuersis iamdudum ad meliora instituta omnibus egregium examen continet monachorum, qui de prouincia Anglorum ibidem collecti ad exemplum uenerabilium patrum sub regula et abbate canonico in magna continentia et sinceritate proprio labore manuum uiuant.

V

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCLXXmo, qui est annus secundus ex quo Brittaniam uenit Theodorus, Osuiu rex Nordanhymbrorum pressus est infirmitate, qua et mortuus est anno aetatis suae quinquagesimo octauo. Qui in tantum eo tempore tenebatur amore Romanae et apostolicae institutionis ut, si ab infirmitate saluaretur, etiam Romam uenire ibique ad loca sancta uitam finire disponeret, Uilfridumque episcopum ducem sibi itineris fieri promissa non parua pecuniarum donatione rogaret. Qui defunctus die XV kalendarum Martiarum Ecgfridum filium regni heredem reliquit.

Cuius anno regni tertio Theodorus cogit concilium episcoporum una cum eis, qui canonica patrum statuta et diligerent et nossent, magistris ecclesiae pluribus. Quibus pariter congregatis, diligenter ea quae unitati pacis ecclesiasticae congruerent eo quo pontificem decebat animo coepit obseruanda docere. Cuius synodicae actionis huiusmodi textus est:

In nomine Domini Dei et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante suam ecclesiam eodem Domino Iesu Christo,
p. 215 placuit conuenire / nos iuxta morem canonum uenerabilium, tractaturos de necessariis ecclesiae negotiis. Conuenimus autem die uicesimo quarto mensis Septembrii, indictione prima, in loco qui dicitur Herutford,[1] ego quidem Theodorus, quamuis indignus ab apostolica sede destinatus Doruuernensis ecclesiae episcopus, et consacerdos ac frater noster

[1] The Council of Hertford is of importance as being the first provincial synod of the reorganized English Church.

of the land from the chief to whom it belonged, on condition that the monks who settled there were to pray to the Lord for him as he had provided them with the land. A monastery was forthwith built with the help of the chief and all the neighbours and in it he placed the English monks, leaving the Irishmen on the island. This monastery is still occupied by Englishmen; from small beginnings it has now become very large and is commonly known as *Muig éo* (Mayo). All these monks have adopted a better Rule and it now contains a remarkable company gathered there from England, living after the example of the venerable fathers under a Rule, having an abbot elected canonically, in great devotion and austerity and supporting themselves by the labour of their own hands.

CHAPTER V

IN the year of the incarnation of our Lord 670, the second year after Theodore came to Britain, Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, was struck down by a sickness from which he died, being fifty-eight years of age. By this time he was so greatly attached to the Roman and apostolic customs that he had intended, if he recovered from his illness, to go to Rome and end his life there among the holy places. He had asked Bishop Wilfrid to act as his guide, promising him no small gift of money. He died on 15 February, leaving his son Ecgfrith as heir to the kingdom.

In the third year of Ecgfrith's reign, Theodore summoned a council of bishops together with many teachers of the church who knew and loved the canonical institutions of the fathers. When they were assembled he began, as befitted an archbishop, by charging them to observe diligently all those things which were conducive to the unity and peace of the church. The text of the decisions of the synod is as follows:

In the name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. Under the perpetual reign and governance over His Church of that sovereign, the Lord Jesus Christ: it was thought proper that we should assemble in accordance with the custom laid down by our venerated canon law, to deal with the necessary business of the Church. We met on 24 September, in the first indiction, at a place called Hertford:[1] I, Theodore, though unworthy, appointed bishop of the Church at Canterbury by the apostolic see, and our fellow bishop and brother the worthy Bisi,

reuerentissimus Bisi, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus, quibus etiam frater et consacerdos noster Uilfrid, Nordanhymbrorum gentis episcopus, per proprios legatarios adfuit.[1] Adfuerunt et fratres ac consacerdotes[a] nostri Putta episcopus castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofaescaestir, Leutherius episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum, Uynfrid episcopus prouinciae Merciorum. Cumque in unum conuenientes iuxta ordinem quique suum resedissemus, 'Rogo,' inquam, 'dilectissimi fratres, propter timorem et amorem Redemtoris nostri, ut in commune omnes pro nostra fide tractemus, ut, quaeque decreta ac definita sunt a sanctis ac probabilibus patribus, incorrupte ab omnibus nobis seruentur.' Haec et alia quamplura, quae ad caritatem pertinebant unitatemque ecclesiae conseruandam, prosecutus sum.[b] Cumque explessem praelocutionem, interrogaui unumquemque eorum per ordinem, si consentirent ea quae a patribus canonice sunt antiquitus decreta custodire. Ad quod omnes consacerdotes nostri respondentes dixerunt: 'Optime omnibus placet, quaeque definierunt sanctorum canones patrum, nos quoque omnes alacri animo libentissime seruare.' Quibus statim protuli eundem librum canonum,[2] et ex eodem libro x capitula, quae per loca notaueram quia maxime nobis necessaria sciebam, illis coram ostendi, et ut haec[c] diligentius ab omnibus susciperentur rogaui.

p. 216 Primum capitulum: 'Vt sanctum diem paschae in / commune omnes seruemus dominica post quartamdecimam lunam mensis primi.'

Secundum: 'Vt nullus episcoporum parrochiam alterius inuadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditae sibi plebis.'

Tertium: 'Vt, quaeque monasteria Deo consecrata sunt, nulli episcoporum liceat ea in aliquo inquietare nec quicquam de eorum rebus uiolenter abstrahere.'

Quartum: 'Vt ipsi monachi non migrent de loco ad locum, hoc est de monasterio ad monasterium, nisi per dimissionem proprii abbatis, sed in ea permaneant oboedientia quam tempore suae conuersionis promiserunt.'

Quintum: 'Vt nullus clericorum relinquens proprium episcopum passim quolibet discurrat, neque alicubi ueniens absque commendaticiis litteris sui praesulis suscipiatur. Quod si semel susceptus noluerit inuitatus redire, et susceptor et is qui susceptus est excommunicationi subiacebit.'

Sextum: 'Vt episcopi atque clerici peregrini contenti sint hospitalitatis

[a] sacerdotes *c* [b] prosecutus sum *om. c* [c] haec *om. c2*

[1] There is no explanation for Wilfrid's absence except perhaps distance; it is just possible that he had an inkling that the question of the division of dioceses was to come up and preferred to stay away.

bishop of the East Angles; while our brother and fellow bishop Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrian race, was represented by his proctors.[1] There were also present our brothers and fellow priests Putta, bishop of the Kentish town known as Rochester, Leuthere, bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrith, bishop of the Mercian kingdom. When we had all met together and had sat down each in his own place, I said: 'Beloved brethren, I beseech you, for the fear and love of our Redeemer, that we should all deliberate in common for the benefit of the faith; so that whatever has been decreed and defined by holy fathers of proved worth may be preserved incorrupt by us all.' This and much more I added on the need to preserve charity and unity in the Church. When I had completed my preliminary discourse, I asked each of them in turn if they were willing to keep the canonical decrees which had been laid down by the fathers in ancient times. All our fellow bishops answered, 'Most gladly and readily do we all agree to keep such canons as were laid down by the holy fathers.' I produced forthwith the said book of canons[2] and from this book I put before them ten chapters which I had marked in certain places as being specially necessary for us to know and I asked them all to devote particular attention to them.

Chapter I. That we all keep Easter Day at the same time, namely on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon of the first month.

Chapter II. That no bishop intrude into the diocese of another bishop, but that he should be content with the government of the people committed to his charge.

Chapter III. That no bishop shall in any way interfere with any monasteries dedicated to God nor take away forcibly any part of their property.

Chapter IV. That monks shall not wander from place to place, that is, from monastery to monastery, unless they have letters dimissory from their own abbot; but they are to remain under that obedience which they promised at the time of their profession.

Chapter V. That no clergy shall leave their own bishop nor wander about at will; nor shall one be received anywhere without letters commendatory from his own bishop. If he has once been received and is unwilling to return when summoned, both the receiver and the received shall suffer excommunication.

Chapter VI. That both bishops and clergy when travelling shall be

[2] This was the book of ancient canons approved by the Council of Chalcedon, translated into Latin early in the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus and adopted by the Western Church.

munere oblato, nullique eorum liceat ullum officium sacerdotale absque permissu episcopi, in cuius parrochia esse cognoscitur, agere.'

Septimum: 'Vt bis in anno synodus congregetur.' Sed quia diuersae causae inpediunt, placuit omnibus in commune, ut kalendis Augustis in loco qui appellatur Clofaeshooh semel in anno congregemur.[1]

Octauum: 'Vt nullus episcoporum se praeferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus et ordinem consecrationis suae.'

Nonum capitulum in commune tractatum est: 'Vt plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium augerentur', sed de hac re ad praesens siluimus.[2]

p. 217 Decimum capitulum pro coniugiis: 'Vt nulli liceat nisi legi/timum habere coniugium; nullus incestum faciat; nullus coniugem propriam nisi, ut sanctum euangelium docet, fornicationis causa relinquat. Quod si quisquam propriam expulerit coniugem legitimo sibi matrimonio coniunctam, si Christianus esse recte uoluerit, nulli alteri copuletur, sed ita permaneat, aut propriae reconcilietur coniugi.'

His itaque capitulis in commune tractatis ac definitis, ut nullum deinceps ab aliquo nostrum oriatur contentionis scandalum, aut alia pro aliis diuulgarentur, placuit ut, quaeque definita sunt, unusquisque nostrum manus propriae subscriptione confirmaret. Quam sententiam definitionis nostrae Titillo notario scribendam dictaui. Actum in mense et indictione supra scripta.[a] Quisquis igitur contra hanc sententiam, iuxta decreta canonum nostra etiam consensione ac subscriptione manus nostrae confirmatam, quoquo modo uenire eamque infringere temtauerit, nouerit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostra societate separatum. Diuina nos gratia in unitate sanctae suae ecclesiae uiuentes custodiat incolumes.

Facta est autem haec synodus anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCLXXtertio,[3] quo anno rex Cantuariorum Ecgberct mense Iulio obierat, succedente in regnum fratre Hlothere, quod ipse annos XI et menses VII tenuit. Bisi autem episcopus Orientalium Anglorum, qui in praefata synodo fuisse perhibetur, ipse erat successor Bonifatii, cuius supra meminimus, uir multae sanctitatis et religionis; nam Bonifatio post X et VII episcopatus sui annos defuncto, episcopus ipse pro eo, Theodoro ordinante, factus est. Quo adhuc superstite sed grauissima infirmitate ab administrando

[a] scripto *c*

[1] This place has never been successfully identified.

[2] The thorny question of the division of dioceses was evidently already causing trouble in England and was to cause much more.

[3] The correct date is 672. See Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 266–7.

content with the hospitality afforded them. Nor shall they exercise any priestly function without the permission of the bishop in whose diocese they are known to be.

Chapter VII. That a synod shall be summoned twice yearly. (But on account of various hindrances, it was unanimously decided that we should meet once a year on 1 August at the place knownas *Clofæshoh.*[1])

Chapter VIII. That no bishop claim precedence over another bishop out of ambition; but all shall take rank according to the time and the order of their consecration.

Chapter IX. That more bishops shall be created as the number of the faithful increases. (This chapter received general discussion, but at the time we came to no decision on the matter.)[2]

Chapter X. On marriage. That nothing be allowed but lawful wedlock. Let none be guilty of incest, and let none leave his own wife except for fornication, as the holy gospel teaches. If anyone puts away his own wife who is joined to him by lawful matrimony, he may not take another if he wishes to be a true Christian; but he must either remain as he is or be reconciled to his own wife.

After these chapters had been discussed in common and resolved upon, and in order that no scandalous controversy should arise among us or any matter be inaccurately published abroad, it was decided that each one should ratify our decisions by attaching his own signature. I dictated to Titill the notary the wording of the decisions for him to write down. This was done in the month and indiction above mentioned. If anyone therefore shall attempt in any way to oppose or disobey the decisions confirmed by our consent and ratified by our signatures, according to the canonical decrees, let him know that he is excluded from exercising any priestly office and from our fellowship. May the grace of God preserve us all who live in the unity of His holy Church.

This synod took place in the year of our Lord 673,[3] the year in which Egbert king of Kent died, in the month of July. He was succeeded by his brother Hlothhere who reigned for eleven years and seven months. Bisi, bishop of the East Angles, who is known to have been present at this synod, was the successor of Boniface already mentioned, and a man of great sanctity and devotion. When Boniface died after being bishop for seventeen years, Bisi was made bishop in his place and consecrated by Theodore. He was prevented from administering his diocese by a serious illness

episcopatu prohibito, duo sunt pro illo, Aecci et Baduuini,[1] electi et consecrati episcopi; ex quo usque hodie prouincia illa duos habere solet episcopos.

p. 218

VI

NON multo post haec elapso tempore, offensus a Uynfrido Merciorum episcopo per meritum cuiusdam inoboedientiae, Theodorus archiepiscopus deposuit eum de episcopatu post annos accepti episcopatus non multos, et in loco eius ordinauit episcopum Sexuulfum, qui erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstedi in regione Gyruiorum. Depositus uero Uynfrid rediit ad monasterium suum, quod dicitur Adbaruae, ibique in optima uitam conuersatione finiuit.[2]

Tum etiam Orientalibus Saxonibus, quibus eo tempore praefuerunt Sebbi[a] et Sighere quorum supra meminimus, Earconualdum constituit episcopum in ciuitate Lundonia.[3] Cuius uidelicet uiri[b] et in episcopatu et ante episcopatum uita et conuersatio fertur fuisse sanctissima, sicut etiam nunc caelestium signa uirtutum indicio sunt. Etenim usque hodie feretrum eius caballarium, quo infirmus uehi solebat, seruatum a discipulis eius multos febricitantes uel alio quolibet incommodo fessos sanare non desistit. Non solum autem subpositi eidem feretro uel adpositi curantur egroti, sed et astulae de illo abscissae atque ad infirmos adlatae citam illis solent adferre medellam.

Hic sane, priusquam episcopus factus esset, duo praeclara monasteria, unum sibi alterum sorori suae Aedilburgae, construxerat, quod utrumque regularibus disciplinis optime instituerat: sibi quidem in regione Sudergeona iuxta fluuium
p. 219 Tamensem[c] in loco qui / uocatur Cerotaesei,[4] id est Ceroti[d] insula, sorori autem in Orientalium[e] Saxonum prouincia in loco qui

[a] Sebbe *c* [b] uiri uidelicet *c* [c] Tamisam *c* [d] Ceoroti *c* [e] Orientalibus *c2*

[1] Æcci went to Dunwich in Suffolk, which was the original East Anglian see, while Baduwine went to Elmham. The Dunwich church has now disappeared beneath the sea but the ruins of the church at North Elmham still remain (Taylor, I. 228–31). The division lasted only until the Scandinavian invasions of the later ninth century. The bishopric continued at Elmham until 1072, when it was transferred to Thetford and later, about 1094, to Norwich.

[2] It is quite possible that Winfrith's disobedience was connected with his objection to the division of his diocese. According to Eddius, he travelled to the continent; it may be he intended to appeal to the pope, like Wilfrid, against Theodore's decision. On his way Eddius tells us (*Life of Wilfrid*, chapter 25)

so, while he was still alive, two bishops were chosen and consecrated in his place, namely Æcci and Baduwine;[1] and from then until this day the kingdom has had two bishops.

CHAPTER VI

NOT long afterwards, Archbishop Theodore, displeased by some act of disobedience of Winfrith, bishop of the Mercians, deposed him from the bishopric which he had held only a few years. In his place he consecrated Seaxwulf as bishop, the founder and abbot of the monastery known as *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough) in the land of the Gyrwe. Winfrith after his deposition retired to his own monastery of Barrow and there lived a very holy life until his death.[2]

Theodore then appointed Eorcenwold bishop in London,[3] for the East Saxons. Sebbi and Sighere, already mentioned, were the reigning monarchs. Both before and after his consecration, Eorcenwold lived so holy a life that even now miracles bear witness to it. To this day the horse-litter in which he used to be carried when ill is preserved by his followers and continues to cure many people afflicted with fevers and other complaints. Not only are people cured who are placed in or near the litter but splinters cut from it and taken to the sick bring speedy relief.

Before he was made bishop, he founded two famous monasteries, one for himself and the other for his sister Æthelburh, and established an excellent form of monastic Rule and discipline in both. His own was in the kingdom of Surrey near the river Thames at a place called Chertsey,[4] that is, the island of *Ceorot*. His sister's monastery he established at a place called Barking in the kingdom

that Ebroin captured and ill-treated him, mistaking him for Wilfrid, being 'misled by a fortunate mistake in one syllable'.

[3] Eorcenwold's consecration took place in 675. He died in 693. He is spoken of in the preamble to the Laws which Ine drew up as 'my bishop' (*EHD*, I. 364), which would imply that the king of Wessex at this time exercised some sort of suzerainty over Essex. Eorcenwold's relics were preserved at St. Paul's church, London. His cult was revived in the twelfth century and was popular all through the Middle Ages. An alliterative poem written about 1386 relates a miracle which he wrought (*St. Erkenwald*, ed. I. Gollancz, Select Early English Poems, Oxford, 1932).

[4] One of the earliest surviving charters is a grant by Frithuwold, sub-king of Surrey, granting land to Eorcenwold for his monastery at Chertsey (*EHD*, I. 440).

nuncupatur Inberecingum,[1] in quo ipsa Deo deuotarum mater ac nutrix posset existere feminarum. Quae suscepto monasterii regimine condignam se in omnibus episcopo fratre et ipsa recte uiuendo et subiectis regulariter ac pie consulendo praebuit, ut etiam caelestia indicio fuere miracula.

VII

In hoc etenim monasterio plura uirtutum sunt signa patrata, quae et ad memoriam aedificationemque sequentium ab his qui nouere descripta habentur a multis;[2] e quibus et nos aliqua historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserere curauimus. Cum tempestas saepe dictae cladis late cuncta depopulans etiam partem monasterii huius illam, qua uiri tenebantur, inuasisset, et passim cotidie raperentur ad Dominum, sollicita mater congregationis, qua hora etiam eam monasterii partem, qua ancellarum Dei caterua a uirorum erat secreta contubernio, eadem plaga tangeret, crebrius in conuentu sororum perquirere coepit, quo loci in monasterio corpora sua poni et cymiterium fieri uellent, cum eas eodem quo ceteros exterminio raptari e mundo contingeret. Cumque nil certi responsi tametsi saepius inquirens a sororibus accepisset, accepit ipsa cum omnibus certissimum supernae prouisionis responsum. Cum enim nocte quadam, expletis matutinae laudis psalmodiis,
p. 220 egressae de oratorio famulae / Christi ad sepulchra fratrum, qui eas ex hac luce praecesserant, solitas Domino laudes decantarent,[3] ecce subito lux emissa caelitus, ueluti linteum magnum uenit super omnes, tantoque[a] eas stupore perculit, ut etiam canticum quod canebant tremefactae intermitterent. Ipse autem splendor emissae lucis, in cuius conparatione sol meridianus uideri posset obscurus, non multo post illo eleuatus de loco in meridianam monasterii partem,[b] hoc est ad occidentem oratorii, secessit, ibique aliquandiu remoratus et ea loca operiens, sic uidentibus cunctis ad caeli se alta subduxit, ut nulli esset dubium quin ipsa lux, quae

[a] tanto *c* [b] partem *om. m*

[1] The monastery was a double one like Whitby, Coldingham, Ely, etc.

[2] In chapters 7–10 Bede is using a lost Life of St. Æthelburh, which he refers to as a *liber* or *libellus*.

[3] Mattins were sung before daybreak, after which the religious returned to bed, though sometimes saints such as Oswald (iii. 12) or Æthelthryth (iv. 19) continued in prayer. This visit to the cemetery would therefore be an extra devotion on behalf of the departed, after which they returned to the oratory for lauds.

of the East Saxons[1] where she was to live as mother and nurse of a company of women devoted to God. When she had undertaken the rule of this monastery, she proved herself worthy in all things of her brother the bishop, both by her own holy life and by her sound and devoted care for those who were under her rule; and of this heavenly miracles were the witness.

CHAPTER VII

IN this monastery many signs and miracles were performed which have been written down[2] by those who were acquainted with them as an edifying memorial for succeeding generations and copies are in the possession of many people. Some of these we have taken care to insert in this *History*. The plague which has been so often referred to and which was ravaging the country far and wide had also attacked that part of the monastery occupied by the men, and they were daily being carried away into the presence of the Lord. The mother of the congregation was anxiously concerned as to when the plague would strike that part of the monastery, separated from the men's community, in which dwelt the company of the handmaidens of the Lord. So when the sisters met together, she took to asking in what part of the monastery they would like their bodies to be buried and where they desired a cemetery to be made when they were snatched away from the world by the same catastrophe as the rest. Although she often inquired she received no definite answer from the sisters, but she and all of them received a most definite reply from the divine providence. On a certain night when the servants of Christ had finished their mattin psalms, they went out of the oratory to the tombs of the brothers who had already died. While they were singing their accustomed praises to the Lord,[3] suddenly a light appeared from heaven like a great sheet and came upon them all, striking such terror into them that they broke off the chant they were singing in alarm. This resplendent light, in comparison with which the noonday sun seemed dark, soon afterwards rose from the place and moved to the south side of the monastery, that is, to the west of the oratory. There it remained for some time, covering that area until it was withdrawn from their sight into the heavenly heights. So no doubt remained in their minds that this light was

animas famularum Christi esset ductura uel susceptura in caelis, etiam corporibus earum locum in quo requietura et[a] diem resurrectionis essent expectatura monstraret. Cuius radius lucis tantus extitit,[b] ut quidam de fratribus senior, qui ipsa hora in oratorio eorum cum alio iuniore positus fuerat, referret mane quod ingressi per rimas[c] ostiorum uel fenestrarum[1] radii lucis omnem diurni luminis uiderentur superare fulgorem.

VIII

ERAT in eodem monasterio puer trium circiter[d] non amplius annorum, Aesica nomine, qui propter infantilem adhuc aetatem in uirginum Deo dedicatarum solebat cella nutriri ibique meditari. Hic praefata pestilentia tactus, ubi ad extrema peruenit, clamauit
p. 221 tertio unam de consecratis Christo uirginibus, proprio / eam nomine quasi praesentem alloquens 'Eadgyd, Eadgyd, Eadgyd', et sic terminans temporalem uitam intrauit aeternam. At uirgo illa, quam moriens uocabat, mox in loco quo erat eadem adtacta infirmitate, ipso, quo uocitata est, die de hac luce subtracta et illum, qui se uocauit, ad regnum caeleste secuta est.

Item quaedam ex eisdem ancellis Dei, cum praefato[e] tacta morbo atque ad extrema esset perducta, coepit subito circa mediam noctem clamare his quae sibi ministrabant, petens ut lucernam, quae inibi accensa erat, extinguerent. Quod cum frequenti uoce repeteret, nec tamen ei aliquis obtemperaret, ad extremum intulit: 'Scio quod me haec insana mente loqui arbitramini. Sed iam nunc non ita esse cognoscite; nam uere dico uobis, quia[f] domum hanc tanta luce inpletam esse perspicio, ut uestra illa lucerna mihi omnimodis esse uideatur obscura.' Et cum ne adhuc quidem talia loquenti quisquam responderet uel adsensum praeberet, iterum dixit: 'Accendite ergo lucernam illam, quamdiu uultis. At tamen scitote quia non est mea; nam mea lux incipiente aurora mihi aduentura est.' Coepitque narrare quia apparuerit sibi quidam uir Dei, qui eodem anno fuerat defunctus, dicens quod adueniente diluculo perennem esset exitura ad lucem. Cuius ueritas uisionis cita circa exortum diei puellae morte probata est.

[a] et *om. c* [b] erat *c2* [c] ripas *c* [d] circiter trium *c* [e] prefata *c* [f] quod *c*

[1] Windows in Anglo-Saxon churches, and presumably in dwelling-houses too, were openings high up in the wall, closed by shutters. Glass was infrequently used at this period. See Introduction, p. xxiv.

not only intended to guide and receive the souls of Christ's handmaidens into heaven, but was also pointing out the spot where the bodies were to rest, awaiting the resurrection day. This beam of light was so brilliant that one of the older brothers, who was in the oratory at the time with another younger brother, declared in the morning that the rays of light which penetrated the cracks of the doors and windows[1] seemed brighter than the brightest daylight.

CHAPTER VIII

In the same monastery there was a boy named Æsica, not more than three years of age, who, because of his extreme youth, was being looked after and was learning his lessons in the dwelling of the maidens dedicated to God. He was attacked by the plague and, when at the point of death, he called out three times for one of the maidens consecrated to Christ, calling her by name as though she were present, 'Edith, Edith, Edith!' And so he ended this temporal life and passed to the life eternal. The maiden whom he called upon as he died was, on that very day, attacked by the same sickness in the place where she was and carried from this world, following him who had called her to the kingdom of heaven.

Another of these handmaidens of God, when attacked by the same disease and approaching her end, suddenly began about midnight to call out to those who were attending on her, asking them to put out the light which was burning in the room. She repeated her request frequently and, as no one attended to her, she said at last, 'I know that you think I am raving when I ask this; but I assure you that it is not so. I tell you the truth: I see this house filled with a light so bright that that lamp of yours seems to me to be utterly dark.' But still no one replied or did her bidding, so she said again, 'Let your lamp burn then as long as you like; but be sure of this, it gives me no light; when dawn breaks, my light will come to me.' She went on to describe how a certain man of God who had died that year had appeared to her, telling her that at daybreak she would depart to the eternal light. Her vision was speedily proved to be true for the maiden died as day dawned.

IX

CUM autem et ipsa mater pia Deo deuotae congregationis Aedilburga esset rapienda de mundo, apparuit uisio miranda cuidam de
p. 222 sororibus, cui nomen erat / Torctgyd, quae multis iam annis in eodem monasterio commorata et ipsa semper in omni humilitate ac sinceritate Deo seruire satagebat, et adiutrix disciplinae regularis eidem matri existere minores docendo uel castigando curabat. Cuius ut uirtus, iuxta Apostolum, in infirmitate perficeretur,[1] tacta est repente grauissimo corporis morbo, et per annos nouem pia Redemtoris nostri prouisione[a] multum fatigata, uidelicet ut, quicquid in ea uitii sordidantis inter uirtutes per ignorantiam uel incuriam resedisset, totum hoc caminus diutinae tribulationis excoqueret. Haec ergo quadam nocte incipiente crepusculo, egressa de cubiculo quo manebat, uidit manifeste quasi corpus hominis, quod esset sole clarius, sindone inuolutum in sublime ferri, elatum uidelicet de domo in qua sorores pausare solebant. Cumque diligentius intueretur, quo trahente leuaretur sursum[b] haec quam contemplabatur species corporis gloriosi, uidit quasi funibus auro clarioribus[c] in superna tolleretur, donec caelis patentibus introducta amplius ab illa uideri non potuit. Nec dubium remansit cogitanti de uisione, quin aliquis de illa congregatione citius esset moriturus, cuius anima per bona quae fecisset opera quasi per funes aureos leuanda esset ad caelos. Quod re uera ita contigit; nam non multis interpositis diebus, Deo dilecta mater congregationis ipsius ergastulo carnis educta est. Cuius talem fuisse constat uitam, ut nemo qui eam nouerit dubitare debeat, quin ei exeunti de hac uita caelestis patriae patuerit ingressus.

In eodem quoque monasterio quaedam erat femina sanctimonialis, et ad saeculi huius dignitatem nobilis et in amore futuri saeculi nobilior, quae ita multis iam annis omni corporis fuerat
p. 223 officio destituta, ut ne / unum quidem mouere ipsa membrum ualeret.[d] Haec ubi corpus abbatissae uenerabilis in ecclesiam delatum, donec sepulturae daretur, cognouit, postulauit se illo adferri et in modum orantium ad illud adclinari. Quod dum[e] fieret, quasi uiuentem adlocuta rogauit, ut apud misericordiam pii Conditoris inpetraret, se a tantis tamque diutinis cruciatibus

[a] prouisione *is not in c, but the Hatton MS. has it* [b] rursum *c*
[c] clarioribus auro *c2* [d] ualeret membrum mouere ipsa *c* [e] cum *c*

[1] 2 Cor. 12: 9.

CHAPTER IX

WHEN Æthelburh, the devout mother of that devoted community, was herself about to be taken from the world, a marvellous vision appeared to one of the sisters whose name was Torhtgyth. She had lived for many years in the monastery, always seeking to serve God herself in all humility and sincerity and endeavouring to help the mother to keep the discipline of the Rule by teaching or reproving the younger ones. Now in order that her strength, like the apostle's, might be made perfect in weakness,[1] she was suddenly afflicted with a most serious bodily disease and for nine years was sorely tried, under the good providence of our Redeemer, so that any traces of sin remaining among her virtues through ignorance or carelessness might be burnt away by the fires of prolonged suffering. One evening, at dusk, as she left the little cell in which she lived, she saw distinctly what seemed to be a human body, wrapped in a shroud and brighter than the sun, being apparently raised up from within the house in which the sisters used to sleep. She looked closely to see how this glorious visionary body was raised up and saw that it was lifted as it were by cords, brighter than gold, until it was drawn up into the open heavens and she could see it no longer. As she thought over the vision there remained no doubt in her mind that some member of their community was about to die whose soul would be drawn up to the skies by the good deeds she had done, as though by golden cords. And so it came to pass. Not many days afterwards the mother of the congregation, Æthelburh, beloved of God, was taken from the prison-house of the flesh; and such was her record that none who knew her can doubt that, as she departed this life, the gates of her heavenly country were opened for her.

In the same monastery there was a certain nun, of noble family in this world and still nobler in her love for the world to come; for many years her whole body had been so disabled that she could not move a single limb. When she learned that the body of the venerable abbess had been borne into the church to await burial, she asked to be carried in and placed leaning up against it in the attitude of prayer. When this was done she asked Æthelburh, as though she were addressing a living person, to plead on her behalf with the merciful and pitiful Creator that she might be delivered from the cruel tortures which she had endured so

absolui. Nec multo tardius exaudita est; nam post dies XII et ipsa educta ex carne temporales adflictiones aeterna mercede mutauit.

Cum uero praefata Christi famula Torctgyd tres adhuc annos post obitum dominae in hac uita teneretur, in tantum ea quam praediximus infirmitate decocta est, ut uix ossibus hereret;[1] ad[a] ultimum, cum tempus iam resolutionis eius instaret, non solum membrorum ceterorum sed et linguae motu caruit.[b] Quod dum tribus diebus ac totidem noctibus ageretur, subito uisione spiritali recreata os et oculos aperuit, aspectansque in caelum sic ad eam, quam intuebatur, uisionem coepit loqui: 'Gratus mihi est multum aduentus tuus, et bene uenisti.' Et hoc dicto parumper reticuit, quasi responsum eius, quem uidebat et cui loquebatur, expectans. Rursumque, quasi leuiter indignata, subiunxit: 'Nequaquam hoc laeta ferre queo.' Rursumque modicum silens, tertio dixit: 'Si nullatenus hodie fieri potest, obsecro, ne sit longum spatium in medio.' Dixit et, sicut antea, parum silens ita sermonem conclusit: 'Si omnimodis ita definitum est, neque hanc sententiam licet inmutari, obsecro, ne amplius quam haec solummodo proxima nox intersit.' Quibus dictis, interrogata a circumsedentibus, cum quo loqueretur, 'Cum carissima' inquit 'mea matre Aedilburge.'
p. 224 Ex quo intellexere, quod ipsa ei tem/pus suae transmigrationis proximum nuntiare uenisset. Nam et ita, ut rogabat, transacta una die et nocte soluta carnis simul et infirmitatis uinculis ad aeternae[c] gaudia salutis intrauit.

X

SUCCESSIT autem Aedilburgi in officium abbatissae deuota Deo famula nomine Hildilid,[2] multisque annis, id est usque ad ultimam senectutem, eidem monasterio strenuissime et in obseruantia disciplinae regularis et in earum quae ad communes usus pertinent rerum prouidentia praefuit. Cui cum propter angustiam loci, in quo monasterium constructum est, placuisset ut ossa famulorum famularumque Christi, quae ibidem fuerant tumulata, tollerentur et transferrentur[d] omnia in ecclesiam beatae Dei genetricis unoque

[a] et ad *c* [b] careret *c* [c] aeterna *c2* [d] transferentur *c*

[1] A Virgilian echo from *Eclogues* iii. 102.

[2] Aldhelm dedicated his prose work in praise of virginity to Hildelith (*MGH, Auct. Ant.* xv. 228). Boniface mentions her in a letter which shows that she was still alive about 717 (Tangl, no. 10).

long. Nor was it long before her prayers were heard; for twelve days afterwards she too was taken from the body and exchanged her temporal afflictions for an eternal reward.

For three years after the death of the lady abbess Torhtgyth, the handmaid of Christ, remained alive but was so wasted away by the infirmities already described that 'her bones scarcely held together';[1] at last when the time of her release approached, she lost the use not only of her limbs but also of her tongue. She continued in this state for three days and nights when she was suddenly restored by a spiritual vision and her eyes and mouth were opened. Looking up to heaven she began to speak to the vision she beheld: 'Your coming', she said, 'is most acceptable to me and you are indeed welcome.' When she had said this she was silent for a short time as if she were waiting for an answer from the one whom she saw and was addressing. Again she added as if slightly displeased: 'I cannot be happy to hear this.' Then after another short silence she said for the third time: 'If it cannot be today I beg that there may not be a long delay.' After this there was again a short silence as before, and then she uttered these final words: 'If this is definitely fixed and the decree is unalterable, then I pray that it may not be put off beyond the following night.' When she had finished speaking, those who were sitting around asked her with whom she had been talking. She answered: 'With my beloved mother Æthelburh.' Thus they realized that Æthelburh had come to announce to her that the time of her departure was near. As she requested, after a night and a day, she was loosed from the bonds of the flesh and her infirmities and entered upon the joys of eternal salvation.

CHAPTER X

A DEVOTED servant of God named Hildelith[2] succeeded Æthelburh in the office of abbess and presided over the monastery for many years until she was extremely old. She was most energetic in the observance of the discipline of the Rule and in the provision of all such things as were necessary for the common use. As the site on which the monastery was built was very limited, she decided that the bones of the servants and handmaidens of Christ which had been buried there should all be taken up and transferred

conderentur in loco, quoties ibi claritas luminis caelestis, quanta saepe flagrantia mirandi apparuerit odoris, quae alia sint signa ostensa, in ipso libro de quo haec excerpsimus quisque legerit inueniet.

Sane nullatenus praetereundum arbitror miraculum sanitatis, quod ad ipsum cymiterium Deo dicatae congregationis factum idem libellus refert. Erat quippe in proximo comes quidam, cuius uxor ingruente oculis caligine subita[a] tantum per dies eadem molestia crebrescente grauata est, ut ne minimam quidem lucis alicuius posset particulam uidere. Cui, dum aliquandiu caecitatis huius nocte clausa maneret, repente uenit in mentem quia, si ad monasterium delata uirginum sanctimonalium ad reliquias sanctorum peteret, perditam posset recipere lucem. Nec distulit quin
p. 225 con/tinuo quod mente conceperat expleret. Perducta namque a puellis suis ad monasterium, quia in proximo erat, ubi fidem suae sanationis integram se habere professa est, introducta est ad cymiterium et, cum ibidem diutius flexis genibus oraret, nihilo[b] tardius meruit exaudiri. Nam exsurgens ab oratione, priusquam exiret de loco, petitae lucis gratiam recepit, et quae famularum manibus adducta fuerat, ipsa libero pedum incessu domum laeta reuersa est; quasi ad hoc solummodo lucem amitteret temporalem, ut quanta sanctos Christi lux in caelis, quae gratia uirtutis possideret, sua sanatione demonstraret.

XI

Eo tempore praeerat regno Orientalium Saxonum, ut idem etiam libellus docet, uir multum Deo deuotus nomine Sebbi, cuius supra meminimus. Erat enim religiosis actibus, crebris precibus, piis elemosynarum fructibus plurimum intentus, uitam priuatam et monachicam cunctis regni diuitiis et honoribus praeferens; quam et olim iam, si non obstinatus coniugis animus diuortium negaret, relicto regno subisset. Vnde multis uisum et saepe dictum est, quia talis animi uirum episcopum magis quam regem ordinari deceret. Cumque annos xxx in regno miles regni caelestis exegisset, correptus est corporis infirmitate permaxima, qua et mortuus est,

[a] subito *c2* [b] nihil *c*

to the church of the blessed Mother of God and buried there in one place. How often the brightness of a heavenly light, how often a wonderful fragrance and other signs also appeared—all these things the reader will find in the book from which I have made these extracts.

I think, however, that it would be far from fitting to pass over a miracle of healing which the book describes as having taken place at the cemetery of this congregation dedicated to God. There lived in the neighbourhood a certain *gesith* whose wife was attacked by a sudden dimness of the eyes; her affliction increased so greatly from day to day that she could not see the faintest glimmer of light. After remaining for some time wrapt in the darkness of night, it suddenly occurred to her that, if she were taken to the monastery of the holy virgins and prayed before the relics of the saints, she might recover her lost sight. She carried out her plan forthwith. Her maidens led her to the monastery, which was close at hand, and there she was taken to the cemetery, declaring how complete was her assurance that she would be healed. After she had prayed at length on bended knees, she earned a speedy answer to her prayers; as she rose she received the gift of sight which she was seeking, even before she left the place. Though her maids had led her thither by hand, she joyfully returned home without help. It seemed as if she had lost the light of this world in order to show by her recovery how bright is the light and how great the grace of healing with which the saints of Christ in heaven are endowed.

CHAPTER XI

At this time, as this book relates, there ruled over the kingdom of the East Saxons a very devout man named Sebbi, already mentioned. He was given to religious exercises, constant prayers, and the holy joys of almsgiving. He would long before have given up his throne, preferring a private life in a monastery to all the riches and honours of a kingdom, had not his wife obstinately refused to be separated from him. For this reason, many people thought and often said that a man of his disposition ought to have been a bishop rather than a king. After a reign of thirty years, this soldier of the kingdom of heaven was afflicted by a very serious bodily infirmity from which he eventually died. He therefore

ammonuitque coniugem ut uel tunc diuino se seruitio pariter manciparent, cum amplius pariter mundum amplecti, uel potius mundo seruire, non possent. Quod dum egre inpetraret ab ea,
p. 226 uenit ad antistitem Lundoniae ciuitatis, uocabulo Ualdheri,[1] / qui Erconualdo successerat, et per eius benedictionem habitum religionis, quam diu desiderabat, accepit. Attulit autem eidem et summam pecuniae non paruam pauperibus erogandam, nil omnimodis sibi reseruans, sed pauper spiritu magis propter regnum caelorum manere desiderans.

Qui cum, ingrauescente praefata egritudine, diem sibi mortis inminere sensisset, timere coepit homo animi regalis, ne ad mortem ueniens tanto adfectus dolore aliquid indignum suae personae uel ore proferret uel aliorum motu gereret membrorum. Vnde accito ad se praefato[a] urbis Lundoniae, in qua tunc ipse manebat,[b] episcopo, rogauit ne plures eo moriente quam ipse episcopus et duo sui ministri adessent. Quod dum episcopus libentissime se facturum promitteret, non multo post idem uir Dei, cum membra sopori dedisset, uidit uisionem consolatoriam, quae omnem ei anxietatem memoratae sollicitudinis auferret, insuper et qua die esset hanc uitam terminaturus ostenderet. Vidit enim, ut post ipse referebat, tres ad se uenisse uiros claro indutos habitu. Quorum unus residens ante lectulum eius, stantibus his qui secum aduenerant[c] comitibus et interrogantibus de statu eius, quem languentem uisitare uenerant, dixit quod anima eius et sine ullo dolore et cum magno lucis splendore esset egressura de corpore; sed et tertium exinde diem, quo esset moriturus, insinuauit. Quod ita utrumque, ut ex uisione didicit, conpletum est; nam die dehinc tertio, conpleta hora nona, subito quasi leuiter obdormiens sine ullo sensu doloris emisit spiritum.

Cuius corpori tumulando praeparauerant sarcofagum lapideum;
p. 227 sed cum huic corpus inponere coepissent, / inuenerunt hoc mensura[d] palmi longius esse sarcofago. Dolantes ergo lapidem in quantum ualebant, addiderunt longitudini sarcofagi quasi duorum mensuram digitorum. Sed ne sic quidem corpus capiebat; unde facta difficultate tumulandi, cogitabant aut aliud quaerere loculum, aut ipsum corpus, si possent, in genibus inflectendo breuiare, donec ipso loculo caperetur. Sed mira res et non nisi caelitus

[a] praefatae *c* [b] Lundoniae in qua tunc ipse manebat *is omitted by c2*
[c] uenerant *c* [d] mensurae *m*

urged his wife that since neither of them could enjoy or serve the world any longer, they should devote themselves to the service of God. Having obtained her reluctant consent, he came to Waldhere,[1] bishop of London, Eorcenwold's successor, and received with his blessing the religious habit which he had long desired. He brought the bishop no small sum of money to be given to the poor, keeping nothing for himself but desiring to remain poor in spirit for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

As his sickness increased he felt that the day of his death was approaching; and his disposition being such as befitted a king, he feared that, if he felt great pain in the hour of death, he might by his words or his gestures act in a way unworthy of his character. So summoning the bishop of London, the city in which the king was then living, he asked him that there should be no others present at his death-bed except the bishop and two of his servants. This the bishop gladly promised; but not long afterwards, while sleeping, the king saw a comforting vision which removed all his uneasiness on this score and also made known to him on what day he was to die. He saw, as he later described, three men approaching clad in shining robes; one of them sat down by his bed while his companions, standing by, inquired after the condition of the sick man whom they had come to visit. The man who was seated said that his soul would leave his body without any pain and in a great splendour of light; he also declared that the king would die in three days' time. Both these things were fulfilled just as he had learned from the vision. For he died three days afterwards, at three in the afternoon, when he seemed to fall suddenly into a light sleep and breathed his last without feeling any pain. They had prepared a stone sarcophagus for his burial, but when they came to lay his body in it they found that it was longer than the sarcophagus by a hand's breadth. So they chipped the stone so far as they could, adding about two inches, space. But still it would not take the body. So in view of the difficulty of burying him they debated whether they should look for another coffin or by bending the knees shorten the body so that it would fit the coffin. But an amazing thing happened, certainly the work of heaven which made

[1] Little is known of Waldhere but a letter, in its original form, still survives. It was written about 705 by Waldhere to Berhtwold, archbishop of Canterbury (*EHD*, I. 729). He followed Eorcenwold in 693 and may have died at any time between 705 and 716.

facta, ne aliquid horum fieri deberet, prohibuit. Nam subito adstante episcopo et filio regis eiusdem ac monachi Sighardo, qui post illum cum fratre Suefredo regnauit, et turba hominum non modica inuentum est sarcofagum illud congruae longitudinis ad mensuram corporis, adeo ut a parte capitis etiam ceruical posset interponi, a parte uero pedum mensura quattuor digitorum in sarcofago corpus excederet. Conditus est autem in ecclesia beati doctoris gentium, cuius edoctus monitis caelestia sperare didicerat.

XII

QUARTUS Occidentalium Saxonum antistes Leutherius fuit; siquidem primus Birinus, secundus Agilberctus, tertius extitit Uini. Cumque mortuus esset Coinualch, quo regnante idem Leutherius episcopus factus est, acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et diuisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter X; ipsisque regnantibus defunctus est ille, et episcopatu functus Haeddi pro
p. 228 eo consecratus a Theodoro in ciuitate Lundonia. / Cuius episcopatus tempore deuictis atque amotis subregulis, Caedualla suscepit imperium et, cum duobus annis hoc[a] tenuisset, tandem superni regni amore conpunctus reliquit, eodem adhuc praesule ecclesiam gubernante, ac Romam abiens ibi uitam finiuit, ut in sequentibus latius dicendum est.

Anno autem dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVI, cum Aedilred rex Merciorum, adducto maligno exercitu, Cantiam uastaret et ecclesias ac monasteria sine respectu pietatis uel diuini timoris fedaret,[1] ciuitatem quoque Hrofi, in qua erat Putta episcopus, quamuis eo tempore absens, communi clade absumsit. Quod ille ubi conperiit, ecclesiam uidelicet suam rebus ablatis omnibus depopulatam, diuertit ad Sexuulfum Merciorum antistitem, et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiae cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace uitam finiuit, nil omnino de restaurando episcopatu suo agens (quia, sicut et supra diximus, magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius) sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo seruiens et, ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina diuertens. Pro quo Theodorus in ciuitate Hrofi Cuichelmum[b] consecrauit episcopum. Sed illo post non multum temporis prae inopia rerum ab episcopatu decedente atque ad alia loca secedente, Gebmundum pro eo substituit antistitem.

[a] hoc annis *c* [b] Quichelmum *c*

[1] In spite of this incident Æthelred was a benefactor of monasteries at Abingdon and Malmesbury and of many churches in his kingdom. He was the friend of Archbishop Theodore and of St. Wilfrid and finally retired to the monastery at Bardney in 704 and later became its abbot (v. 19, 24).

both of these alternatives unnecessary. Suddenly as the bishop stood by, together with Sigeheard (who reigned after Sebbi with his brother Swæfred and was the son of the royal monk) as well as a large crowd of men, the sarcophagus was found to be of the right length to fit the body, so that a pillow could even be put in behind the head while, at the feet, the coffin was four inches longer than the body. He was buried in the church of the blessed doctor of the Gentiles, through whose teachings he had learned to aspire to heavenly things.

CHAPTER XII

THE fourth bishop of the West Saxons was Leuthere. The first was Birinus, the second Agilbert, and the third Wine. When Cenwealh was dead, during whose reign Leuthere had been made bishop, sub-kings took upon themselves the government of the kingdom, dividing it up and ruling for about ten years. While they were reigning Leuthere died and was succeeded by Hædde, who had been consecrated in London by Theodore. During his episcopate the sub-kings were conquered and removed and Cædwalla became king. After he had reigned two years he renounced the throne, while the same bishop was still in the see, urged on by his love for the kingdom of heaven. He went to Rome and died there, as will be told more fully later on.

In the year of our Lord 676 Æthelred, king of the Mercians, at the head of a cruel army, devastated Kent, profaning churches and monasteries without respect for religion or fear of God.[1] In the general devastation he also destroyed Rochester, Putta's see, though the bishop was absent at the time. When Putta found that his church was destroyed and all its contents removed, he went to Seaxwulf, bishop of the Mercians, who granted him a church and a small estate, where he ended his life in peace, making no attempt whatever to re-establish his bishopric; for, as was said before, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical than with worldly affairs. So he served God in this church and went round wherever he was invited, teaching church music. Instead of him Theodore consecrated Cwichelm as bishop of Rochester. But when the latter left the bishopric soon afterwards for lack of means and went elsewhere, Theodore appointed Gefmund in his place.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXXVIII, qui est annus imperii regis Ecgfridi octauus, apparuit mense Augusto stella, quae dicitur cometa,[1] et tribus mensibus permanens matutinis horis oriebatur, excelsam radiantis flammae quasi columnam praeferens. / Quo etiam anno orta inter ipsum regem Ecgfridum et p. 229 reuerentissimum antistitem Uilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus, et duo in locum eius substituti episcopi, qui Nordanhymbrorum genti praeessent:[2] Bosa uidelicet, qui Derorum, et Eata, qui Berniciorum prouinciam gubernaret, hic in ciuitate Eboraci, ille in Hagustaldensi siue in[a] Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum adsciti. Cum quibus et Eadhaed in prouinciam Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrime rex Ecgfrid superato in bello et fugato Uulfhere obtinuerat,[3] ordinatur episcopus. Et hunc primum eadem prouincia proprium accepit praesulem, secundum Ediluini, tertium Eadgarum, quartum Cyniberctum quem in praesenti habet. Habebat enim ante Eadhaedum antistitem Sexuulfum, qui etiam Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul episcopus fuit; unde et expulsus de Lindissi in illarum prouinciarum regimine permansit. Ordinati sunt autem Eadhaed Bosa et Eata Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Theodoro;[4] qui etiam post tres abscessionis Uilfridi annos[b] horum numero duos addidit antistites: Tunberctum[c] ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem,[5] remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumuini ad prouinciam Pictorum, quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta. Eadhaedum de Lindissi reuersum, eo quod Aedilred prouinciam recepisset, Hrypensi ecclesiae praefecit.

XIII

p. 230 PULSUS[d] autem ab episcopatu suo Uilfrid et multa diu loca peruagatus Romam adiit, Brittaniam rediit. Et si propter inimicitias

[a] in *om. c* [b] *c has* annos *before* tres [c] *c has* Tunberctum *after* Hagustaldensem [d] Pulsus est *c*

[1] Bede's account of the comet, which he wrongly attributes to the year 678, is borrowed from the Life of Pope Donus (676–8) in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Chinese sources prove that the comet was visible from August to October, 676. See R. L. Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 42 ff.

[2] Bede deals more fully with Wilfrid's life in v. 19. This was his first expulsion.

[3] Wulfhere was defeated by Ecgfrith some time between 673 and 675 in battle and Lindsey came under Northumbrian rule (Eddius, chapter 20). But it was not for long. It was reconquered by Æthelred of Mercia in 679 when he defeated Ecgfrith in a battle near the river Trent (iv. 21).

In the year of our Lord 678, the eighth year of the reign of King Ecgfrith, there appeared during the month of August a star which is known as a comet.[1] It remained for three months, rising in the early hours of each morning and emitting a kind of lofty column of bright flame. In the same year there arose a dissension between King Ecgfrith and the most reverend bishop Wilfrid with the result that the bishop was driven from his see while two bishops were put in his place to rule over the Northumbrian race;[2] one was Bosa, who administered the kingdom of Deira, and the other Eata, who presided over Bernicia. The former had his episcopal see in York and the latter at Hexham or else in Lindisfarne; both of them were promoted to the rank of bishop from a monastic community. In addition Eadhæd was consecrated bishop of the kingdom of Lindsey, which King Ecgfrith had recently won by conquering Wulfhere and putting him to flight.[3] This was the first bishop of its own which the kingdom had had, the second one being Æthelwine, the third Edgar, and the fourth Cyneberht, the present bishop. Before Eadhæd, Seaxwulf was its bishop, being at the same time bishop of the Mercians and the Middle Angles; when he was driven out of Lindsey he continued to administer these provinces. Eadhæd, Bosa, and Eata were consecrated at York by Archbishop Theodore.[4] Three years after Wilfrid's departure he added two more to their number, Tunberht[5] to the church at Hexham—Eata remaining at Lindisfarne—and Trumwine to the kingdom of the Picts, which at that time was subject to the English. When Æthelred had recovered the kingdom of Lindsey, Eadhæd returned and was placed by Theodore over the church at Ripon.

CHAPTER XIII

WHEN Wilfrid had been expelled from his see he spent a long time travelling in many lands, going to Rome and afterwards returning to Britain. Though he could not be received back into

[4] Eadhæd had accompanied Chad from Northumbria when Oswiu sent the latter to be consecrated bishop (iii. 28). Bosa was one of Hild's pupils (iv. 23). Eata was one of Aidan's twelve English pupils who became abbot of Melrose and afterwards of Lindisfarne (iii. 26; iv. 27).

[5] Tunberht had been abbot of Gilling and was a kinsman of Bede's friend and patron Ceolfrith, abbot of Jarrow. Three years later he was, like Winfrith, deposed by Archbishop Theodore (iv. 28).

memorati regis in patria siue parrochia sua recipi non potuit, non tamen ab euangelizandi potuit ministerio cohiberi; siquidem diuertens ad prouinciam Australium Saxonum, quae post Cantuarios ad austrum et ad occidentem usque ad Occidentales Saxones pertingit, habens terram familiarum VII milium, et eo adhuc tempore paganis cultibus seruiebat, huic uerbum fidei et lauacrum salutis ministrabat. Erat autem rex gentis ipsius Aedilualch non multo ante baptizatus in prouincia Merciorum, praesente ac suggerente rege Uulfhere, a quo etiam egressus de fonte loco filii susceptus est; in cuius signum adoptionis duas illi prouincias donauit, Uectam uidelicet insulam et Meanuarorum[1] prouinciam in gente Occidentalium Saxonum. Itaque episcopus concedente, immo multum gaudente rege primos prouinciae duces ac milites sacrosancto[a] fonte abluebat; uerum[b] presbyteri Eappa et Padda et Burghelm et Oiddi ceteram plebem uel tunc uel tempore sequente baptizabant. Porro regina, nomine Eabae, in sua, id est Huicciorum prouincia fuerat baptizata. Erat autem filia Eanfridi fratris Eanheri,[2] qui ambo cum suo populo Christiani fuere. Ceterum tota prouincia Australium Saxonum diuini nominis et fidei erat ignara.

p. 231 Erat autem ibi monachus quidam de natione Scottorum, uocabulo Dicul, habens monasteriolum permodicum in loco qui uocatur Bosanhamm,[3] siluis et mari[c] circumdatum, et in eo fratres quinque siue sex in humili et paupere uita Domino famulantes. Sed prouincialium nullus eorum uel uitam aemulari uel praedicationem curabat audire.

Euangelizans autem genti episcopus Uilfrid non solum eam ab erumna perpetuae damnationis uerum et a clade infanda temporalis interitus eripuit. Siquidem tribus annis ante aduentum eius in prouinciam nulla illis in locis pluuia ceciderat, unde et fames aceruissima plebem inuadens impia nece prostrauit. Denique ferunt quia saepe XL simul aut L homines inedia macerati procederent ad praecipitium aliquod siue ripam maris, et iunctis misere manibus pariter omnes aut ruina perituri aut fluctibus

[a] sacro *c* [b] uerum *om. c* [c] mare *c*

[1] The name of this people is still preserved in the Meon valley, Hampshire; according to Bede, they were of Jutish extraction (i. 15).

his own native land and his diocese, owing to the hostility of King Ecgfrith, yet nothing could hinder him from the ministry of preaching the gospel. So he turned to the kingdom of the South Saxons, which stretches south and west from Kent as far as the land of the West Saxons and contains 7,000 hides. At that time it was still in the bonds of heathen practices. Here Wilfrid taught them the faith and administered the baptism of salvation. The king of this people was Æthelwealh, who not long before had been baptized in the kingdom of Mercia at the suggestion and in the presence of Wulfhere, who, when Æthelwealh came forth from the font, received him as a son. As a token of his adoption Wulfhere gave him two provinces, namely the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meonware[1] in the land of the West Saxons. So the bishop, with the king's consent and indeed to his great joy, cleansed his ealdormen and his *gesiths* in the holy fount of baptism; the priests Eappa and Padda, Burghelm and Eddi baptized the rest of the common people either then or later on. The queen, whose name was Eafe, had been baptized in her own country, the kingdom of the Hwicce. She was the daughter of Eanfrith[2] Eanhere's brother, both of whom were Christians, as were their people. Apart from her, all the South Saxons were ignorant of the divine name and of the faith.

There was, however, in their midst a certain Irish monk named Dícuill who had a very small monastery in a place called Bosham[3] surrounded by woods and sea, in which five or six brothers served the Lord in humility and poverty; but none of the natives cared to follow their way of life or listen to their preaching.

In evangelizing this nation, Bishop Wilfrid rescued them not only from the misery of everlasting damnation but also from temporal death and cruel destruction. For three years before his coming into the kingdom no rain had fallen in those parts, so that a most terrible famine assailed the populace and pitilessly destroyed them. For example it is said that forty or fifty men, wasted with hunger, would go together to some precipice or to the sea shore where in their misery they would join hands and leap into the sea,

[2] Eanfrith and his brother Eanhere were joint kings of the Hwicce under the overlordship of Æthelred of Mercia.

[3] Bosham was one of the two monasteries of Irish foundation in the south of England (Taylor, I. 81–84). The other was at Malmesbury, where Aldhelm was educated. Glastonbury also had strong Irish connexions. Nothing is known of Dícuill.

absorbendi deciderent. Verum ipsa die quo baptisma fidei gens suscepit illa,[a] descendit pluuia serena sed copiosa, refloruit terra, rediit uiridantibus aruis annus laetus et frugifer. Sicque abiecta prisca superstitione, exsufflata idolatria, cor omnium et caro omnium exultauerunt in Deum uiuum,[1] intellegentes eum, qui uerus est Deus, et interioribus se bonis et exterioribus caelesti gratia ditasse. Nam et antistes, cum uenisset in prouinciam tantamque ibi famis poenam uideret, docuit eos piscando uictum quaerere. Namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant,[b] sed piscandi peritia genti nulla nisi ad anguillas tantum[c] inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et diuina se iuuante gratia mox cepere pisces diuersi generis trecentos. Quibus trifariam diuisis, centum
p. 232 pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus / retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant. Quo beneficio multum antistes cor omnium in suum conuertit amorem, et libentius eo praedicante caelestia sperare coeperunt, cuius ministerio temporalia bona sumserunt.[2]

Quo tempore rex Aedilualch donauit reuerentissimo antistiti Uilfrido terram LXXXVII familiarum, ubi suos homines, qui exules uagabantur, recipere posset, uocabulo Selaeseu,[3] quod dicitur Latine Insula uituli marini. Est enim locus undique mari circumdatus praeter ab occidente, unde habet ingressum amplitudinis quasi iactus fundae; qualis locus a Latinis paeninsula, a Grecis solet cherronesos uocari. Hunc ergo locum cum[d] accepisset episcopus Uilfrid, fundauit ibi monasterium ac regulari uita instituit, maxime ex his quos secum adduxerat fratribus; quod usque hodie successores eius tenere noscuntur. Nam ipse illis in partibus annos quinque, hoc est usque ad mortem Ecgfridi regis, merito omnibus honorabilis officium episcopatus et uerbo exercebat et opere. Et quoniam illis[e] rex cum praefata loci possessione omnes quae[f] ibidem erant facultates cum agris et hominibus donauit, omnes fide Christi institutos unda baptismatis abluit,

[a] illo *c* [b] habundant *c* [c] tantum *om. c* [d] cum *om. c* [e] illi *c* [f] qui *m; retaining this in the text, Dr. H. P. R. Finberg* (Revue Bénédictine lxxii, 1962, 351) *transposes* qui ibidem erant *to follow the second* omnes

[1] Ps. 83 (84): 3.

[2] Eddius does not tell this picturesque story of the conversion of the South Saxons. Bede presumably got it from Daniel, bishop of Winchester, who supplied him with information about Sussex (see Preface, p. 5).

perishing wretchedly either by the fall or by drowning. But on the very day on which the people received the baptism of faith, a gentle but ample rain fell; the earth revived, the fields once more became green, and a happy and fruitful season followed. So, casting off their ancient superstitions and renouncing their idolatry, 'the heart and flesh of all rejoiced in the living God';[1] for they realized that He who is the true God had, by His heavenly grace, endowed them with both outward and inward blessings. When the bishop first came into the kingdom and saw the suffering and famine there, he taught them how to get their food by fishing: for both the sea and the rivers abounded in fish but the people had no knowledge of fishing except for eels alone. So the bishop's men collected eel-nets from every quarter and cast them into the sea so that, with the help of divine grace, they quickly captured 300 fish of all kinds. These were divided up into three parts: a hundred were given to the poor, a hundred to those who had supplied the nets, while they kept the other hundred for their own use. By this good turn the bishop won the hearts of all and they had the greater hope of heavenly blessings from the preaching of one by whose aid they had gained temporal blessings.[2]

At this time King Æthelwealh gave the most reverend bishop Wilfrid eighty-seven hides of land to maintain his exiled followers. The land was called Selsey,[3] that is, the island of the seal. This place is surrounded on all sides by the sea except on the west where it is approached by a piece of land about a sling's throw in width. Such a place is called in Latin *peninsula* and in Greek *cherronesos*. When Bishop Wilfrid had received this land he founded a monastery there, consisting chiefly of the brothers he had brought with him, and established a Rule of life; his successors, as is well known, occupy the place to this day. For five years, that is, until the death of King Ecgfrith, he carried out the duties of a bishop in those parts both in words and works, being deservedly honoured by all. Since the king had given them the land together with all the stock on it, along with fields and men, he instructed them all in the faith of Christ and washed them in the waters of baptism; among these were 250 male and female slaves, all of

[3] The spot on which the monastery stood is believed to have been about a mile east of the present church but has long been submerged. Camden relates that traces of it were still visible in his days at low water (*Britannia*, ed. R. Gough (London, 1789), I. 186).

inter quos seruos et ancillas ducentos quinquaginta; quos omnes ut baptizando a seruitute daemonica saluauit, etiam libertate donando humanae iugo seruitutis absoluit.

XIIII[a]

In quo tunc monasterio nonnulla caelestis gratiae dona speci-
p. 233 aliter ostensa fuisse perhibentur, utpote / ubi nuper expulsa diaboli tyrannide Christus iam regnare coeperat. E quibus unum, quod mihi reuerentissimus antistes Acca saepius referre et a fidelissimis eiusdem monasterii fratribus sibi relatum asserere solebat, memoriae mandare commodum duximus.

Eodem ferme tempore quo ipsa prouincia nomen Christi susceperat, multas Brittaniae prouincias mortalitas saeua corripiebat. Quae cum praefatum quoque monasterium, cui tunc regendo religiosissimus Christi sacerdos uocabulo Eappa praefuit, nutu diuinae dispensationis attingeret, multique siue de his qui cum antistite illo uenerant, siue de illis qui de eadem prouincia Saxonum nuper ad fidem fuerant uocati, passim de hac uita raperentur, uisum est fratribus triduanum ieiunium agere et diuinam suppliciter obsecrare clementiam, ut misericordiam sibi dignaretur inpendere, et siue periclitantes hoc morbo a praesenti morte liberaret seu raptos e mundo a perpetua animae damnatione seruaret.

Erat tunc temporis in eodem monasterio puerulus quidam de natione Saxonum, nuper uocatus ad fidem, qui eadem tactus infirmitate non pauco tempore recubans in lectulo iacebat. Cum ergo secunda memorati ieiunii ac supplicationum dies ageretur, /
p. 234 contigit forte ipsum puerum hora ferme secunda diei in loco in quo eger iacebat solum inueniri; cui diuina dispositione subito beati apostolorum principes dignati sunt apparere. Erat enim puer multum simplicis ac mansueti animi, sinceraque deuotione sacramenta fidei quae susceperat seruans. Salutantes ergo illum uerbis piissimis apostoli dicebant: 'Noli timere, fili, mortem, pro qua sollicitus es; nos enim te hodierna die ad caelestia sumus regna perducturi. Sed primum expectare habes, donec missae celebrentur, ac uiatico dominici corporis ac sanguinis accepto, sic infirmitate simul et morte absolutus ad aeterna in caelis gaudia

[a] *This chapter is not in c*

whom he released from the slavery of the devil, at the same time releasing them from the yoke of human slavery by granting them their liberty.

CHAPTER XIV

IT is related that about this time certain special manifestations of heavenly grace were revealed in this monastery; for the tyranny of the devil had been recently overthrown and the reign of Christ had now begun. I have thought it fitting to preserve the memory of one of these manifestations often related to me by the most reverend Bishop Acca, who declared that it had been told him by some trustworthy brothers from the very monastery.

Almost at the same time that this kingdom had accepted the name of Christ, many of the kingdoms of Britain were attacked by a virulent plague. By divine dispensation and will it reached this monastery) which was at the time ruled over by a most devoted priest of Christ named Eappa; many of those who had come with the bishop as well as those who had been recently called to the faith from the South Saxon kingdom were indiscriminately snatched away from this world. So it seemed right to the brothers to observe a three-day fast and humbly implore God in His mercy to show pity on them, either by delivering those who were threatened by this disease from instant death or by preserving the souls of those who died from everlasting damnation.

At this time there was a little boy of the Saxon race in the monastery who had been lately converted to the faith and who had been afflicted by the disease and confined to his bed for a long time. On the second day of fasting and prayer it chanced that the boy was left alone at the second hour of the day in the place where he was lying sick. Suddenly, by divine dispensation, the most blessed chiefs of the apostles deigned to appear to him. Now he was a boy of very simple and gentle disposition and sincerely devoted to the mysteries of the faith which he had received. The apostles greeted him with holy words and said, 'Son, do not let the fear of death trouble you, for we are going to take you today to the heavenly kingdom. But you will first have to wait until mass has been celebrated and then when you have received the viaticum of the body and blood of Christ, you will be taken to the everlasting

subleueris. Clama ergo ad te presbyterum Eappan, et dicito illi quia "Dominus exaudiuit preces uestras, et deuotionem ac ieiunia propitius aspexit; neque aliquis de hoc monasterio siue[a] adiacentibus ei possessiunculis hac clade ultra moriturus est, sed omnes qui alicubi de uestris hac egritudine laborant, resurrecturi a languore, pristina sunt sospitate recuperandi, praeter te solum, qui hodierna es die liberandus a morte et ad uisionem Domini Christi, cui fideliter seruisti, perducendus inc aelum. Quod diuina uobis . . .[b][1] per intercessionem religiosi ac Deo dilecti regis Osualdi, qui quondam genti Nordanhymbrorum et regni temporalis auctoritate et Christianae pietatis, quae ad regnum perenne ducit, deuotione sublimiter praefuit, conferre dignata est. Hac etenim die idem rex ab infidelibus in bello corporaliter extinctus, mox ad sempiterna animarum gaudia adsumtus in caelum et electorum est sociatus agminibus. Quaerant in suis codicibus, in quibus defunctorum est
p. 235 adnotata depositio,[2] et / inuenient illum hac, ut diximus, die raptum esse de saeculo. Celebrent ergo missas per cuncta monasterii oratoria huius, siue pro gratiarum actione exauditae suae deprecationis siue etiam in memoriam praefati regis Osualdi, qui quondam ipsorum genti praeerat,[3] ideoque pro eis quasi pro suae gentis aduenis supplex orabat ad Dominum; et cunctis conuenientibus ad ecclesiam fratribus communicent omnes sacrificiis caelestibus, et ita soluto ieiunio corpus quoque suis reficiant alimentis."'

Quae cum omnia uocato ad se presbytero puer uerba narrasset, interrogauit eum sollicitus, quales essent habitu uel specie uiri qui sibi apparuissent. Respondit: 'Praeclari omnino habitus, et uultus erant laetissimi ac pulcherrimi, quales numquam ante uideram, neque aliquos hominum tanti decoris ac uenustatis esse posse credebam. Vnus quidem attonsus erat ut clericus, alius barbam habebat prolixam,[4] dicebantque quod unus eorum Petrus, alius uocaretur Paulus, et ipsi essent ministri Domini et Saluatoris

[a] sibi *m; the slip is corrected in many of the early MSS.*

[b] *A word was missing in the parent MS.; correctors in later copies have suggested* misericordia, gratia, clementia, *and* pietas, *any one of which would give a satisfactory sense*

[1] Translating *misericordia.*

[2] The calendar (which later in the chapter is called *annale*) consisted originally of a series of notes on the Julian calendar marking the dates of the death or deposition of a saint (usually the same day). Such a calendar is the one which belonged to St. Willibrord, now at Paris (B.N. Fonds latin 10837). There are notes in it in his own handwriting. See *The Calendar of St. Willibrord,* ed. H. A. Wilson, *Henry Bradshaw Society* LV (London, 1918). The *annale* in the strict sense consists of annotations added to Easter Tables which eventually gave rise

joys of heaven and set free from sickness and death. Call the priest Eappa and say to him, "The Lord has heard your prayers and has looked favourably upon your devotions and your fasts; therefore not one more from this monastery nor from the adjacent lands nor any of its possessions shall die of the plague. But all those people who are now suffering from the sickness shall be raised up from their sick beds and restored to their former health—all except you alone, for you will today be freed by death and taken to heaven to behold the Lord Christ whom you have faithfully served. This the divine mercy[1] has deigned to grant the brethren by the intercession of the saintly King Oswald, beloved of God, who once reigned gloriously over the Northumbrian people with the authority of a temporal kingship and with the devotion and Christian virtue which brought him to the everlasting kingdom. It was on this very day that the king was slain in battle by the heathen and was forthwith carried to the everlasting joys of the souls in heaven, joining the ranks of the elect. Let them seek in their books in which the deposition of the dead is noted down[2] and they will find that it was on this day that he was taken from the world. So let them celebrate masses in all the chapels of this monastery, both in thankfulness for answered prayers and in memory of King Oswald, who once ruled over this people[3] and who prayed to the Lord for them as if of his own race though strangers; let all the brethren come to the church and join in offering the heavenly sacrifices; then let them end their fast and refresh their bodies with the food they need."'

The boy asked for the priest and told him all these things. The priest questioned him carefully about the dress and the looks of the men who had appeared to him. He answered, 'Their robes were magnificent and their faces joyful and beautiful, such as I have never seen before; nor did I think that any men could have such grace and beauty. One was tonsured like a cleric and the other had a flowing beard.[4] They told me that one was named Peter and the other Paul and that they were the servants of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ sent by Him from heaven to watch

to the chronicle. But the word is also used as here in the sense of a calendar. This particular calendar which came with Wilfrid and his followers from Northumbria would naturally give the festival of St. Oswald.

[3] Meaning the people of Sussex. See p. 230, n. 1.

[4] St. Paul was from very early times represented with a flowing beard, as on the coffin of St. Cuthbert made in 698 and preserved in Durham Cathedral.

nostri Iesu Christi ad tuitionem nostri monasterii missi ab ipso de caelis.' Credidit ergo uerbis pueri presbyter, ac statim egressus requisiuit in annale suo et inuenit eadem ipsa die Osualdum regem fuisse peremtum;[1] uocatisque fratribus parari prandium, missas fieri atque omnes communicare more solito praecepit, simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio dominicae oblationis particulam deferri mandauit.

Quibus ita gestis, non multo post eadem ipsa die puer defunctus est, suaque morte probauit uera fuisse uerba, quae ab apostolis Christi audierat. Sed et hoc eius uerbis testimonium perhibuit, quod nemo praeter ipsum tempore illo ex eodem est monasterio raptus de mundo. Ex qua nimirum uisione multi, qui
p. 236 haec / audire potuerunt, et ad[a] exorandam in aduersis diuinam clementiam et[b] ad salutaria ieiuniorum remedia subeunda sunt mirabiliter accensi; et ex eo tempore non solum in eodem monasterio sed et in plerisque locis aliis coepit annuatim eiusdem regis ac militis Christi natalicius dies missarum celebratione uenerari.[2]

[XV][c] Interea superueniens cum exercitu Caedualla,[3] iuuenis strenuissimus de regio genere Geuissorum, cum exularet a patria sua, interfecit regem Aedilualch, ac prouinciam illam saeua caede ac depopulatione attriuit; sed mox expulsus est a ducibus regiis Berchthuno et Andhuno, qui deinceps regnum prouinciae tenuerunt. Quorum prior postea ab eodem Caedualla, cum esset rex Geuissorum, occisus est, et prouincia grauiore seruitio subacta. Sed et Ini, qui post Caeduallan regnauit, simili prouinciam illam adflictione plurimo annorum tempore mancipauit. Quare factum est, ut toto illo tempore episcopum proprium habere nequiret, sed reuocato domum Uilfrido primo suo antistite, ipsi episcopo Geuissorum,[4] id est Occidentalium Saxonum, qui essent in Uenta ciuitate, subiacerent.

[a] ad *om. m* [b] et *om. m* [c] *This chapter is continuous with* XIIII *in m, and with* XIII *in c (which omits* XIIII*). It was separated in German MSS. of the ninth century, and as the resulting numeration of chapters passed thence into the printed editions, we have retained it for the reader's convenience, although it not Bede's.*

[1] Namely 5 August. [2] See also p. 252, n. 1.

[3] Cædwalla was a descendant of Cæwlin. His name is clearly British and points to some connexion by blood with the British race. He is often confused with Cadwallon (p. 202, n. 3). He became king of the Gewisse (West Saxons) in 685 by conquest. Eddius declares that 'Wilfrid was his father and dearest of all to him' (Eddius, chapter 42). Wilfrid's association with this bloodthirsty young pagan as described by Eddius is difficult to explain and particularly the fact that he was willing to share in the spoils of Cædwalla's devastations by

over our monastery.' The priest believed the boy's words and went out at once to search in his calendar and found that King Oswald had been slain on that very day.[1] So he called the brothers and ordered a meal to be prepared and masses to be said, and all to communicate in their accustomed way. At the same time he ordered a small portion of the sacrifice and oblation of the Lord to be carried to the sick boy.

Soon after this, on the same day, the boy died, proving by his own death the truth of what he had heard from Christ's apostles. As further confirmation of his words no one except himself was carried off at that time from the monastery. Many who heard of the vision were wonderfully encouraged to pray to the divine mercy in times of adversity and to submit to the wholesome remedy of fasting. From that time, not only in this monastery but in many other places, the heavenly birthday of this king and soldier of Christ began to be observed yearly by the celebration of masses.[2]

CHAPTER XV

MEANWHILE Cædwalla,[3] a young and vigorous prince of the Gewisse, being an exile from his own land, came with an army and slew King Æthelwealh, wasting the kingdom with fierce slaughter and devastation. But he was quickly driven out by two of the king's ealdormen, Berhthun and Andhun, who from that time held the kingdom. The former was afterwards killed by Cædwalla when he was king of the Gewisse and the kingdom reduced to a worse state of slavery. Ine, who ruled after Cædwalla, also oppressed the country in the same harsh way for many years. So it came about that during all this time it could have no bishop of its own. When Wilfrid its first bishop was called home they became subject to the bishop of the Gewisse, that is, the West Saxons, whose see was in the city of Winchester.[4]

receiving 300 hides in the Isle of Wight. But he may have had some sound practical reasons for doing so and Cædwalla's short reign seems to have been a successful one. He died in Rome in the odour of sanctity (p. 470, n. 1).

[4] See p. 153, n. 4. The phrase *qui essent in Uenta civitate* refers not to *Occidentalium Saxonum* but to *episcopo Gewissorum. Essent* may well be an error for *esset* but in any case it seems not unreasonable that a plurally named see should take a plural verb. See H. E. Walker, 'Bede and the Gewissae', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XII (1956), 180–2.

XVI [XIIII]

p. 237 POSTQUAM ergo Caedualla regno potitus est Geuis/sorum, cepit et insulam Uectam, quae eatenus erat tota idolatriae dedita, ac stragica caede omnes indigenas exterminare ac suae prouinciae homines pro his substituere contendit, uoto se obligans quamuis necdum regeneratus, ut ferunt, in Christo quia, si cepisset insulam, quartam partem eius simul et praedae Domino daret. Quod ita soluit, ut hanc Uilfrido episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superueniens aderat, utendam pro Domino offerret. Est autem mensura eiusdem insulae iuxta aestimationem Anglorum mille ducentarum familiarum; unde data est episcopo possessio terrae trecentarum familiarum. At ipse partem quam accepit commendauit cuidam de clericis suis, cui nomen Bernuini, et erat filius sororis eius, dans illi presbyterum nomine Hiddila, qui omnibus qui saluari uellent uerbum ac lauacrum uitae ministraret.

Vbi silentio praetereundum non esse reor, quod in primitias eorum, qui de eadem insula[a] credendo saluati sunt, duo regii pueri, fratres uidelicet Arualdi regis insulae, speciali sunt Dei gratia coronati. Siquidem inminentibus insulae hostibus fuga lapsi sunt de insula et in proximam Iutorum prouinciam translati, ubi cum delati in locum qui uocatur Ad Lapidem occulendos se a facie regis uictoris credidissent, proditi sunt atque occidi iussi. Quod cum audisset abbas quidam et presbyter uocabulo Cyniberct, habens non longe ab inde monasterium in loco qui uocatur Hreutford, id est Vadum harundinis, uenit ad regem, qui tunc eisdem[b] in partibus occultus curabatur a uulneribus quae ei
p. 238 inflicta fuerant proelianti in insula / Uecta, postulauitque ab eo ut, si necesse esset pueros interfici, prius eos liceret fidei Christianae sacramentis inbui. Concessit rex, et ipse instructos eos uerbo ueritatis ac fonte Saluatoris ablutos de ingressu regni aeterni certos reddidit. Moxque illi instante carnifice mortem laeti subiere temporalem, per quam se ad uitam animae perpetuam non dubitabant esse transituros. Hoc ergo ordine, postquam omnes Brittaniarum prouinciae fidem Christi susceperant, suscepit et insula Uecta, in quam tamen ob erumnam externae subiectionis

[a] insula eadem *c* [b] isdem *c*

CHAPTER XVI (XIV)

AFTER Cædwalla had gained possession of the kingdom of the Gewisse he also captured the Isle of Wight, which until then had been entirely given up to idolatry, and endeavoured to wipe out all the natives by merciless slaughter and to replace them by inhabitants from his own kingdom, binding himself, or so it is said, by a vow, though he was not yet Christian, that if he captured the island he would give a fourth part of it and of the booty to the Lord. He fulfilled his vow by giving it for the service of the Lord to Bishop Wilfrid, who happened to have come there from his own people at that time. The size of the island is 1,200 hides according to the English way of reckoning, so the bishop was given 300 hides. Wilfrid entrusted the portion he had received to one of his clergy named Beornwine, who was his sister's son, assigning to him a priest called Hiddila, to teach the word and administer baptism to all who sought salvation.

I think that I must not pass over in silence the fact that among the first fruits of the island who believed and were saved were two young princes, brothers of Arwald, king of the island, who were specially crowned with God's grace. When the enemy was approaching the island they escaped by flight and crossed over into the neighbouring realm of the Jutes. They were taken to a place called *Ad Lapidem* (Stoneham?) where they thought they could remain concealed from the victorious king; but they were betrayed and condemned to death. On hearing this, Cyneberht, an abbot and priest whose monastery was not far away at a place called *Hreutford*, that is, the ford of the reed (Redbridge), came to the king', who was living secretly in those parts while he recovered from the wounds which he had received during the fighting on the Isle of Wight. The abbot asked the king whether, if the boys must needs be killed, they might first be instructed in the mysteries of the Christian faith. The king agreed, so Cyneberht instructed them in the word of truth and baptized them in the fount of salvation and thus made sure of their entry into the eternal kingdom. When the executioner arrived, they gladly submitted to temporal death through which they were assured that they would pass to the eternal life of the soul. In this way after all the kingdoms of Britain had received the faith of Christ, the Isle of Wight received it too, yet because it was suffering under the affliction of

nemo gradum ministerii ac sedis episcopalis ante Danihelem, qui nunc Occidentalium Saxonum est episcopus, accepit.[1]

Sita est autem haec insula contra medium Australium Saxonum et Geuissorum, interposito pelago latitudinis trium milium, quod uocatur Soluente. In quo uidelicet pelago bini aestus Oceani, qui circum Brittaniam ex infinito Oceano septentrionali erumpunt, sibimet inuicem cotidie conpugnantes occurrunt ultra hostium fluminis Homelea, quod per terras Iutorum[a] quae ad regionem Geuissorum pertinent praefatum pelagus intrat, finitoque conflictu in Oceanum refusi unde uenerant redeunt.

XVII [XV]

His temporibus audiens Theodorus fidem ecclesiae Constantinopoli per heresim Eutychetis[b2] multum esse turbatam, et ecclesias Anglorum quibus praeerat ab huiusmodi labe inmunes perdurare desiderans, collecto uenerabilium sacerdotum doctorumque plurimorum coetu, cuius essent fidei singuli sedulus inquirebat, /
p. 239 omniumque unianimem in fide catholica repperit consensum, et hunc synodalibus litteris ad instructionem memoriamque sequentium commendare curauit. Quarum uidelicet litterarum istud exordium est:

In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Saluatoris. Imperantibus dominis piissimis[c] nostris Ecgfrido rege Humbronensium, anno decimo regni eius sub die xv kalendas Octobres indictione octaua, et Aedilredo rege Mercinensium, anno sexto regni eius, et Alduulfo rege Estranglorum, anno septimodecimo regni eius, et Hlothario rege Cantuariorum, regni eius anno septimo; praesidente Theodoro gratia Dei archiepiscopo Brittaniae insulae et ciuitatis Doruuernis; una cum eo sedentibus ceteris episcopis Brittaniae insulae uiris uenerabilibus; praepositis sacrosanctis euangeliis, in loco qui Saxonico uocabulo Haethfelth nominatur,[3] pariter tractantes fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus, sicut Dominus noster Iesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis, qui praesentialiter uiderunt et audierunt sermones eius, atque sanctorum patrum tradidit symbolum et generaliter omnes sancti et uniuersales synodi et omnis probabilium catholicae ecclesiae doctorum chorus.

[a] Iutarum *c* [b] Euthycetis *c* [c] piissimis domnis *c*

[1] See v. 23.

[2] Eutyches was the archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople in the first half of the fifth century. He denied the coexistence of the divine and

alien rule, it had no bishop nor see until the time of Daniel, who is now bishop of the West Saxons.[1]

The Isle of Wight lies opposite the borders of the South Saxons and of the Gewisse, with three miles of sea between, which is called the Solent. In this sea the two ocean tides which break upon Britain from the boundless northern ocean meet daily in conflict beyond the mouth of the river Hamble, which enters the same sea, flowing through those Jutish lands which belong to the kingdom of the Gewisse. When their conflict is over they flow back into the ocean whence they came.

CHAPTER XVII (XV)

ABOUT this time Theodore heard that the faith of the church at Constantinople had been greatly shaken by the heresy of Eutyches.[2] As he wished to keep the English churches over which he presided free from any such taint, he convened an assembly of venerable bishops and many learned men and carefully inquired of each of them as to their belief. He discovered that they were all united in the catholic faith. So he took care to have this recorded in a synodal book to serve as a guide and a record to their successors. This is the beginning of the synodal book:

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, and in the reign of our most religious lords, namely Ecgfrith, king of the Northumbrians, in the tenth year of his reign—17 September and the eighth indiction—in the sixth year of the reign of Æthelred, king of the Mercians: in the seventeenth year of the reign of Ealdwulf, king of the East Angles; and in the seventh year of the reign of Hlothhere, king of Kent; Theodore, by the grace of God archbishop of the island of Britain and of the city of Canterbury presiding; and sitting with him the other reverend bishops of the island of Britain, having the most holy gospels before us in the place which in the Saxon tongue is called *Hæthfelth*[3] (Hatfield); we united in declaring the true and orthodox faith as our Lord Jesus Christ delivered it in the flesh to the disciples who saw Him face to face and heard His words, and as it was handed down in the creed of the holy fathers and by all the holy and universal councils in general and the whole body of the accredited fathers of the catholic Church.

human nature in the person of Christ. His heresy, known as Monophysitism, was condemned by the synod of Constantinople in 448 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. See *DCB*, II. 404 ff.

[3] This has been almost certainly identified as Hatfield in Hertfordshire. The date of the Council was 679.

Hos itaque sequentes nos pie atque orthodoxe iuxta diuinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum professi credimus consonanter[a] et confitemur secundum sanctos patres proprie et ueraciter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum trinitatem in unitate consubstantialem et unitatem in trinitate, hoc est unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis uel personis consubstantialibus aequalis gloriae et honoris.

Et post multa huiusmodi, quae ad rectae fidei confessionem pertinebant, haec quoque sancta synodus suis litteris addit:

p. 240 Suscipimus sanctas et uniuersales quinque synodos[b] beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum,[1] id est, qui in Nicaea congregati fuerunt CCCX et VIII contra Arrium impiissimum et eiusdem[c] dogmata, et in Constantinopoli CL contra uaesaniam Macedonii et Eudoxii et eorum dogmata, et in Efeso primo ducentorum contra nequissimum Nestorium et eiusdem dogmata, et in Calcedone sexcentorum et XXX contra Eutychen[d] et Nestorium et eorum dogmata, et iterum in Constantinopoli quinto congregati sunt concilio in tempore Iustiniani minoris contra Theodorum et Theodoreti et Iba epistulas et eorum dogmata contra Cyrillum.

Et paulo post:

Et synodum[2] quae facta est in urbe Roma in tempore Martini papae beatissimi, indictione octaua, imperante Constantino[3] piissimo anno nono, suscipimus. Et[e] glorificamus Dominum nostrum Iesum, sicut isti glorificauerunt, nihil addentes uel subtrahentes, et anathematizamus corde et ore quos anathematizarunt, et quos susceperunt suscipimus; glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium eius unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante saecula, et Spiritum Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter,[4] sicut praedicauerunt hi, quos memorauimus supra, sancti apostoli et prophetae et doctores. Et nos omnes subscribimus, qui cum Theodoro archiepiscopo fidem catholicam exposuimus.

[a] constanter *c* [b] synodus *c* [c] eius *c2* [d] Euthycen *c* [e] et *om. c*

[1] The five oecumenical councils mentioned are Nicaea in 325, directed against Arianism (see i. 8 and note): Constantinople in 381, directed particularly against the Arianism of the two bishops of Constantinople, Macedonius and Eudoxius: Ephesus in 431, directed against the heresy of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who over-emphasized the human side of Jesus Christ's nature to the practical exclusion of the divine; Chalcedon in 451, directed against Monophysitism; and Constantinople in 553. The last condemned the teachings of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (3–92428), and his disciple Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus in Syria, who died in 457, and Ibas, bishop of Edessa, who died in the same year. All these were associated with the Nestorian heresy. St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria (412–44), was the great opponent of Nestorius.

Following these in all devotion and orthodoxy, we likewise believe and confess their divinely inspired doctrines and confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be rightly and truly a Trinity consubstantial in Unity and the Unity in Trinity, that is, one God in three substances or consubstantial persons equal in glory and honour.

After much more to this effect concerning the confession of the true faith, the holy synod added this to its synodal book:

We acknowledge the five holy and universal councils of the blessed fathers who were acceptable to God:[1] that is, of the 318 who met at Nicaea to condemn the impious Arius and his teachings; and of the 150 in Constantinople who condemned the madness of Macedonius and Eudoxius and their teachings; of the 200, in the first council at Ephesus, who condemned the worthless Nestorius and his teachings; and of the 630 in Chalcedon who condemned Eutyches and Nestorius and their teachings; and again the fifth council which met in Constantinople in the time of Justinian the second to condemn Theodore and the letters of Theodoret and Ibas and their teachings in opposition to Cyril.

And a little further on it reads:

And we acknowledge the council[2] which was held in the city of Rome in the time of the blessed Pope Martin, in the eighth indiction, in the ninth year of the reign of the most religious Emperor Constantine.[3] We glorify our Lord Jesus Christ as they glorified Him, adding and subtracting nothing: we anathematize with heart and lips those whom they anathematized and we accept those whom they accepted, glorifying God the Father, who is without beginning, and His only begotten Son, begotten of the Father before all worlds, and the Holy Spirit, ineffably proceeding from the Father and the Son, as proclaimed by all whom we have mentioned above, holy apostles and prophets and doctors.[4] And all we who with Archbishop Theodore have thus set forth the catholic faith subscribe our names to it.

[2] This synod was the first Lateran Council of 649, held under Martin I, who was pope from 649 to 653. It was against the Monothelites', whose heresy was a development of the Monophysite heresy and declared that though there were two natures in Christ there was one will and operation only. This heresy was refuted at the Council as described in the next chapter.

[3] It was Constantine or Constans II who drove Pope Martin into exile as a result of the latter's opposition to the Monothelite heresy. Martin died in prison in the Crimea in 655.

[4] Theodore, though a Greek, firmly adhered to the doctrine of the double procession, which was later on denied by the Eastern Church and finally led to the division between east and west. It may have been that Theodore was anxious to make his position very plain, in view of the Greek uncertainty on this point.

XVIII [XVI]

INTERERAT huic synodo pariterque catholicae fidei decreta
p. 241 firmabat uir uenerabilis Iohannes,[1] archicantator / ecclesiae sancti apostoli Petri et abbas monasterii beati Martini, qui nuper uenerat a Roma per iussionem papae Agathonis, duce reuerentissimo abbate Biscopo cognomento Benedicto, cuius supra meminimus.[a] Cum enim idem Benedictus construxisset monasterium Brittaniae in honorem beatissimi apostolorum principis iuxta hostium fluminis Uiuri, uenit Romam cum cooperatore ac socio eiusdem operis Ceolfrido,[2] qui post ipsum eiusdem monasterii abbas fuit, quod et ante saepius facere consueuerat, atque honorifice a beatae memoriae papa Agathone susceptus est; petiitque et accepit ab eo, in munimentum libertatis monasterii quod fecerat, epistulam priuilegii ex auctoritate apostolica firmatam iuxta quod Ecgfridum regem uoluisse ac licentiam dedisse nouerat, quo concedente et[b] possessionem terrae largiente ipsum monasterium fecerat.

Accepit et praefatum Iohannem abbatem Brittaniam perducendum, quatinus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romae agebatur, edoceret; egitque abba Iohannes[c] ut iussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem uidelicet ritumque canendi ac legendi uiua uoce praefati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quae totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat etiam litteris mandando, quae hactenus in eodem monasterio seruata et a multis iam sunt circumquaque transcripta. Non solum autem idem Iohannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, uerum de omnibus pene eiusdem prouinciae monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluebant. Sed et ipsum per loca in quibus doceret multi inuitare curabant.

Ipse autem excepto cantandi uel legendi munere et aliud in mandatis ab apostolico papa acceperat, ut cuius esset fidei Anglo-
p. 242 rum ecclesia diligenter ediscerent / Romamque rediens[d] referret. Nam et synodum beati papae Martini centum quinque episcoporum

[a] cuius supra meminimus *om. c* [b] et *om. c* [c] Iohannis *c*
[d] rediens *om. c*

[1] John, the arch-chanter or precentor, accompanied Benedict Biscop on his return from his fifth journey to Rome, whither he went with Ceolfrith in 678. Benedict had founded his monastery at Wearmouth in 674. This is actually the first mention of him in the *History* but Bede is probably thinking of his earlier work the *History of the Abbots*. John was precentor of St. Peter's church in Rome and abbot of St. Martin's, a small monastery which was situated near St. Peter's and attached to it. This is the earliest reference to it.

CHAPTER XVIII (XVI)

AMONG those who were present at the synod and assented to the decrees of the catholic faith was the esteemed John,[1] precentor of the church of the holy apostle Peter and abbot of the monastery of the blessed Martin, who had lately come from Rome at the command of Pope Agatho and under the guidance of the most reverend abbot Biscop, surnamed Benedict, who has already been mentioned. After Benedict had built a monastery in Britain, in honour of the blessed chief of the apostles, near the mouth of the river Wear, he visited Rome as he had often done before, this time with Ceolfrith[2] his companion and fellow worker, who became abbot of the same monastery after him. Benedict was honourably received by Pope Agatho of blessed memory, from whom he asked and obtained a letter of privileges confirmed by the apostolic authority, protecting the liberty of the monastery he had founded; for he knew that Ecgfrith, who had given permission and granted land for the founding of the monastery, desired and approved of this.

Benedict received this Abbot John and brought him to Britain in order that he might teach the monks of his monastery the mode of chanting throughout the year as it was practised at St. Peter's in Rome. Abbot John carried out the pope's instructions and taught the cantors of the monastery the order and manner of singing and reading aloud and also committed to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year; these writings have been preserved to this day in the monastery and copies have now been made by many others elsewhere. Not only did John instruct the brothers in this monastery, but all who had any skill in singing flocked in from almost all the monasteries in the kingdom to hear him, and he had many invitations to teach elsewhere.

In addition to his task of teaching chanting and reading, he had also been commissioned by the pope to inquire carefully into the beliefs of the English church, and report on them on his return to Rome. He had also brought with him the decision made by the synod called by the blessed Pope Martin which had recently been

[2] Ceolfrith was abbot of Jarrow and Bede's spiritual father and friend. His life is related by Bede in his *History of the Abbots*. There is also an anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* (Plummer, I. 364 ff. and 388 ff.).

consessu non multo ante Romae celebratam, contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant, secum ueniens adtulit, atque in praefato religiosissimi abbatis Benedicti monasterio transscribendam commodauit. Tales namque eo tempore fidem Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae multum conturbauerant;[a] sed Domino donante proditi iam tunc et uicti sunt. Vnde uolens Agatho papa, sicut in aliis prouinciis, ita etiam in Brittania qualis esset status ecclesiae, quam ab hereticorum contagiis castus, ediscere, hoc negotium reuerentissimo abbati Iohanni Brittaniam destinato iniunxit. Quamobrem collecta[b] pro hoc in Brittania synodo quam diximus, inuenta est in omnibus fides inuiolata catholica, datumque illi exemplar eius Romam perferendum.

Verum ille patriam reuertens non multo postquam Oceanum transiit arreptus infirmitate ac defunctus est, corpusque eius ab amicis propter amorem sancti Martini, cuius monasterio praeerat, Toronis delatum atque honorifice sepultum est. Nam et benigno ecclesiae illius hospitio, cum Brittaniam iret, exceptus est rogatusque multum a fratribus, ut Romam reuertens illo itinere ueniret atque ad eam diuerteret ecclesiam; denique ibidem adiutores itineris et iniuncti operis accepit. Qui etsi in itinere defunctus est, nihilominus exemplum catholicae fidei Anglorum Romam perlatum est, atque ab apostolico papa omnibusque qui audiere uel legere gratantissime susceptum.

p. 243

XIX [XVII]

ACCEPIT autem rex Ecgfrid coniugem nomine Aedilthrydam, filiam Anna regis Orientalium Anglorum, cuius saepius mentionem fecimus, uiri bene religiosi ac per omnia mente et opere egregii; quam et alter ante illum uir habuerat uxorem, princeps uidelicet Australium Gyruiorum uocabulo Tondberct. Sed illo post modicum temporis, ex quo eam accepit, defuncto, data est regi praefato. Cuius consortio cum XII annis uteretur, perpetua tamen mansit[c] uirginitatis integritate gloriosa, sicut mihimet sciscitanti, cum hoc an ita esset quibusdam uenisset in dubium, beatae memoriae Uilfrid episcopus referebat, dicens se testem integritatis eius esse

[a] conturbauerunt *c2* [b] collecto *c* [c] mansit *om. c*

held in Rome and at which 105 bishops were present. It was chiefly directed against those who declared that only one will operated in Christ. He arranged for a copy of the decree to be made in the monastery of the holy Abbot Benedict. Those who held this belief had greatly disturbed the faith of the church at Constantinople at that time, but by the grace of God they were exposed and overwhelmed. Pope Agatho therefore, wishing to know what was the state of the church in England as well as in other kingdoms, and how far it was free from heretical contagion, entrusted the task to the reverend Abbot John who had already been appointed to go to Great Britain. When the synod we have mentioned was called in Britain for this purpose, it was found, as we have said, that all held the catholic faith untainted and a copy of the proceedings was given to John to take back to Rome.

As he was returning to his own land, not long after he had crossed the Ocean, he was attacked by illness and died. Because of his great affection for St. Martin over whose monastery he presided, his body was taken by his friends to Tours and honourably buried there. He had been hospitably entertained by the church in that place on his way to Britain and had been earnestly asked by the brothers to take that road on his return to Rome and to stay at the same church. In fact they provided him with men to accompany him on his journey and to assist him in his appointed task. Though he died on the way, nevertheless the testimony of the English to the catholic faith was carried to Rome and most gladly received by the pope and by all those who heard it or read it.

CHAPTER XIX (XVII)

KING ECGFRITH married a wife named Æthelthryth, the daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, who has often been referred to, a very religious man and noble both in mind and deed. She had previously been married to an ealdorman of the South Gyrwe, named Tondberht. But he died shortly after the marriage and on his death she was given to King Ecgfrith. Though she lived with him for twelve years she still preserved the glory of perfect virginity. When I asked Bishop Wilfrid of blessed memory whether this was true, because certain people doubted it, he told

certissimum, adeo ut Ecgfridus promiserit se ei terras ac pecunias multas esse donaturum, si reginae posset persuadere eius uti conubio, quia sciebat illam nullum uirorum plus illo diligere. Nec diffidendum est nostra etiam aetate fieri potuisse, quod aeuo praecedente aliquoties factum fideles historiae narrant, donante uno eodemque Domino, qui se nobiscum usque in finem saeculi[1] manere pollicetur. Nam etiam signum diuini miraculi, quo eiusdem feminae sepulta caro corrumpi non potuit, indicio est quia a uirili contactu incorrupta durauerit.

Quae multum diu regem postulans, ut saeculi curas relinquere atque in monasterio tantum uero regi Christo seruire permitteretur, ubi uix aliquando impetrauit, intrauit monasterium Aebbae abbatissae,[2] quae erat amita regis Ecgfridi, positum in loco quem Coludi urbem nominant, accepto uelamine sanctimonialis / p. 244 habitus a praefato antistite Uilfrido. Post annum uero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione quae[a] uocatur Elge, ubi constructo monasterio uirginum Deo deuotarum perplurium mater uirgo et exemplis uitae caelestis esse coepit et monitis. De qua ferunt quia, ex quo monasterium petiit, nunquam lineis sed solum laneis uestimentis uti uoluerit, raroque in calidis balneis praeter imminentibus sollemniis[b] maioribus, uerbi gratia paschae pentecostes epiphaniae, lauari uoluerit, et tunc nouissima omnium, lotis prius suo suarumque ministrarum obsequio ceteris quae ibi essent famulis Christi; raro praeter maiora sollemnia uel artiorem necessitatem plus quam semel per diem manducauerit; semper, si non[c] infirmitas grauior prohibuisset, ex tempore matutinae synaxeos usque ad ortum diei in ecclesia precibus intenta persteterit. Sunt etiam qui dicant, quia per prophetiae spiritum et pestilentiam, qua ipsa esset moritura, praedixerit, et numerum quoque eorum qui de suo monasterio hac essent de mundo rapiendi palam cunctis praesentibus intimauerit. Rapta est autem ad Dominum in medio suorum post annos septem ex quo abbatissae gradum susceperat, et aeque, ut ipsa iusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum iuxta ordinem quo transierat ligneo in locello sepulta.

Cui successit in ministerium abbatissae soror eius Sexburg, quam habuerat in coniugem Earconberct rex Cantuariorum. Et

[a] qui *c* [b] sollemnis *m* [c] non *om. c* (nisi *c2*)

---

[1] Matth. 28: 20.

[2] Æbbe was sister of Oswiu by the same mother. Judging by the troubles at her monastery at Coldingham (iv. 25) she does not seem to have been a very successful abbess. The date of her death is uncertain but possibly about 683.

me that he had the most perfect proof of her virginity; in fact Ecgfrith had promised to give him estates and money if he could persuade the queen to consummate their marriage, because he knew that there was none whom she loved more than Wilfrid himself. Nor need we doubt that this which often happened in days gone by, as we learn from trustworthy accounts, could happen in our time too through the help of the Lord, who has promised to be with us even to the end of the age.[1] And the divine miracle whereby her flesh would not corrupt after she was buried was token and proof that she had remained uncorrupted by contact with any man.

For a long time she had been asking the king to allow her to relinquish the affairs of this world and to serve Christ, the only true King, in a monastery; when at length and with difficulty she gained his permission, she entered the monastery of the Abbess Æbbe, Ecgfrith's aunt,[2] which is situated in a place called Coldingham, receiving the veil and habit of a nun from Bishop Wilfrid. A year afterwards she was herself appointed abbess in the district called Ely, where she built a monastery and became, by the example of her heavenly life and teaching, the virgin mother of many virgins dedicated to God. It is related of her that, from the time she entered the monastery, she would never wear linen but only woollen garments and would seldom take a hot bath except just before the greater feasts, such as Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany, and then last of all, after the other handmaidens of Christ who were present had washed themselves, assisted by herself and her attendants. She rarely ate more than once a day except at the greater festivals or because of urgent necessity; she always remained in the church at prayer from the time of the office of mattins until dawn, unless prevented by serious illness. There are indeed some who say that, by the spirit of prophecy, she not only foretold the plague that was to be the cause of her death but also openly declared, in the presence of all, the number of those of the monastery who were to be taken from the world by the same pestilence. She was taken to the Lord in the midst of her people, after holding the rank of abbess for seven years. When she died she was buried by her own command in a wooden coffin, in the ranks of the other nuns, as her turn came.

She was succeeded in the office of abbess by her sister Seaxburh, who had been the wife of Eorcenberht, king of Kent. After

cum sedecim annis esset sepulta, placuit eidem abbatissae leuari ossa eius et in locello nouo posita in ecclesiam transferri; iussitque quosdam e fratribus quaerere lapidem, de quo locellum in hoc facere possent. Qui ascensa naui (ipsa enim regio Elge undique est[a] aquis ac paludibus circumdata, neque lapides maiores habet)
p. 245 uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quan/dam desolatam non procul inde sitam, quae lingua Anglorum Grantacaestir uocatur, et mox inuenerunt iuxta muros ciuitatis locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum,[1] operculo quoque similis lapidis aptissime tectum. Vnde intellegentes a Domino suum iter esse prosperatum, gratias agentes rettulerunt ad monasterium.

Cumque corpus sacrae uirginis ac sponsae Christi aperto sepulchro esset prolatum in lucem, ita incorruptum inuentum est, ac si eodem die fuisset defuncta siue humo condita, sicut et praefatus antistes Uilfrid et multi alii qui nouere testantur; sed certiori notitia medicus Cynifrid, qui et morienti illi et eleuatae de tumulo adfuit, qui referre erat solitus quod illa infirmata habuerit tumorem maximum[b] sub maxilla. 'Iusseruntque me' inquit 'incidere tumorem illum, ut efflueret noxius umor qui inerat. Quod dum facerem, uidebatur illa per biduum aliquanto leuius habere, ita ut multi putarent quia sanari posset a languore. Tertia autem die prioribus adgrauata doloribus et rapta confestim de mundo, dolorem omnem ac mortem perpetua salute ac uita mutauit. Cumque post tot annos eleuanda essent ossa de sepulchro, et extento desuper papilione omnis congregatio, hinc fratrum inde sororum, psallens circumstaret, ipsa autem abbatissa intus cum paucis ossa elatura et dilutura intrasset, repente audiuimus abbatissam intus clara uoce proclamare: "Sit gloria nomini Domini." Nec multo post clamauerunt me intus, reserato ostio papilionis, uidique eleuatum de tumulo et positum in lectulo corpus sacrae Deo uirginis quasi dormientis simile. Sed et discooperto uultus indumento monstrauerunt mihi etiam uulnus incisurae, quod feceram, curatum, ita ut mirum in modum pro aperto et hiante uulnere, cum quo sepulta erat, tenuissima tunc /
p. 246 cicatricis uestigia parerent. Sed et linteamina omnia, quibus inuolutum erat corpus, integra apparuerunt et ita noua, ut ipso die uiderentur castis eius membris esse circumdata.' Ferunt

[a] est *om. c* [b] maximam *c2*

[1] Doubtless a Roman sarcophagus taken from the Roman town on Castle Hill, Cambridge. *Grantacæstir* means 'the Roman fort on the Granta' the name being later changed to the 'bridge over the Granta'. The first part of the word developed into *Cam-* and so the name became 'Cambridge'. The name of the river Cam is a back-formation.

Æthelthryth had been buried for sixteen years, the abbess decided that her bones should be raised and placed in the church in a new coffin; she therefore ordered some of the brothers to look for some blocks of stone from which to make a coffin for this purpose. So they got into a boat (for the district of Ely is surrounded on all sides by waters and marshes and has no large stones) and came to a small deserted fortress not far away which is called *Grantacæstir* (Cambridge) in English, and near the walls of the fortress they soon found a coffin[1] beautifully made of white marble, with a close-fitting lid of the same stone. Realizing that the Lord had prospered their journey, they brought it back to the monastery.

When the tomb of the sacred virgin and bride of Christ was opened and the body brought to light, it was found to be as uncorrupt as if she had died and been buried that very day. Bishop Wilfrid and many others who knew about it testify to this; but more certain proof is given by a doctor named Cynefrith, who was present at her death-bed and at her elevation from the tomb. He used to relate how, during her illness, she had a very large tumour beneath her jaw. 'I was ordered', he said, 'to cut this tumour so as to drain out the poisonous matter within it. After I had done this she seemed to be easier for about two days and many thought that she would recover from her sickness. But on the third day she was attacked by her former pains and was soon taken from the world, exchanging pain and death for everlasting health and life. When, some years later, her bones were to be taken out of the sepulchre, a tent was erected over it and the whole congregation stood round singing, the brothers on one side and the sisters on the other. The abbess herself had gone inside with a few others, for the purpose of raising and washing the bones, when we suddenly heard the abbess cry out from within in a loud voice, "Glory be to the name of the Lord!" Shortly afterwards they called me in, lifting the entrance to the tent; then I saw the body of God's holy virgin raised from the tomb and laid on a bed like one asleep. They drew back the cloth which covered her face and showed me the wound I had made by my incision, now healed, so that instead of the open gaping wound which she had when she was buried, there now appeared, marvellous to relate, only the slightest traces of a scar. Besides this, all the linen clothes in which her body was wrapped appeared as whole and fresh as on the very day when they had been put around her chaste limbs.'

autem quia, cum praefato tumore ac dolore maxillae siue colli premeretur, multum delectata sit hoc genere infirmitatis, ac solita dicere: 'Scio certissime quia merito in collo pondus languoris porto, in quo iuuenculam me memini superuacua moniliorum pondera portare; et credo quod ideo me superna pietas dolore colli uoluit grauari, ut sic absoluar reatu[a] superuacuae leuitatis, dum mihi nunc pro auro et margaretis de collo rubor tumoris ardorque promineat.' Contigit autem tactu indumentorum eorundem et daemonia ab obsessis effugata corporibus et infirmitates alias aliquoties esse curatas. Sed et loculum, in quo primo sepulta est, nonnullis oculos dolentibus saluti fuisse perhibent, qui cum suum caput eidem loculo adponentes orassent, mox doloris siue caliginis incommodum ab oculis amouerent. Lauerunt igitur uirgines corpus, et nouis indutum uestibus intulerunt in ecclesiam, atque in eo quod adlatum erat sarcofago posuerunt, ubi usque hodie in magna ueneratione habetur. Mirum uero in modum ita aptum corpori uirginis sarcofagum inuentum est, ac si ei specialiter praeparatum fuisset, et locus quoque capitis seorsum fabrefactus ad mensuram capitis illius aptissime figuratus apparuit.

Est autem Elge in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum regio familiarum circiter sexcentarum, in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis, unde et a copia anguillarum, quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur, nomen accepit; ubi monasterium habere desiderauit memorata Christi famula,[b] quoniam de prouincia eorundem Orientalium Anglorum ipsa, ut praefati sumus, carnis originem duxerat.

p. 247

XX [XVIII]

VIDETUR oportunum huic historiae etiam hymnum uirginitatis inserere, quem ante annos plurimos in laudem ac praeconium eiusdem reginae ac sponsae Christi, et ideo ueraciter reginae quia sponsae Christi, elegiaco metro[1] conposuimus, et imitari[c] morem sacrae scripturae, cuius historiae carmina plurima indita et haec metro ac uersibus constat esse conposita.

Alma Deus Trinitas, quae saecula cuncta gubernas,
adnue iam coeptis, alma Deus Trinitas.

[a] a reatu *c* [b] famula Christi *c2* [c] imitare *c*

[1] On the metre of the poem see Plummer, II. 241.

It is also related that when she was afflicted with this tumour and by the pain in her neck and jaw, she gladly welcomed this sort of pain and used to say, 'I know well enough that I deserve to bear the weight of this affliction in my neck, for I remember that when I was a young girl I used to wear an unnecessary weight of necklaces; I believe that God in His goodness would have me endure this pain in my neck in order that I may thus be absolved from the guilt of my needless vanity. So, instead of gold and pearls, a fiery red tumour now stands out upon my neck.' It happened also that, by the touch of the linen clothes, devils were expelled from the bodies of those who were possessed by them, and other diseases were healed from time to time. The coffin also in which she was first buried is said to have healed some who suffered from eye troubles; after they had prayed with their heads resting on the coffin, they were quickly relieved of the pain and dimness of their eyes. So the maidens washed her body, wrapped it in new robes, carried it into the church, and placed it in the sarcophagus which they had brought, where it is held in great veneration to this day. This sarcophagus was found to fit the virgin's body in a wonderful way, as if it had been specially prepared for her; and the place for the head, which was cut out separately, seemed to be exactly shaped to its size.

Ely is a district of about 600 hides in the kingdom of the East Angles and, as has already been said, resembles an island in that it is surrounded by marshes or by water. It derives its name from the large number of eels which are caught in the marshes. This servant of Christ wished to have her monastery here because, as has also been said, she sprang from the race of the East Angles.

CHAPTER XX (XVIII)

IT seems fitting to insert in this history a hymn on the subject of virginity which I composed many years ago in elegiac[1] metre in honour of this queen and bride of Christ, and therefore truly a queen because the bride of Christ; imitating the method of holy Scripture in which many songs are inserted into the history and, as is well known, these are composed in metre and verse.

All-bounteous Three in One, Lord of all time,
Bless mine emprise, all-bounteous Three in One.

Bella Maro resonet; nos pacis dona canamus,
munera nos Christi; bella Maro resonet.
Carmina casta mihi, fedae non raptus Helenae;
luxus erit lubricis, carmina casta mihi.
Dona superna loquar, miserae non proelia Troiae;
terra quibus gaudet, dona superna loquar.
En Deus altus adit uenerandae Virginis aluum,
liberet ut homines, en Deus altus adit.
Femina uirgo parit mundi deuota parentem,
porta Maria Dei femina uirgo parit.
Gaudet amica cohors de Virgine matre Tonantis;
uirginitate micans gaudet amica cohors.
Huius honor genuit casto de germine plures,
uirgineos flores huius honor genuit:
Ignibus usta feris uirgo non cessit[a] Agathe,
Eulalia et perfert ignibus usta feris,
Kasta feras superat mentis pro culmine Tecla,
Eufemia sacras kasta feras superat,
p. 248 Laeta ridet gladios ferro robustior Agnes,
Cecilia infestos laeta ridet gladios.
Multus in orbe uiget per sobria corda triumphus,
sobrietatis amor multus in orbe uiget.
Nostra quoque egregia iam tempora uirgo beauit;
Aedilthryda nitet nostra quoque egregia.
Orta patre eximio, regali et stemmate clara,
nobilior Domino est, orta patre eximio.
Percipit inde decus reginae et sceptra sub astris;
plus super astra manens percipit inde decus.
Quid petis, alma, uirum, sponso iam dedita summo?
sponsus adest Christus; quid petis, alma, uirum?
Regis ut aetherei matrem iam, credo, sequaris,
tu quoque sis mater regis ut aetherei.
Sponsa dicata Deo bis sex regnauerat annis,
inque monasterio est sponsa dicata Deo,
Tota sacrata polo celsis ubi floruit actis
reddidit atque animam tota sacrata polo.
Virginis alma caro est tumulata bis octo Nouembres,
nec putet in tumulo uirginis alma caro.
Xre, tui est operis quia uestis et ipsa sepulchro
inuiolata nitet; Xre, tui est operis.
Ydros et ater abit sacrae pro uestis honore;
morbi diffugiunt, ydros et ater abit.

[a] cessat *c2*

Battle be Maro's theme, sweet peace be mine;
Christ's gifts for me, battle be Maro's theme.
Chaste is my song, not wanton Helen's rape.
Leave lewdness to the lewd! Chaste is my song.
Divine the gifts I tell, not Troy's sad siege;
Source of earth's joys, divine the gifts I tell.
Eternal God comes down to Virgin's womb;
To set men free eternal God comes down.
From Virgin-mother springs (God's wicket-gate)
The Sire of all, from Virgin-mother springs.
Glad the bright virgin-choir to know God born
Of Virgin's womb, glad the bright virgin-choir.
Her glory made it grow, that holy plant;
Those virgin flowers, her glory made them grow.
In furnace fierce stood virgin Agatha,
Eulalia stands firm in furnace fierce.
Keen lions yield to Thecla's spirit high,
To chaste Euphemia keen lions yield.
Laughs at the sword (of finer temper she)
Agnes, and Cecily laughs at the sword.
Many the laurels won by holy hearts
O'er the wide world many the laurels won.
Nor lacks our age its ÆTHELTHRYTH as well;
Its virgin wonderful nor lacks our age.
Of royal blood she sprang, but nobler far
God's service found than pride of royal blood.
Proud is she, queening it on earthly throne;
In heaven established far more proud is she.
Queen, wherefore seek a mate, with Christ thy groom?
To Him betrothed, queen, wherefore seek a mate?
Royal Mother of Heaven's King your leader now;
You too, maybe, a mother of Heaven's King.
She, pledged to God her spouse, twelve years had reigned,
When in the cloister was she pledged to God.
To heaven devoted, there she won new fame,
And breathed her last, to heaven devoted there.
Veiled in the tomb sixteen Novembers lay,
Nor rots her virgin flesh veiled in the tomb.
XT, Thine the power! even in the sepulchre
Her vesture spotless gleams. XT, Thine the power!
Yields to those holy weeds each frightful plague;
Disease aghast yields to those holy weeds.

Zelus in hoste furit, quondam qui uicerat Euam;
uirgo triumphat ouans, zelus in hoste furit.
Aspice, nupta Deo, quae sit tibi gloria terris;
quae maneat caelis aspice, nupta Deo.
Munera laeta capis, festiuis fulgida taedis;
ecce uenit sponsus, munera laeta capis.
Et noua dulcisono modularis carmina plectro,
sponsa hymno exultas et noua dulcisono.
Nullus ab altithroni comitatu segregat Agni,
quam affectu tulerat nullus ab altithroni.

p. 249

XXI [XIX]

ANNO regni Ecgfridi nono, conserto graui proelio inter ipsum et Aedilredum regem Merciorum iuxta fluuium Treanta, occisus est Aelfuini frater regis Ecgfridi,[1] iuuenis circiter X et VIII annorum, utrique prouinciae multum amabilis. Nam et sororem eius, quae dicebatur Osthryd, rex Aedilred habebat uxorem. Cumque materies belli acrioris et inimicitiae longioris inter reges populosque feroces uideretur exorta, Theodorus Deo dilectus antistes, diuino functus auxilio, salutifera exhortatione coeptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium; adeo ut, pacatis alterutrum regibus ac populis, nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre sed debita solummodo multa pecuniae regi ultori daretur.[2] Cuius foedera pacis multo exinde tempore inter eosdem reges eorumque regna durarunt.

XXII [XX]

IN praefato autem proelio, quo occisus est rex Aelfuini, memorabile quiddam factum esse constat, quod nequaquam silentio praetereundum arbitror, sed multorum saluti, si referatur, fore proficuum. Occisus est ibi inter alios de militia eius iuuenis uocabulo Imma; qui cum die illo et nocte sequenti inter cadauera
p. 250 occisorum similis mortuo iaceret, tandem recepto / spiritu reuixit, ac residens sua uulnera, prout potuit, ipse alligauit; dein

[1] This young man is twice referred to in Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* (chapters 17, 24) as a king. It is probable that he was under-king of Deira.

[2] That is, a *wergild* or man-price which was paid to Ecgfrith for the loss of his brother to prevent further bloodshed and to settle the vendetta. The Church naturally encouraged this form of settling quarrels. See D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (London, 1959), pp. 38 ff.

Zeal frenzied tears the foe that conquered Eve;
Triumphs the saint, zeal frenzied tears the foe.
Affianced to the Lamb, now famed on earth!
Soon famed in heaven, affianced to the Lamb!
Many thy wedding gifts while torches blaze.
The Bridegroom comes; many thy wedding gifts.
Ever on sweetest harp thou sing'st new songs.
Hymning thy Spouse ever on sweetest harp;
Ne'er parted from the Lamb's high company,
Whom earthly love ne'er parted from the Lamb.

CHAPTER XXI (XIX)

IN the ninth year of King Ecgfrith's reign a great battle was fought between him and Æthelred, king of the Mercians, near the river Trent, and Ælfwine,[1] brother of King Ecgfrith, was killed, a young man of about eighteen years of age and much beloved in both kingdoms; for King Æthelred had married his sister whose name was Osthryth. Although there was good reason for fiercer fighting and prolonged hostilities between the kings and between these warlike peoples, Archbishop Theodore, beloved of God, trusting in God's help, completely extinguished this great and dangerous fire by his wholesome advice. As a result, peace was restored between the two kings and between their peoples and no further lives were demanded for the death of the king's brother, but only the usual money compensation which was paid to the king to whom the duty of vengeance belonged.[2] So peace was maintained for a long period between these kings and their respective kingdoms.

CHAPTER XXII (XX)

IN this battle in which King Ælfwine was killed, a remarkable incident is known to have happened which in my opinion should certainly not be passed over in silence, since the story may lead to the salvation of many. During the battle one of the king's retainers, a young man named Imma was struck down amongst others; he lay all that day and the following night as though dead, amongst the bodies of the slain, but at last he recovered

modicum requietus leuauit se et coepit abire, sicubi amicos, qui sui curam agerent, posset inuenire. Quod dum faceret, inuentus est et captus a uiris hostilis exercitus et ad dominum ipsorum, comitem uidelicet Aedilredi regis, adductus. A quo interrogatus qui esset, timuit se militem fuisse confiteri; rusticum se potius et pauperem atque uxoreo uinculo conligatum fuisse respondit, et propter uictum militibus adferendum in expeditionem se cum sui[a] similibus uenisse testatus est. At ille suscipiens eum curam uulneribus egit, et ubi sanescere coepit, noctu eum ne aufugeret uinciri praecepit. Nec tamen uinciri potuit; nam mox, ut abiere qui uincierant, eadem eius sunt uincula soluta.

Habebat enim germanum fratrem, cui nomen erat Tunna, presbyterum et abbatem monasterii in ciuitate quae hactenus ab eius nomine Tunnacaestir[1] cognominatur. Qui cum eum in pugna peremtum audiret, uenit quaerere, si forte corpus eius inuenire posset; inuentumque alium illi per omnia simillimum, putauit ipsum esse, quem ad monasterium suum deferens honorifice sepeliuit, et pro absolutione animae eius sepius missas facere curauit. Quarum celebratione factum est quod dixi, ut nullus eum posset uincire, quin continuo solueretur. Interea comes qui eum tenebat mirari et interrogare coepit, quare ligari non posset, an forte litteras solutorias,[2] de qualibus fabulae ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset. At ille respondit nil[b] se talium artium nosse: 'Sed habeo fratrem' inquit 'presbyterum in mea prouincia, et scio quia ille me interfectum putans pro me
p. 251 missas crebras facit; et si nunc in alia uita essem, ibi / anima mea per intercessiones eius solueretur a poenis.' Dumque aliquanto tempore apud comitem teneretur, animaduerterunt, qui eum diligentius considerabant, ex uultu et habitu et sermonibus eius, quia non erat de paupere uulgo, ut dixerat, sed de nobilibus. Tunc[c] secreto aduocans eum comes, interrogauit intentius unde esset, promittens se nihil ei mali futurum[d] pro eo, si simpliciter sibi quis fuisset proderet. Quod dum ille faceret, ministrum se regis fuisse manifestans, respondit: 'Et ego per singula tua responsa cognoueram, quia rusticus non eras; et nunc quidem

[a] suis *c* [b] nihil *c* [c] tum *c* [d] *So c and m; an early corrector in the Leningrad MS. suggests* facturum

[1] This place has not been identified but is presumably a Roman site granted to a certain Tunna on which to build a monastery. See p. 270, n. 2.

[2] These loosing spells, literally 'loosing letters', might possibly be runic letters carved or written on some object. Runes, the letters of the Germanic alphabet, were supposed to have magical powers when arranged in certain ways. For further discussion see R. I. Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Runes and Magic', *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., XXVII (1964), 14–31.

consciousness, sat up, and bandaged his wounds as best he could; then, having rested for a short time, he rose and set out to find friends to take care of him. But as he was doing so, he was found and captured by men of the enemy army and taken to their lord, who was a *gesith* of King Æthelred. On being asked who he was, he was afraid to admit that he was a thegn; but he answered instead that he was a poor peasant and married; and he declared that he had come to the army in company with other peasants to bring food to the soldiers. The *gesith* took him and had his wounds attended to. But when Imma began to get better, he ordered him to be bound at night to prevent his escape. However, it proved impossible to bind him, for no sooner had those who chained him gone, than his fetters were loosed.

Now he had a brother whose name was Tunna, a priest and abbot of a monastery in a city which is still called *Tunnacæstir*[1] after him. When Tunna heard that his brother had perished in the fight, he went to see if he could find his body; having found another very like him in all respects, he concluded that it must be his brother's body. So he carried it to the monastery, buried it with honour, and took care to offer many masses for the absolution of his soul. It was on account of these celebrations that, as I have said, no one could bind Imma because his fetters were at once loosed. Meanwhile the *gesith* who kept him captive grew amazed and asked him why he could not be bound and whether he had about him any loosing spells[2] such as are described in stories. But Imma answered that he knew nothing of such arts. 'However,' said he, 'I have a brother in my country who is a priest and I know he believes me to be dead and offers frequent masses on my behalf; so if I had now been in another world, my soul would have been loosed from its punishment by his intercessions.' When he had been a prisoner with the *gesith* for some time, those who watched him closely realized by his appearance, his bearing, and his speech that he was not of common stock as he had said, but of noble family. Then the *gesith* called him aside and asked him very earnestly to declare his origin, promising that no harm should come to him, provided that he told him plainly who he was. The prisoner did so, revealing that he had been one of the king's thegns. The *gesith* answered, 'I realized by every one of your answers that you were not a peasant, and now you ought to die because all my brothers and kinsmen were killed in the

dignus es morte, quia omnes fratres et cognati mei in illa sunt pugna interemti.[1] Nec te tamen occidam, ne fidem mei promissi praeuaricer.'[a]

Vt ergo conualuit, uendidit eum Lundoniam Freso cuidam;[2] sed nec ab illo nec cum illuc duceretur ullatinus potuit alligari. Verum cum alia atque alia uinculorum ei[b] genera hostes inponerent, cumque uidisset, qui emerat, uinculis eum non potuisse cohiberi, donauit ei facultatem sese redimendi, si posset. A tertia autem hora, quando missae fieri solebant, sepissime uincula soluebantur.[3] At ille dato iureiurando ut rediret, uel pecuniam illi pro se mitteret, uenit Cantiam ad regem Hlotheri, qui erat filius sororis Aedilthrydae reginae, de qua supra dictum est, quia[c] et ipse quondam eiusdem reginae minister fuerat; petiitque et accepit ab eo pretium suae redemtionis, ac suo domino pro se, ut promiserat, misit.

Qui post haec patriam reuersus atque ad suum fratrem perueniens, replicauit ex ordine cuncta, quae sibi aduersa, quaeue in aduersis solacia prouenissent; cognouitque referente eo illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse uincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata sollemnia. Sed et alia, quae periclitanti
p. 252 ei / commoda contigissent et prospera, per intercessionem fraternam et oblationem hostiae salutaris caelitus sibi fuisse donata intellexit. Multique, haec a praefato uiro audientes, accensi sunt in fide ac deuotione pietatis ad orandum uel ad elimosynas faciendas uel ad offerendas Deo uictimas sacrae oblationis pro ereptione suorum, qui de saeculo migrauerant; intellexerunt enim, quia sacrificium salutare ad redemtionem ualeret et animae et corporis sempiternam.

Hanc mihi historiam etiam quidam eorum, qui ab ipso uiro in quo facta est audiere, narrarunt; unde eam quia liquido[d] conperi, indubitanter historiae nostrae ecclesiasticae inserendam credidi.

XXIII [XXI]

ANNO post hunc sequente, hoc est anno dominicae incarnationis DCLXXX, religiosissima[e] Christi famula Hild, abbatissa monasterii

[a] preuaricem *c* [b] ei *om. c* [c] qui *c* [d] qui aliquando *c* [e] religiosa *c*

[1] The *gesith* is thinking of the blood-feud. See p. 400, n. 2.

[2] The presence of a Frisian trader at this time is noteworthy. Slave dealing seems to have been one of the earliest forms of continental trading in Anglo-Saxon times and the slave boys seen by Gregory in Rome were probably taken there by Frisians. A number of early coins inscribed with the name of London have been found on ancient dwelling-sites in Holland.

battle:[1] but I will not kill you for I do not intend to break my promise.'

As soon as Imma had recovered, the *gesith* sold him to a Frisian in London;[2] but he could neither be bound on his way there nor by the Frisian. So after his enemies had put every kind of bond on him and as his new master realized that he could not be bound, he gave him leave to ransom himself if he could. Now the bonds were most frequently loosed from about nine in the morning, the time when masses were usually said.[3] So having sworn that he would either return or send his master the money for his ransom, he went to King Hlothhere of Kent, who was the son of Queen Æthelthryth's sister already mentioned, because he had once been one of Æthelthryth's thegns; he asked for and received the money from him for his ransom and sent it to his master as he had promised.

He afterwards returned to his own country, where he met his brother and gave him a full account of all his troubles and the comfort that had come to him in those adversities; and from what his brother told him, he realized that his bonds had generally been loosed at the time when masses were being celebrated on his behalf; so he perceived that the other comforts and blessings which he had experienced during his time of danger had been bestowed by heaven, through the intercession of his brother and the offering up of the saving Victim. Many who heard about this from Imma were inspired to greater faith and devotion, to prayer and almsgiving and to the offering up of sacrifices to God in the holy oblation, for the deliverance of their kinsfolk who had departed from the world; for they realized that the saving sacrifice availed for the everlasting redemption of both body and soul.

This story was told me by some of those who heard it from the very man to whom these things happened; therefore since I had so clear an account of the incident, I thought that it should undoubtedly be inserted into this *History*.

CHAPTER XXIII (XXI)

IN the following year, that is, the year of our Lord 680, Hild who, as previously stated, was abbess at the monastery called Whitby and a most devoted servant of Christ, departed on 17 November,

[3] Throughout the Middle Ages this was generally recognized as the hour of mass.

quod dicitur Streanaeshalch, ut supra rettulimus, post multa quae fecit in terris opera caelestia, ad percipienda praemia uitae caelestis de terris ablata transiuit die xv kalendarum Decembrium, cum esset annorum LXVI; quibus aequa partione diuisis, XXXIII primos[a] in saeculari habitu nobilissime conuersata conpleuit, et totidem sequentes nobilius in monachica uita Domino consecrauit. Nam et nobilis natu erat, hoc est filia nepotis Eduini regis, uocabulo Heririci; cum quo etiam rege ad praedicationem beatae memoriae Paulini primi Nordanhymbrorum episcopi fidem et sacramenta Christi suscepit, atque haec, usquedum ad eius uisionem peruenire meruit, intemerata seruauit.

p. 253 Quae cum relicto habitu saeculari illi soli seruire decreuisset, secessit ad prouinciam Orientalium Anglorum (erat namque propinqua regis illius), desiderans exinde, si quo modo posset, derelicta patria et omnibus quaecumque habuerat Galliam peruenire, atque in monasterio Cale peregrinam pro Domino uitam ducere, quo facilius perpetuam in caelis patriam posset mereri. Nam et in eodem monasterio soror ipsius Heresuid, mater Alduulfi regis Orientalium Anglorum, regularibus subdita disciplinis ipso tempore coronam expectabat aeternam. Cuius aemulata exemplum, et ipsa proposito peregrinandi annum totum in praefata prouincia retenta est; deinde ab Aidano episcopo patriam reuocata, accepit locum unius familiae ad septentrionalem plagam Uiuri fluminis,[1] ubi aeque anno uno monachicam cum perpaucis sociis uitam agebat.

Post haec facta est abbatissa in monasterio, quod uocatur Heruteu; quod uidelicet monasterium factum erat non multo ante a religiosa Christi famula Heiu, quae prima feminarum fertur in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum propositum uestemque sanctimonialis habitus, consecrante Aidano episcopo, suscepisse. Sed illa post non multum tempus facti monasterii secessit ad ciuitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir[2] appellatur, ibique sibi mansionem instituit. Praelata autem regimini monasterii illius famula Christi Hild, mox hoc regulari uita per omnia, prout a doctis uiris discere poterat, ordinare curabat. Nam et episcopus

[a] primo *c*

after having done many heavenly deeds on earth, to receive the rewards of the heavenly life, at the age of sixty-six. Her career falls into two equal parts, for she spent her first thirty-three years very nobly in the secular habit, while she dedicated an equal number of years still more nobly to the Lord, in the monastic life. She was of noble birth, being the daughter of Hereric, King Edwin's nephew. It was in company with Edwin that she received the faith and the mysteries of Christ through the teaching of Paulinus of blessed memory, the first bishop of the Northumbrians, and she preserved that faith inviolate until she was counted worthy to behold Him.

When she had decided to give up the secular habit and serve the Lord alone, she withdrew to the kingdom of the East Angles, for she was a relation of a king of that land. It was her wish, if possible, to cross over to Gaul, leaving her home and all that she had, to live as a stranger for the Lord's sake in the monastery of Chelles, so that she might the more easily attain to her eternal home in heaven. Her sister Hereswith, mother of Ealdwulf, king of the East Angles, was at that time living in the monastery under the discipline of the Rule and awaiting her heavenly crown. Inspired by her sister's example, Hild continued a whole year in the kingdom of the East Angles with the intention of going abroad; but then Bishop Aidan called her home and she received a hide of land on the north side of the river Wear,[1] where, for another year, she lived the monastic life with a small band of companions.

After this she was made abbess in the monastery called *Heruteu* (Hartlepool) which had been founded not long before by Heiu, a devoted handmaid of Christ, who is said to have been the first woman in the Northumbrian kingdom to take the vows and habit of a nun, having been ordained by Bishop Aidan. But soon after she founded the monastery, she retired to the town of *Calcaria* which the English call *Kælcacæstir*[2] (Tadcaster?) and there she made her dwelling. Hild, the handmaiden of Christ, was appointed to rule the monastery and at once set about establishing there a Rule of life in all respects like that which she had been taught by

[1] It is just possible that this may be the monastery at South Shields over which Verca, Cuthbert's friend, afterwards became abbess (*VP*, chapter 35). But the definite mention of the Wear would suggest that it was on some site nearer that river. Probably the whole band of nuns was transferred with Hild to Hartlepool.

[2] Probably Tadcaster. See p. 270, n. 2, and *EPNS*, XXXIII (1961), 76–77.

Aidan et quique nouerant eam religiosi, pro insita ei sapientia et amore diuini famulatus, sedulo eam uisitare, obnixe amare, diligenter erudire solebant.

p. 254 Cum ergo aliquot annos huic monasterio regularis uitae institutioni multum intenta praeesset, contigit eam suscipere etiam construendum siue ordinandum monasterium in loco, qui uocatur Streanaeshalch; quod opus sibi iniunctum non segniter impleuit. Nam eisdem, quibus prius monasterium, etiam hoc disciplinis uitae regularis instituit, et quidem multam ibi quoque iustitiae pietatis et castimoniae ceterarumque uirtutum, sed maxime pacis et caritatis custodiam docuit; ita ut in exemplum primitiuae ecclesiae nullus ibi diues, nullus esset egens, omnibus essent omnia[a] communia, cum nihil cuiusquam esse uideretur proprium.[1] Tantae autem erat ipsa prudentiae,[b] ut non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis sed etiam reges ac principes nonnumquam ab ea consilium quaererent et inuenirent. Tantum lectioni diuinarum scripturarum suos uacare subditos, tantum operibus iustitiae se exercere faciebat, ut facillime uiderentur ibidem qui ecclesiasticum gradum, hoc est altaris officium, apte subirent plurimi posse repperiri.

Denique quinque ex eodem monasterio postea episcopos uidimus, et hos omnes singularis meriti ac sanctitatis uiros, quorum haec sunt nomina: Bosa, Aetla, Oftfor, Iohannes et Uilfrid.[2] De primo supra diximus, quod Eboraci fuerit consecratus antistes; de secundo breuiter intimandum, quod in episcopatum Dorcic caestrae fuerit ordinatus; de ultimis infra dicendum est, quod eorum primus Hagustaldensis, secundus Eboracensis ecclesiae sit ordinatus episcopus. De medio nunc dicamus quia, cum in utroque Hildae abbatissae monasterio lectioni et obseruationi scripturarum operam dedisset, tandem perfectiora desiderans

p. 255 uenit / Cantiam ad archiepiscopum beatae recordationis Theodorum. Vbi postquam aliquandiu lectionibus sacris uacauit, etiam Romam adire curauit, quod eo tempore magnae uirtutis aestimabatur; et inde cum rediens Brittaniam adisset, diuertit ad prouinciam Huicciorum, cui tunc rex Osric praefuit, ibique uerbum fidei

[a] omnia *om. c* [b] prudentiae ipsa erat *c*

[1] Act. 2: 44–45; 4: 32–34.

[2] This is Wilfrid II, the last bishop of York. His successor Egbert received the pallium as archbishop in 735. Of Ætla nothing is known. The attempt to

many learned men; for Bishop Aidan and other devout men who knew her visited her frequently, instructed her assiduously, and loved her heartily for her innate wisdom and her devotion to the service of God.

When she had ruled over the monastery for some years, wholly occupied in establishing a Rule of life there, it happened that she undertook either to found or to set in order a monastery at a place called *Streanæshalch* (Whitby), a task imposed upon her which she carried out with great industry. She established the same Rule of life as in the other monastery, teaching them to observe strictly the virtues of justice, devotion, and chastity and other virtues too, but above all things to continue in peace and charity. After the example of the primitive church, no one was rich, no one was in need, for they had all things in common and none had any private property.[1] So great was her prudence that not only ordinary people but also kings and princes sometimes sought and received her counsel when in difficulties. She compelled those under her direction to devote so much time to the study of the holy Scriptures and so much time to the performance of good works, that there might be no difficulty in finding many there who were fitted for holy orders, that is, for the service of the altar.

We have in fact seen five from this monastery who afterwards became bishops, all of them men of singular merit and holiness; their names are Bosa, Ætla, Oftfor, John, and Wilfrid.[2] The first, as already related, was consecrated bishop of York: of the second it may be briefly stated that he was consecrated bishop of Dorchester: of the last two it will later be told that John became bishop of Hexham and Wilfrid, bishop of York. Of Oftfor it may be said that after he had devoted himself to the reading and observance of the Scriptures in both of Hild's monasteries, being anxious to reach still greater heights, he went to Kent to join Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory. After he had spent some further time in sacred studies there, he decided to go to Rome too, which in those days was considered to be an act of great merit. After his return to Britain he went to the kingdom of the Hwicce of which Osric was then king; there he remained for

identify him with Hædde is unconvincing, as Plummer has pointed out (Plummer, II. 245–6). The see of Dorchester over which Ætla presided seems to have been of short duration, lasting only while the Mercians were in control of the area north of the Upper Thames. There is a charter dating between 672 and 674 confirmed by King Wulfhere from his residence in Thame (*EHD*, I. 441).

praedicans, simul et exemplum uiuendi sese uidentibus atque audientibus exhibens, multo tempore mansit. Quo tempore antistes prouinciae illius, uocabulo Bosel, tanta erat corporis infirmitate depressus, ut officium episcopatus pro[a] se inplere non posset. Propter quod omnium iudicio praefatus uir in episcopatum pro eo electus, ac iubente Aedilredo rege per Uilfridum beatae memoriae antistitem, qui tunc temporis Mediterraneorum Anglorum episcopatum gerebat, ordinatus est, pro eo quod archiepiscopus Theodorus iam defunctus erat, et necdum alius pro eo ordinatus episcopus. In quam uidelicet prouinciam paulo ante, hoc est ante praefatum uirum Dei Boselum, uir strenuissimus ac doctissimus atque excellentis ingenii uocabulo Tatfrid de eiusdem abbatissae monasterio electus est antistes; sed, priusquam ordinari posset, morte inmatura praereptus est.

Non solum ergo praefata Christi ancella et abbatissa Hild, quam omnes qui nouerant ob insigne[b] pietatis et gratiae matrem uocare consuerant, in suo monasterio uitae exemplo praesentibus extitit, sed etiam plurimis longius manentibus, ad quos felix industriae ac uirtutis eius rumor peruenit, occasionem salutis et correctionis ministrauit. Oportebat namque inpleri somnium, quod mater eius Bregusuid in infantia eius uidit. Quae cum uir eius Heriric exularet sub rege Brettonum Cerdice,[1] ubi ut ueneno periit, uidit
p. 256 per somnium, / quasi subito sublatum eum quaesierit cum omni diligentia, nullumque eius uspiam uestigium apparuerit. Verum cum sollertissime illum quaesierit, extimplo se repperire sub ueste sua monile pretiosissimum, quod, dum attentius consideraret, tanti fulgore luminis refulgere uidebatur, ut omnes Brittaniae fines illius gratia splendoris impleret. Quod nimirum somnium ueraciter in filia eius, de qua loquimur, expletum est, cuius uita non sibi solummodo sed multis bene uiuere uolentibus exempla operum lucis praebuit.

Verum illa cum[c] multis annis huic monasterio praeesset, placuit pio prouisori salutis nostrae sanctam eius animam longa etiam infirmitate carnis examinari,[d] ut iuxta exemplum apostoli uirtus eius in infirmitate perficeretur.[2] Percussa etenim febribus acri coepit ardore fatigari, et per sex continuos annos eadem molestia laborare non cessabat; in quo toto tempore numquam ipsa uel

[a] per *c* [b] signe *c* [c] cum illa *c* [d] exanimari *c*

a long time, preaching the word of faith and setting an example of holy life to all who saw and heard him. At that time the bishop of the kingdom, whose name was Bosel, was greatly troubled by ill-health so that he could not carry out his episcopal duties himself; so Oftfor was appointed bishop in his place with universal approval and was consecrated at Æthelred's command by Bishop Wilfrid of blessed memory, who was at that time acting as bishop of the Middle Angles; for Archbishop Theodore was now dead and no one had been appointed bishop in his place. Shortly before Bosel became bishop, a most energetic and learned man of great ability named Tatfrith, who was also from Hild's monastery, had been appointed to the see; but he was carried off before his consecration by an untimely death.

All who knew Hild, the handmaiden of Christ and abbess, used to call her mother because of her outstanding devotion and grace. She was not only an example of holy life to all who were in the monastery but she also provided an opportunity for salvation and repentance to many who lived far away and who heard the happy story of her industry and virtue. This was bound to happen in fulfilment of the dream which her mother Breguswith had during the child's infancy. While her husband Hereric was living in exile under the British king Cerdic,[1] where he was poisoned, Breguswith had a dream that he was suddenly taken away, and though she searched most earnestly for him, no trace of him could be found anywhere. But suddenly, in the midst of her search, she found a most precious necklace under her garment and, as she gazed closely at it, it seemed to spread such a blaze of light that it filled all Britain with its gracious splendour. This dream was truly fulfilled in her daughter Hild; for her life was an example of the works of light, blessed not only to herself but to many who desired to live uprightly.

After she had presided over the monastery for many years, it pleased the blessed Author of our salvation to subject her holy soul to the trial of a long bodily sickness so that, like the apostle, her strength might be made perfect in weakness.[2] She was attacked by a fever which tortured her with its burning heat, and for six years

[1] This is probably Ceretic, whose death in 616 is entered in the *Annales Cambriae*. According to the *Historia Brittonum* he was king of the British kingdom of Elmet (p. 189, n. 5) and was driven out by Edwin, possibly to avenge the death of his nephew Hereric. Cf. *EHD*, I. 237.

[2] 2 Cor. 12: 9.

Conditori suo gratias agere uel commissum sibi gregem et publice et priuatim docere praetermittebat. Nam suo praedocta exemplo monebat omnes, et in salute accepta corporis Domino obtemperanter seruiendum, et in aduersis rerum siue infirmitatibus membrorum fideliter Domino esse gratias semper agendas. Septimo ergo suae infirmitatis anno, conuerso ad interanea dolore, ad diem peruenit ultimum, et circa galli cantum, percepto uiatico sacrosanctae communionis, cum accersitis ancellis Christi, quae erant in eodem monasterio, de seruanda eas inuicem, immo cum omnibus pace euangelica ammoneret, inter uerba exhortationis laeta mortem uidit; immo, ut uerbis Domini loquar, de morte transiuit ad uitam.[1]

p. 257 Qua uidelicet nocte Dominus omnipotens obitum ipsius in alio longius posito monasterio, quod ipsa eodem anno construxerat, et appellatur Hacanos,[2] manifesta uisione reuelare dignatus est. Erat in ipso monasterio quaedam sanctimonialis femina, nomine Begu,[3] quae xxx et amplius annos dedicata Domino uirginitate in monachica conuersatione seruiebat. Haec tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans, audiuit subito in aere notum campanae sonum, quo ad orationes excitari uel conuocari solebant, cum quis eorum de saeculo fuisset euocatus; apertisque, ut sibi uidebatur, oculis aspexit, detecto domus culmine, fusam desuper lucem omnia repleuisse. Cui uidelicet luci dum sollicita intenderet, uidit animam praefatae Dei famulae in ipsa luce, comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis, ad caelum ferri. Cumque somno excussa uideret ceteras pausantes circa se sorores, intellexit uel in somnio uel in uisione mentis ostensum sibi esse quod uiderat. Statimque exsurgens, nimio timore perterrita, cucurrit ad uirginem, quae tunc monasterio abbatissae uice praefuit, cui nomen erat Frigyd, fletuque ac lacrimis multum perfusa ac suspiria longa trahens, nuntiauit matrem illarum omnium Hild abbatissam iam migrasse de saeculo, et se aspectante cum luce inmensa, ducibus angelis, ad aeternae limina lucis et supernorum consortia ciuium ascendisse. Quod cum illa audisset, suscitauit cunctas sorores, et in ecclesiam conuocatas orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare monuit. Quod cum residuo noctis tempore diligenter

[1] Joh. 5: 24.

[2] Hackness is thirteen miles from Whitby (see Taylor, I. 268–70). In the church there are still preserved fragments of what must have been a very fine and very early Anglo-Saxon cross, with inscriptions partly in Latin, partly in runes, and partly in cryptic letters which have defied interpretation. It seems to have been put up to a certain Oedilburg. In this account of Hild's death Bede uses, both in this and in the previous paragraph, phrases borrowed from Gregory's *Dialogues*. See Index of Quotations.

[3] Nothing more is known of this nun. She has often been confused with Bega, who gave her name to St. Bees in Cumberland.

the sickness afflicted her continually; yet during all this time she never ceased to give thanks to her Maker and to instruct the flock committed to her charge both in public and private. Taught by her own experience she warned them all, when health of body was granted to them, to serve the Lord dutifully and, when in adversity or sickness, always to return thanks to the Lord faithfully. In the seventh year of her illness she began to suffer internal pain and her last day came. About cock-crow she received the viaticum of the most holy communion and, summoning the handmaidens of Christ who were in the monastery, she urged them to preserve the gospel peace among themselves and towards all others; even while she was still exhorting them, she joyfully saw death approach or rather, to use the words of the Lord, she 'passed from death into life'.[1]

On the same night it pleased Almighty God by a vision to reveal her death in another monastery some distance away called Hackness,[2] which she had built that very year. In this monastery there was a nun named Begu[3] who for thirty or more years had been dedicated to the Lord in virginity and had served Him in the monastic life. As she was resting in the sisters' dormitory, she suddenly heard in the air the well-known sound of the bell with which they used to be aroused to their prayers or called together when one of them had been summoned from the world. On opening her eyes she seemed to see the roof of the house rolled back, while a light which poured in from above filled the whole place. As she watched the light intently, she saw the soul of the handmaiden of the Lord being borne to Heaven in the midst of that light, attended and guided by angels. Then awaking and seeing the other sisters lying around her, she realized that what she had seen had been revealed to her either in a dream or in a vision. Greatly afraid, she rose at once and ran to the maiden named Frigyth, who was then presiding over the monastery in place of the abbess. With many tears and lamentations and sighing deeply, she announced that the Abbess Hild, mother of them all, had departed from this world and that she had seen her ascend in the midst of a great light and escorted by angels to the abode of eternal light, to join the company of the citizens of heaven. When Frigyth heard this, she aroused all the sisters, called them to church and ordered them to devote themselves to prayer and psalm-singing on behalf of the soul of their mother. This they did diligently for the rest of the night and, at early dawn, there came

agerent, uenerunt primo diluculo fratres, qui eius obitum nuntiarent, a loco ubi defuncta est. At illae respondentes dixerunt se
p. 258 prius eadem cognouisse; et / cum exponerent per ordinem, quomodo haec uel quando didicissent, inuentum est eadem hora transitum eius illis ostensum esse per uisionem, qua illam referebant exisse de mundo. Pulchraque rerum concordia procuratum est diuinitus ut, cum illi exitum eius de hac uita uiderent, tunc isti introitum eius in perpetuam animarum uitam cognoscerent. Distant autem inter se monasteria haec XIII ferme milibus passuum.

Ferunt autem quod eadem nocte in ipso quoque monasterio, ubi praefata Dei famula obiit, cuidam uirginum Deo deuotarum, quae illam inmenso amore diligebat, obitus illius in uisione apparuerit; quae animam eius cum angelis ad caelum ire conspexerit, atque hoc ipsa, qua factum est, hora his, quae secum erant, famulis Christi manifeste narrauerit, easque ad orandum pro anima eius, etiam priusquam cetera congregatio eius obitum cognouisset, excitauerit. Quod ita fuisse factum mox congregationi mane facto innotuit. Erat enim haec ipsa hora cum aliis nonnullis Christi ancellis in extremis monasterii locis seorsum posita, ubi nuper uenientes ad conuersationem feminae solebant probari, donec regulariter institutae in societatem congregationis susciperentur.

XXIIII [XXII]

In huius monasterio abbatissae fuit frater quidam[1] diuina gratia specialiter insignis, quia carmina religioni et pietati apta facere solebat, ita ut, quicquid ex diuinis litteris per interpretes disceret, hoc ipse post pusillum uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate et /
p. 259 conpunctione conpositis in sua, id est Anglorum, lingua proferret. Cuius carminibus multorum saepe animi ad contemtum saeculi et appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi. Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere temtabant, sed nullus eum aequiperare potuit. Namque ipse non ab hominibus neque per hominem[2] institutus canendi artem didicit, sed diuinitus adiutus gratis canendi donum accepit. Vnde nil umquam friuoli et superuacui poematis facere potuit, sed ea tantummodo, quae ad religionem pertinent, religiosam eius linguam decebant. Siquidem in habitu saeculari usque ad tempora prouectioris aetatis constitutus, nil carminum aliquando didicerat. Vnde nonnumquam in conuiuio, cum esset laetitiae causa decretum ut omnes per ordinem

[1] Cædmon's name is British, so he was possibly of British descent.
[2] Gal. 1: 1.

brothers from the place where she had died to announce her death. The maidens answered that they already knew of it and, when they explained in detail how and when they had heard of it, it was found that her death had been revealed to them in a vision at the very hour at which the brothers said that she had died. By a beautiful harmony of events, it was divinely ordained that while some of them watched her departure from this life, others watched her entrance into the everlasting life of the spirit. Now these two monasteries are nearly thirteen miles apart.

It is also related that, on the same night and in the same monastery in which this servant of God died, her death was seen in a vision by one of the devoted virgins of God, who had been deeply attached to her. She saw Hild's soul ascend to heaven in the company of angels. She related this openly to the servants of Christ who were with her at the very hour it happened and aroused them to pray for her soul, and this before the rest of the congregation knew of her death, for it was only made known to them as soon as they met next morning. This nun was at the time with some other handmaidens of Christ in the remotest part of the monastery, where the women who had lately entered the monastic life used to spend their time of probation until they were fully instructed and admitted into the fellowship of the community.

CHAPTER XXIV (XXII)

In the monastery of this abbess there was a certain brother[1] who was specially marked out by the grace of God, so that he used to compose godly and religious songs; thus, whatever he learned from the holy Scriptures by means of interpreters, he quickly turned into extremely delightful and moving poetry, in English, which was his own tongue. By his songs the minds of many were often inspired to despise the world and to long for the heavenly life. It is true that after him other Englishmen attempted to compose religious poems, but none could compare with him. For he did not learn the art of poetry from men nor through a man[2] but he received the gift of song freely by the grace of God. Hence he could never compose any foolish or trivial poem but only those which were concerned with devotion and so were fitting for his devout tongue to utter. He had lived in the secular habit until he was well advanced in years and had never learned any songs. Hence sometimes at a feast, when for the sake of providing

cantare deberent, ille, ubi adpropinquare sibi citharam[1] cernebat, surgebat a media caena et egressus ad suam domum repedabat.

Quod dum tempore quodam faceret, et relicta domu conuiuii egressus esset ad stabula iumentorum, quorum ei custodia nocte illa erat delegata, ibique hora conpetenti membra dedisset sopori, adstitit ei quidam per somnium, eumque salutans ac suo appellans nomine 'Caedmon', inquit, 'canta mihi aliquid.' At ille respondens 'Nescio' inquit 'cantare; nam et ideo de conuiuio egressus huc secessi, quia cantare non poteram.' Rursum ille qui cum eo loquebatur 'At tamen' ait 'mihi[a] cantare habes.' 'Quid' inquit 'debeo cantare?' Et ille 'Canta' inquit 'principium creaturarum.' Quo accepto responso, statim ipse coepit cantare in laudem Dei Conditoris uersus quos numquam audierat, quorum iste est
p. 260 sensus: 'Nunc laudare / debemus auctorem regni caelestis, potentiam Creatoris et consilium illius, facta Patris gloriae: quomodo ille, cum sit aeternus Deus, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram Custos humani generis omnipotens creauit.'[2] Hic est sensus, non autem ordo[b] ipse uerborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carmina, quamuis optime conposita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad uerbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferri. Exsurgens autem a somno, cuncta quae dormiens cantauerat memoriter retenuit, et eis mox plura in eundem modum uerba Deo digni carminis adiunxit.

Veniensque mane ad uilicum, qui sibi praeerat, quid doni percepisset indicauit, atque ad abbatissam perductus iussus est, multis doctioribus uiris praesentibus, indicare somnium et dicere carmen, ut uniuersorum iudicio quid uel unde esset quod referebat probaretur. Visumque est omnibus caelestem ei a Domino

[a] mihi *om. c* [b] et ordo *c*

[1] The type of harp which was passed round would probably be like the one reconstructed from the fragments found in the hanging bowl at Sutton Hoo, which is now in the British Museum. It is about 6 in. high and could easily be passed from hand to hand. Unfortunately Bede tells us neither the nature nor the substance of the songs sung. The context implies that they may have been 'foolish or trivial', which might mean simple folk-songs or ballads and possibly some heroic fragments. Again Bede does not tell us whether they were made up for the occasion, either on the spot or beforehand, but again the context suggests that they were traditional songs which Cædmon for some reason had never learned.

entertainment, it had been decided that they should all sing in turn, when he saw the harp[1] approaching him, he would rise up in the middle of the feasting, go out, and return home.

On one such occasion when he did so, he left the place of feasting and went to the cattle byre, as it was his turn to take charge of them that night. In due time he stretched himself out and went to sleep, whereupon he dreamt that someone stood by him, saluted him, and called him by name: 'Cædmon,' he said, 'sing me something.' Cædmon answered, 'I cannot sing; that is why I left the feast and came here because I could not sing.' Once again the speaker said, 'Nevertheless you must sing to me.' 'What must I sing?' said Cædmon. 'Sing', he said, 'about the beginning of created things.' Thereupon Cædmon began to sing verses which he had never heard before in praise of God the Creator, of which this is the general sense: 'Now we must praise the Maker of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory and how He, since he is the eternal God, was the Author of all marvels and first created the heavens as a roof for the children of men and then, the almighty Guardian of the human race, created the earth.'[2] This is the sense but not the order of the words which he sang as he slept. For it is not possible to translate verse, however well composed, literally from one language to another without some loss of beauty and dignity. When he awoke, he remembered all that he had sung while asleep and soon added more verses in the same manner, praising God in fitting style.

In the morning he went to the reeve who was his master, telling him of the gift he had received, and the reeve took him to the abbess. He was then bidden to describe his dream in the presence of a number of the more learned men and also to recite his song so that they might all examine him and decide upon the nature and origin of the gift of which he spoke; and it seemed clear to all of them that the Lord had granted him heavenly grace. They then

[2] The Old English lines of which Bede gives a Latin translation are preserved in an Old Northumbrian version in L and N and in two other much later manuscripts. The poem in a late West-Saxon form is preserved in seven manuscripts of Bede's Latin text as well as in five manuscripts of the Old English translation of Bede which was made in the time of King Alfred. The poem is written in the traditional alliterative metre of all Old English poetry and the lines quoted illustrate well the poetic variation, a favourite device in which the same idea is repeated in different words; this was one of the main stylistic features of all Old English verse.

concessam esse gratiam, exponebantque illi quendam sacrae historiae siue doctrinae sermonem, praecipientes eum, si posset, hunc in modulationem carminis transferre. At ille suscepto negotio abiit, et mane rediens optimo carmine quod iubebatur conpositum reddidit. Vnde mox abbatissa amplexata[a] gratiam Dei in uiro, saecularem illum habitum relinquere et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit; susceptumque in monasterium cum omnibus suis fratrum cohorti adsociauit, iussitque illum seriem sacrae historiae doceri. At ipse cuncta, quae audiendo discere poterat, rememorando secum et quasi mundum animal ruminando,[1] in carmen dulcissimum conuertebat, suauiusque resonando doctores suos uicissim auditores sui faciebat. Canebat autem de creatione
p. 261 mundi et origine humani generis / et tota Genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Aegypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacrae scripturae historiis, de incarnatione dominica, passione, resurrectione et ascensione in caelum, de Spiritus Sancti aduentu et apostolorum doctrina; item de terrore futuri iudicii et horrore poenae gehennalis ac dulcedine regni caelestis multa carmina faciebat. Sed et alia perplura de beneficiis et iudiciis diuinis, in quibus cunctis homines ab amore scelerum abstrahere, ad dilectionem uero et sollertiam bonae actionis excitare curabat.[2] Erat enim uir multum religiosus et regularibus disciplinis humiliter subditus; aduersum uero illos, qui aliter facere uolebant, zelo magni feruoris accensus, unde et pulchro uitam suam fine conclusit.

Nam propinquante hora sui decessus, XIIII diebus praeueniente corporea infirmitate pressus est, adeo tamen moderate, ut et loqui toto eo tempore posset et ingredi. Erat autem in proximo casa, in qua infirmiores et qui prope morituri esse uidebantur induci solebant. Rogauit ergo ministrum suum[3] uespere incumbente, nocte qua de saeculo erat exiturus, ut in ea sibi locum quiescendi

[a] amplexa *c2*

[1] According to the Mosaic law only such animals as chewed the cud and had cloven hoofs were 'clean' and might be eaten. Cf. Levit. 11: 3 and Deut.14: 6.

[2] A number of Old English poems on religious subjects, such as are described here, have survived, particularly in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century

read to him a passage of sacred history or doctrine, bidding him make a song out of it, if he could, in metrical form. He undertook the task and went away; on returning next morning he repeated the passage he had been given, which he had put into excellent verse. The abbess, who recognized the grace of God which the man had received, instructed him to renounce his secular habit and to take monastic vows. She and all her people received him into the community of the brothers and ordered that he should be instructed in the whole course of sacred history. He learned all he could by listening to them and then, memorizing it and ruminating over it, like some clean animal chewing the cud,[1] he turned it into the most melodious verse: and it sounded so sweet as he recited it that his teachers became in turn his audience. He sang about the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of Israel from Egypt and the entry into the promised land and of many other of the stories taken from the sacred Scriptures: of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Lord, of His ascension into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the apostles. He also made songs about the terrors of future judgement, the horrors of the pains of hell, and the joys of the heavenly kingdom. In addition he composed many other songs about the divine mercies and judgements, in all of which he sought to turn his hearers away from delight in sin and arouse in them the love and practice of good works.[2] He was a most religious man, humbly submitting himself to the discipline of the Rule; and he opposed all those who wished to act otherwise with a flaming and fervent zeal. It was for this reason that his life had a beautiful ending.

When the hour of his departure drew near he was afflicted, fourteen days before, by bodily weakness, yet so slight that he was able to walk about and talk the whole time. There was close by a building to which they used to take those who were infirm or who seemed to be at the point of death. On the night on which he was to die, as evening fell, he asked his attendant[3] to prepare a place in this building where he could rest. The attendant did as Cædmon

manuscript at Oxford (Junius xi). There is no evidence that any of them derive from Cædmon's work except the nine lines translated by Bede. In fact it is clear that they are the work of more than one man.

[3] It was the custom for an older monk to have a young novice to look after him. Thus Cudda on Lindisfarne was looked after by young Wilfrid (Eddius, chapter 2).

praepararet; qui miratus cur hoc rogaret, qui nequaquam adhuc moriturus esse uidebatur, fecit tamen quod dixerat. Cumque ibidem positi uicissim aliqua gaudente animo una cum eis, qui ibidem antea inerant, loquerentur ac iocarentur, et iam mediae noctis tempus esset transcensum, interrogauit si eucharistiam intus haberent. Respondebant: 'Quid opus est eucharistia? neque enim mori adhuc habes, qui tam hilariter nobiscum uelut sospes loqueris.' Rursus ille 'Et tamen' ait 'afferte mihi eucharistiam.' Qua accepta in manu interrogauit, si omnes placidum erga se animum[a] et sine querela controuersiae ac rancoris haberent.
p. 262 Respondebant / omnes placidissimam se mentem ad illum et ab omni ira remotam[b] habere, eumque uicissim rogabant placidam[c] erga ipsos mentem habere. Qui confestim respondit: 'Placidam ego mentem, filioli, erga omnes Dei famulos gero.' Sicque se caelesti muniens uiatico, uitae alterius ingressui parauit. Et interrogauit, quam prope esset hora, qua fratres ad dicendas Domino laudes nocturnas excitari deberent. Respondebant: 'Non longe est.' At ille: 'Bene; ergo exspectemus horam illam.' Et signans se signo sanctae crucis reclinauit caput ad ceruical, modicumque obdormiens ita cum silentio uitam finiuit. Sicque factum est ut, quomodo simplici ac pura mente tranquillaque deuotione Domino seruierat, ita etiam tranquilla morte mundum relinquens ad eius uisionem ueniret, illaque lingua, quae tot salutaria uerba in laudem Conditoris conposuerat, ultima quoque uerba in laudem ipsius, signando[d] sese et spiritum suum in manus eius commendando, clauderet; qui etiam praescius sui obitus extitisse ex his quae narrauimus uidetur.[1]

XXV [XXIII]

His temporibus monasterium uirginum, quod Coludi Vrbem cognominant,[2] cuius et supra meminimus, per culpam incuriae flammis absumtum est. Quod tamen a malitia inhabitantium in eo,[3] et praecipue illorum qui maiores esse uidebantur, contigisse omnes qui nouere facillime potuerunt aduertere. Sed non defuit

[a] animum erga se *c* [b] semotam *c* [c] placitam *c* [d] signando *om. c2*

[1] For Cædmon's foreknowledge of his death compare the story of Chad. See p. 343, n. 2.

[2] Coldingham is in Berwickshire, Scotland. Traces of the monastery are still visible on St. Abb's Head which is named after the abbess. This was the only one of the double monasteries concerning which any suspicion of loose conduct seems to have arisen during this period. See p. 392, n. 2.

[3] Ps. 106 (107): 34.

said though he wondered why he asked, for he did not seem to be by any means at the point of death. They had settled down in the house and were talking and joking cheerfully with each of those who were already there and it was past midnight, when he asked whether they had the Eucharist in the house. They answered, 'What need have you of the Eucharist? You are not likely to die, since you are talking as cheerfully with us as if you were in perfect health.' 'Nevertheless,' he repeated, 'bring me the Eucharist.' When he had taken it in his hand he asked if they were all charitably disposed towards him and had no complaint nor any quarrel nor grudge against him. They answered that they were all in charity with him and without the slightest feeling of anger; then they asked him in turn whether he was charitably disposed towards them. He answered at once, 'My sons, I am in charity with all the servants of God.' So, fortifying himself with the heavenly viaticum, he prepared for his entrance into the next life. Thereupon he asked them how near it was to the time when the brothers had to awake to sing their nightly praises to God. They answered, 'It will not be long.' And he answered, 'Good, let us wait until then.' And so, signing himself with the sign of the holy cross, he laid his head on the pillow, fell asleep for a little while, and so ended his life quietly. Thus it came about that, as he had served the Lord with a simple and pure mind and with quiet devotion, so he departed into His presence and left the world by a quiet death; and his tongue which had uttered so many good words in praise of the Creator also uttered its last words in His praise, as he signed himself with the sign of the cross and commended his spirit into God's hands; and from what has been said, it would seem that he had foreknowledge of his death.[1]

CHAPTER XXV (XXIII)

ABOUT this time, the monastery of virgins at Coldingham,[2] which has previously been mentioned, was burned down through carelessness. However, all who knew the truth were easily able to judge that it happened because of the wickedness of those who dwelt there[3] and especially of those who were supposed to be its leaders. But God in His mercy did not fail to give warning of approaching punishment so that they might have been led to

puniendis admonitio diuinae pietatis, qua correcti per ieiunia fletus et preces iram a se instar Nineuitarum[1] iusti Iudicis[a] auerterent.

p. 263 Erat namque in eodem monasterio uir de genere Scottorum, Adamnanus uocabulo, ducens uitam in continentia et orationibus multum Deo deuotam, ita ut nil umquam cibi uel potus, excepta die dominica et quinta sabbati, perciperet, saepe autem noctes integras peruigil in oratione transigeret. Quae quidem illi districtio uitae artioris primo ex necessitate emendandae suae prauitatis obuenerat, sed procedente tempore necessitatem in consuetudinem uerterat.

Siquidem in adulescentia sua sceleris aliquid commiserat, quod commissum, ubi ad cor suum rediit, grauissime exhorruit, et se pro illo puniendum a districto Iudice timebat. Accedens ergo ad sacerdotem, a quo sibi sperabat iter salutis posse demonstrari, confessus est reatum suum, petiitque ut consilium sibi daret quo posset fugere a uentura ira.[2] Qui audito eius commisso dixit: 'Grande uulnus grandioris curam medellae desiderat, et ideo ieiuniis psalmis et orationibus, quantum uales, insiste, quo praeoccupando faciem Domini in confessione[3] propitium eum inuenire merearis.' At ille, quem nimius reae conscientiae tenebat dolor, et internis peccatorum uinculis quibus grauabatur ocius desiderabat absolui, 'Adulescentior' inquit 'sum aetate et uegetus corpore; quicquid mihi inposueris agendum, dummodo saluus fiam in die Domini, totum facile feram, etiam si totam noctem stando in precibus peragere, si integram septimanam iubeas abstinendo transigere.'[4] Qui dixit: 'Multum est ut tota septimana absque alimento corporis perdures; sed biduanum uel triduanum sat est obseruare ieiunium. Hoc facito, donec post modicum tempus rediens ad te, quid facere debeas et quamdiu paenitentiae insistere, tibi plenius ostendam.' Quibus dictis et descripta illi mensura paenitendi, abiit sacerdos, et ingruente causa subita

p. 264 secessit Hiberniam, unde / originem duxerat, neque ultra ad eum iuxta suum condictum rediit. At ipse memor praecepti eius, simul et promissi sui, totum se lacrimis paenitentiae, uigiliis sanctis et continentiae mancipauit, ita ut quinta solum sabbati et dominica,

[a] iudicis iusti *c*

[1] Cf. Jon. 3: 5–10. [2] Matth. 3: 7; Luc. 3: 7. [3] Ps. 94 (95): 2.

[4] Ascetic exercises of exaggerated kinds spread from Egypt to Ireland. Some of these practices were prolonged fasts, doing without sleep, and standing for long periods with arms outstretched in the attitude of prayer. The Roman

amend their ways and, by fasting, tears, and prayers, to have averted the wrath of the just Judge from themselves as did the people of Nineveh.[1]

Now in this monastery there was an Irishman named Adamnan who led a life so devoted to God in austerity and prayer that he never took food or drink except on Sundays and Thursdays and often spent whole nights in vigils and prayers. He had first adopted this strict and austere way of life because of the necessity of atoning for the evil he had committed, but in course of time what he was once compelled to do as a penance became a habit.

In his youth he had been guilty of a certain sin but when he came to his senses he was utterly horrified and feared that he would be punished for it by the righteous Judge. So he went to a priest who, he hoped, could show him the way of salvation. He confessed his guilt and asked for advice as to how he could flee from the wrath to come.[2] When the priest heard his offence he said, 'A severe wound calls for an even more severe remedy: so give yourself up to fastings, psalmody, and prayer to the utmost of your ability, so that, when you come before the presence of the Lord with your confession,[3] you may deserve to find mercy.' But as he was in great grief because of his guilty conscience, and because he longed to get free as quickly as possible from the inward bonds of sin which weighed him down, he said, 'I am still young in years and strong in body; so I can easily endure whatever penance you place upon me, if only I may be saved in the day of the Lord, even though you bid me remain standing in prayer all night or fast for a whole week.'[4] The priest said, 'It is too much to endure a whole week without food: it is enough to fast for two or three days. Do this until I return to you in a short time, when I will show you more fully what you must do and how long you must persevere in your penance.' So with these words the priest went away, having prescribed the measure of his penance, and for some reason he suddenly went to Ireland, which was his native country, and did not come back again to keep his appointment. The man who remembered his injunction as well as his own promise, gave himself up entirely to penitential tears and holy vigils and austerity. So, as has been said, he ate only on Thursdays and

tradition gradually put an end to the more spectacular forms of asceticism but the influence of the Irish missionaries still remained in Northumbria. See *Two Lives*, pp. 315–16.

sicut praedixi, reficeret, ceteris septimanae diebus ieiunus permaneret. Cumque sacerdotem suum Hiberniam secessisse ibique defunctum esse audisset, semper ex eo tempore, iuxta condictum eius, memoratum continentiae modum obseruabat, et quod causa diuini timoris semel ob reatum conpunctus coeperat, iam causa diuini amoris delectatus praemiis[a] indefessus agebat.

Quod dum multo tempore sedulus exsequeretur, contigit eum die quadam de monasterio illo longius egressum, comitante secum uno de fratribus, peracto itinere redire.[b] Qui cum monasterio propinquarent et aedificia illius sublimiter erecta aspicerent,[c] solutus est in lacrimas uir Dei, et tristitiam cordis uultu indice prodebat. Quod intuens comes, quare faceret inquisiuit. At ille 'Cuncta' inquit 'haec quae cernis aedificia publica uel priuata, in proximo est, ut ignis absumens in cinerem conuertat.' Quod ille audiens, mox ut intrauerunt monasterium, matri congregationis, uocabulo Aebbae, curauit indicare. At illa merito turbata de tali praesagio uocauit ad se uirum, et diligentius ab eo rem, uel unde hoc ipse nosset, inquirebat. Qui ait: 'Nuper occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis, uidi adstantem mihi subito quendam incogniti uultus. Cuius praesentia cum essem exterritus, dixit mihi ne timerem, et quasi familiari me uoce alloquens "Bene facis" inquit "qui tempore isto nocturnae quietis non somno indulgere sed
p. 265 uigiliis et orationibus insistere maluisti." At ego "Noui" / inquit[d] "multum mihi esse necesse uigiliis salutaribus insistere et pro meis erratibus sedulo Dominum deprecari." Qui adiciens "Verum" inquit "dicis, quia et[e] tibi et multis opus est peccata sua bonis operibus redimere et, cum cessant a laboribus rerum temporalium, tunc pro appetitu aeternorum bonorum liberius laborare; sed hoc tamen paucissimi faciunt. Siquidem modo totum hoc monasterium ex ordine perlustrans, singulorum casas ac lectos inspexi, et neminem ex omnibus praeter te erga sanitatem animae suae occupatum repperi; sed omnes prorsus, et uiri et feminae, aut somno torpent inerti aut ad peccata uigilant. Nam et domunculae, quae ad orandum uel legendum factae erant, nunc in comesationum, potationum, fabulationum et ceterarum sunt inlecebrarum cubilia conuersae; uirgines quoque Deo dicatae, contemta reuerentia suae professionis, quotiescumque uacant, texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dant, quibus aut se ipsas ad uicem

[a] premiis delectatus *c* [b] rediere *c* [c] conspicerent *c* [d] inquam *is a ninth-century correction* [e] et *om. c*

Sundays and remained fasting all the rest of the week. When he heard that the priest had gone to Ireland and had died there, he ever afterwards, in accordance with his promise, maintained this same standard of austerity; and though he had begun this way of life in the fear of God and in penitence for his guilt, he now continued it unweariedly for the love of God and because he delighted in its rewards.

When he had practised this diligently for a long time he happened to go one day on a journey of some distance from the monastery, accompanied by one of the brothers. On the return journey, as they approached the monastery and beheld its lofty buildings, the man of God burst into tears, while his face betrayed the sorrow of his heart. When his companion saw this, he asked Adamnan the reason and he replied, 'All these buildings which you now see, both communal and private, will shortly be burnt to ashes.' Thereupon the other monk made it his business, as soon as they entered the monastery, to tell Æbbe, the mother of the congregation. She was naturally disturbed by this prophecy, summoned Adamnan to her, and carefully questioned him about this matter and how he came to know of it. He answered, 'I was recently occupied in vigils and singing psalms when I suddenly saw someone standing by me whom I did not recognize. I was greatly startled at his presence, but he told me not to be afraid and added in a friendly kind of manner, "You do well to choose to employ the night hours of rest in vigil and prayer instead of indulging in sleep." I answered, "I know that I have great need to employ my time in salutary vigils and in praying earnestly to the Lord to pardon my sins." "You speak truly," he replied, "but many besides yourself need to atone for their sins by good works and, by setting themselves free from worldly occupations, to labour more eagerly to cultivate a desire for their eternal welfare; yet there are very few who do this. I have just visited every part of this monastery in turn: I have examined their cells and their beds, and I have found no one except you concerned with his soul's welfare; but all of them, men and women alike, are sunk in slothful slumbers or else they remain awake for the purposes of sin. And the cells that were built for praying and for reading have become haunts of feasting, drinking, gossip, and other delights; even the virgins who are dedicated to God put aside all respect for their profession and, whenever they have leisure, spend their time

sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent, aut externorum sibi uirorum amicitiam conparent. Vnde merito loco huic et habitatoribus eius grauis de caelo uindicta flammis saeuientibus praeparata est.''' Dixit autem abbatissa: 'Et quare non citius hoc conpertum mihi reuelare uoluisti?' Qui respondit: 'Timui propter reuerentiam tuam, ne forte nimium conturbareris. Et tamen hanc consolationem habeas, quod in diebus tuis haec plaga non superueniet.' Qua diuulgata uisione, aliquantulum loci accolae paucis diebus timere et se ipsos intermissis facinoribus castigare coeperunt. Verum post obitum ipsius abbatissae redierunt ad pristinas sordes, immo sceleratiora fecerunt; et cum dicerent 'Pax et securitas,'[1] extimplo praefatae ultionis sunt poena multati.

p. 266 Quae mihi cuncta sic esse facta reuerentissimus / meus conpresbyter Edgisl referebat, qui tunc in illo monasterio degebat. Postea autem, discedentibus inde ob desolationem plurimis incolarum, in nostro monasterio plurimo tempore conuersatus ibidemque defunctus est. Haec ideo nostrae historiae inserenda credidimus,[a] ut admoneremus lectorem operum Domini, quam terribilis in consiliis super filios hominum;[2] ne forte nos tempore aliquo carnis inlecebris seruientes, minusque Dei iudicium formidantes, repentina eius ira corripiat, et uel temporalibus damnis iuste saeuiens affligat, uel ad perpetuam perditionem districtius examinans tollat.

XXVI [XXIIII]

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCLXXXIIII Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum,[3] misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bercto,[4] uastauit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis. At insulani et, quantum ualuere, armis arma repellebant, et inuocantes diuinae auxilium pietatis caelitus se uindicari continuis diu inprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis

[a] credimus *c2*

[1] 1 Thess. 5: 3. [2] Ps. 65 (66): 5.

[3] Both Ecgfrith and Oswiu seem to have seized some Pictish territory and added it to the Northumbrian kingdom. Ecgfrith was recognized as overlord by the Irish of Argyll and the Britons of Strathclyde. It may be that the attack on Ireland mentioned here, a devastation of part of the kingdom of Meath, was intended to prevent the Irish in Ireland from supporting the Irish in North Britain.

weaving elaborate garments with which to adorn themselves as if they were brides, so imperilling their virginity, or else to make friends with strange men. So it is only right that a heavy vengeance from heaven should be preparing for this place and for its inhabitants in the form of raging fire."' The abbess said, 'Why were you unwilling to reveal these facts to me earlier?' He answered, 'I was afraid to do so out of respect for you, fearing you would be too greatly perturbed; nevertheless you may have this consolation that the calamity will not happen in your time.' When this vision became known, those who lived in the monastery were somewhat afraid for a few days and began to give up their sins and do penance. But after the death of the abbess, they returned to their old defilement and committed even worse crimes; and when they said 'peace and safety',[1] suddenly the predicted punishment and vengeance fell upon them.

It was my revered fellow priest Eadgisl, who then lived in the monastery, who told me of all these happenings. After most of the inhabitants had left Coldingham because it was in ruins, he lived a long time in our monastery and died here. It seemed desirable to include this story in our *History* so as to warn the reader about the workings of the Lord and how terrible He is in His dealings with the children of men,[2] in order that we should not at any time indulge in fleshly delights nor pay so little heed to the judgement of God that His wrath should come suddenly upon us and He should in His righteous anger afflict us with temporal loss or, it may be, judge us still more sternly and bear us away to everlasting perdition.

CHAPTER XXVI (XXIV)

IN the year of our Lord 684 Ecgfrith,[3] king of Northumbria, sent an army to Ireland under his ealdorman Berht,[4] who wretchedly devastated a harmless race that had always been most friendly to the English, and his hostile bands spared neither churches nor monasteries. The islanders resisted force by force so far as they were able, imploring the merciful aid of God and invoking His vengeance with unceasing imprecations. And although those who

[4] Berht may be the same as the Berhtred whom Bede mentions in his chronological summary (v. 24) under the year 698 as having been killed by the Picts.

maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint,[1] creditum est tamen quod hi qui merito inpietatis suae maledicebantur, ocius Domino uindice poenas sui reatus luerent. Siquidem anno post hunc proximo idem rex, cum temere exercitum ad uastandam Pictorum prouinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis et maxime beatae memoriae Cudbercto, qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus,
p. 267 introductus est simulantibus fugam hostibus / in angustias inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum, quas secum adduxerat,[2] extinctus anno aetatis suae XLmo, regni autem XVmo, die tertio decimo kalendarum Iuniarum. Et quidem, ut dixi, prohibuerunt amici, ne hoc bellum iniret; sed quoniam anno praecedente noluerat audire reuerentissimum patrem Ecgberctum, ne Scottiam nil se laedentem inpugnaret, datum est illi ex poena peccati illius, ne nunc eos, qui ipsum ab interitu reuocare cupiebant, audiret.

Ex quo tempore spes coepit et uirtus regni Anglorum 'fluere ac retro sublapsa referri'.[3] Nam et Picti terram possessionis suae quam tenuerunt Angli, et Scotti qui erant in Brittania, Brettonum quoque pars nonnulla libertatem receperunt; quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter XLVI. Vbi inter plurimos gentis Anglorum uel interemtos gladio uel seruitio addictos uel de terra Pictorum fuga lapsos, etiam reuerentissimus uir Domini Trumuini,[4] qui in eos episcopatum acceperat, recessit cum suis, qui erant in monasterio Aebbercurnig, posito quidem in regione Anglorum sed in uicinia freti, quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat; eosque, ubicumque poterat, amicis per monasteria commendans, ipse in saepedicto famulorum famularumque Dei monasterio, quod uocatur Streanaeshalch, locum mansionis elegit; ibique cum paucis suorum in monachica districtione uitam non sibi solummodo sed et multis utilem plurimo annorum tempore duxit; ubi etiam defunctus, in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli iuxta honorem et uita et gradu eius condignum conditus est. Praeerat quidem tunc eidem monasterio regia uirgo Aelbfled,[5] una cum

[1] 1 Cor. 6: 10.

[2] Ecgfrith's death was seen in a vision by Cuthbert as he was being shown round the Roman ruins at Carlisle (*VA*, iv. 8; *VP*, chapter 27). The battle was fought in 685 at Nechtansmere or Dunnichen Moss in Forfarshire against King Bruide, a cousin of Ecgfrith (see also p. 164, n. 4).

[3] A quotation from Virgil, *Aeneid* ii. 169.

[4] Trumwine or Tumma, as he is called in the *VA*, died shortly before 705.

curse cannot inherit the kingdom of God,[1] yet one may believe that those who were justly cursed for their wickedness quickly suffered the penalty of their guilt at the avenging hand of God. Indeed the very next year the king rashly took an army to ravage the kingdom of the Picts, against the urgent advice of his friends and particularly of Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had recently been made bishop. The enemy feigned flight and lured the king into some narrow passes in the midst of inaccessible mountains; there he was killed with the greater part of the forces he had taken with him,[2] on 20 May, in the fortieth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign. As I have said, his friends urged him not to undertake this campaign; but in the previous year he had refused to listen to the holy father Egbert, who had urged him not to attack the Irish who had done him no harm; and the punishment for his sin was that he would not now listen to those who sought to save him from his own destruction.

From this time the hopes and strength of the English kingdom began to 'ebb and fall away'.[3] For the Picts recovered their own land which the English had formerly held, while the Irish who lived in Britain and some part of the British nation recovered their independence, which they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years. Many of the English were either slain by the sword or enslaved or escaped by flight from Pictish territory; among these latter was Trumwine,[4] a reverend man of God who had been made bishop over them and who retired with his companions from the monastery of Abercorn, which was in English territory but close to the firth which divides the lands of the English from that of the Picts. He commended his own people to his friends in such monasteries as he could find and chose his own place of retirement in the monastery, so often mentioned, of the servants and handmaidens of God which is called Whitby. There, with a few of his own people, he lived for many years a life of austerity in the monastery to the benefit of many others besides himself. When he died he was buried in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter, with the honours due to his life and rank. At that time the royal virgin Ælfflæd[5] presided over the monastery with her mother

[5] Ælfflæd was half-sister of Aldfrith and daughter of Oswiu and Eanflæd. She became abbess of Whitby after Hild's death in 680, ruling over it jointly with her mother. The date of her death is uncertain (cf. iii. 24). She was a friend of Cuthbert and interceded with her half-brother to restore Wilfrid to his see about 687.

matre Eanflede, quarum supra fecimus mentionem. Sed aduenip. 268 ente illuc episcopo maximum regendi auxilium, / simul et suae uitae solacium, deuota Deo doctrix inuenit. Successit autem Ecgfrido in regnum Aldfrid,[1] uir in scripturis doctissimus, qui frater eius et filius Osuiu regis esse dicebatur, destructumque regni statum, quamuis intra fines angustiores, nobiliter recuperauit.

Quo uidelicet anno, qui est ab incarnatione dominica DCLXXXV, Hlotheri Cantuariorum rex,[2] cum post Ecgberctum fratrem suum, qui nouem annis regnauerat, ipse XII annis regnasset, mortuus erat VIII idus Februarias. Vulneratus namque est in pugna Australium Saxonum, quos contra eum Edric filius Ecgbercti adgregarat, et inter medendum defunctus. Ac post eum idem Edric anno uno ac dimidio regnauit; quo defuncto, regnum illud aliquot temporis spatium reges dubii uel externi disperdiderunt, donec legitimus rex Uictred,[3] id est filius Ecgbercti, confortatus in regno, religione simul et industria gentem suam ab extranea inuasione liberaret.

XXVII [XXV]

IPSO etiam anno, quo finem uitae accepit rex Ecgfrid, episcopum, ut diximus, fecerat ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiae uirum sanctum et uenerabilem Cudberctum,[4] qui in insula permodica, quae appellatur Farne et ab eadem ecclesia nouem ferme milibus passuum in Oceano procul abest, uitam solitariam per annos plures in magna corporis et mentis continentia duxerat. Qui quidem a prima aetate pueritiae studio religiosae uitae semper ardebat, sed ab ineunte adulescentia monachicum et nomen adp. 269 sumsit et habitum. / Intrauit autem primo monasterium Mailros, quod in ripa Tuidi fluminis positum tunc abbas Eata, uir omnium mansuetissimus ac simplicissimus, regebat, qui postea episcopus Hagustaldensis siue Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae factus est, ut supra

[1] Aldfrith succeeded to the throne of Northumbria after Ecgfrith's death in 685. He was an illegitimate son of Oswiu and an Irish princess. He lived in exile during Ecgfrith's life. He spoke Irish and had a reputation as a man of letters. His court would therefore form an admirable link between Irish and Northumbrian culture during the late seventh century. In *HAB* we are told that he gave eight hides of land for a manuscript which Benedict Biscop had brought from Rome (Plummer, I. 380). He died in 705.

[2] Hlothhere was king of Kent from 674 to 685. A code of laws bearing the joint names of Hlothhere and Eadric still survives, though it is not known that they ruled jointly. Possibly Eadric issued his uncle's code, adding his own name. See *EHD*, I. 360–1.

Eanflæd, both of whom have been mentioned before. But when the bishop came, that devout teacher Ælfflæd found him a very great help in the government of the monastery as well as a comfort in her own life. Aldfrith[1] succeeded Ecgfrith on the throne; he was a man most learned in the Scriptures, who was said to be the brother of Ecgfrith and son of King Oswiu. He ably restored the shattered state of the kingdom although within narrower bounds.

On 6 February in this year of our Lord 685, Hlothhere,[2] king of Kent, died after a reign of twelve years, having succeeded his brother Egbert, who had reigned nine years. He was wounded in battle with the South Saxons whom Eadric, son of Egbert, had raised against him. He died while his wounds were being attended to. Eadric ruled for a year and a half after Hlothhere and, when Eadric died, various usurpers or foreign kings plundered the kingdom for a certain space of time until the rightful king, Wihtred,[3] son of Egbert, established himself on the throne and freed the nation from foreign invasion by his devotion and zeal.

CHAPTER XXVII (XXV)

KING ECGFRITH, in the year that he died, caused the holy and venerable Cuthbert to be consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne as we have said. Cuthbert[4] had for many years been living a solitary life, in great austerity of mind and body, on a small island called Farne which is in the Ocean, about nine miles away from the church of Lindisfarne. From his earliest years he had always longed for life under a Rule, and it was as a young man that he assumed both the name and the habit of a monk. He first of all entered the monastery of Melrose which is on the banks of the Tweed and was then ruled over by the Abbot Eata, the gentlest and simplest of men who, as has already been mentioned, was afterwards made bishop of Hexham or rather of Lindisfarne. The prior at that time

[3] Wihtred reigned from 690 or 691 until 725. He also published a code of laws which survives (see *EHD*, I. 361–4). It is clear from these laws that heathenism was still a force to be reckoned with in Kent in the late seventh century.

[4] For his account of Cuthbert, Bede depends partly on the Anonymous Life of the saint (*VA*), written between 699 and 705 by a Lindisfarne monk and on his own Prose Life (*VP*) of the saint written about 721. For full commentary see *Two Lives*. Cuthbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham in 685 but was later transferred to Lindisfarne by exchange with Eata. He died on Farne Island on 20 March 687.

memorauimus; cui tempore illo propositus Boisil magnarum uirtutum et prophetici spiritus sacerdos fuit. Huius discipulatui Cudberct humiliter subditus, et scientiam ab eo scripturarum et bonorum operum sumsit exempla.

Qui postquam migrauit ad Dominum, Cudberct eidem monasterio factus propositus plures et auctoritate magistri et exemplo suae actionis regularem instituebat ad uitam. Nec solum ipsi monasterio regularis uitae monita simul et exempla praebebat, sed et uulgus circumpositum longe lateque a uita stultae consuetudinis ad caelestium gaudiorum conuertere curabat amorem. Nam et multi fidem quam habebant iniquis profanabant operibus, et aliqui etiam tempore mortalitatis, neglectis fidei sacramentis quibus erant inbuti, ad erratica idolatriae medicamina concurrebant, quasi missam a Deo Conditore plagam per incantationes uel fylacteria uel alia quaelibet daemonicae artis arcana cohibere ualerent. Ad utrorumque ergo corrigendum errorem crebro ipse de monasterio egressus, aliquoties equo sedens sed saepius pedes incedens, circumpositas ueniebat ad uillas, et uiam ueritatis praedicabat errantibus. Quod ipsum etiam Boisil suo tempore facere consueuerat. Erat quippe moris eo tempore populis Anglorum, ut ueniente in uillam clerico uel presbytero cuncti ad eius imperium Verbum audituri confluerent, libenter ea quae dicerentur audirent, libentius quae audire et intellegere poterant operando sequerentur. Porro Cudbercto tanta erat dicendi peritia, tantus amor persuadendi quae coeperat, tale uultus angelici lumen, ut
p. 270 nullus praesentium latebras ei sui cordis celare prae/sumeret, omnes palam quae gesserant confitendo proferrent, quia nimirum haec eadem illum latere nullo modo putabant, et confessa dignis, ut imperabat, poenitentiae fructibus abstergerent.[1] Solebat autem ea maxime loca peragrare, illis praedicare in uiculis, qui in arduis asperisque montibus procul positi aliis horrori erant ad uisendum, et paupertate pariter ac rusticitate sua doctorum arcebant accessum. Quos tamen ille pio libenter mancipatus labori tanta doctrinae sollertis excolebat industria, ut de monasterio egressus saepe ebdomade integra, aliquando duabus uel tribus, nonnumquam etiam mense pleno domum non rediret, sed demoratus in montanis

[1] Cf. Luc. 3: 8 and Matth. 3: 8.

was Boisil, a priest of great virtue and endowed with a spirit of prophecy. Cuthbert humbly submitted himself to Boisil's instruction and received from him a knowledge of the Scriptures and the example of a life of good works.

After Boisil died, Cuthbert was made prior of the monastery and trained many in life under a Rule, both in his capacity as teacher and by his own example. Not only did he teach those in the monastery how to live under the Rule and show them an example of it at the same time, but he also sought to convert the neighbouring people far and wide from a life of foolish customs to a love of heavenly joys. For many of them profaned the creed they held by wicked deeds and some of them too, in times of plague, would forget the sacred mysteries of the faith into which they had been initiated and take to the false remedies of idolatry, as though they could ward off a blow inflicted by God the Creator by means of incantations or amulets or any other mysteries of devilish art. So he frequently went forth from the monastery to correct the errors of those who sinned in both these ways, sometimes on horseback but more often on foot; he came to the neighbouring villages and preached the way of truth to those who had gone astray, just as Boisil had been accustomed to do in his time. Now it was the custom amongst the English people at that time, when a clerk or a priest came to a village, for all to gather at his command to hear the Word, gladly listening to what was said and still more gladly carrying out in their lives whatever they heard and could understand. So great was Cuthbert's eloquence, so keen his desire to drive home what he had begun to teach, so bright the light of his angelic countenance, that none of those present would presume to hide from him the secrets of their hearts, but they all made open confession of their sins because they realized that these things could certainly never be hidden from him; and they cleansed themselves from the sins they had confessed by fruits worthy of repentance,[1] as he bade them do. Now he used especially to make for those places and preach in those villages that were far away on steep and rugged mountains, which others dreaded to visit and whose poverty and ignorance kept other teachers away. Giving himself up gladly to this devoted labour, he attended to their instruction with such industry that he would leave the monastery and often not return home for a whole week, sometimes even for two or three weeks and even occasionally for a whole month;

plebem rusticam uerbo praedicationis simul et opere uirtutis ad caelestia uocaret.

Cum ergo uenerabilis Domini famulus multos in Mailrosensi monasterio degens annos magnis uirtutum signis effulgeret, transtulit eum reuerentissimus abbas ipsius Eata ad insulam Lindisfarnensium, ut ibi quoque fratribus custodiam disciplinae regularis et auctoritate propositi intimaret et propria actione praemonstraret. Nam et ipsum locum tunc idem reuerentissimus pater abbatis iure regebat. Siquidem a temporibus ibidem antiquis[a] et episcopus cum clero et abbas solebat manere cum monachis, qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent. Quia nimirum Aidan, qui primus eius loci episcopus fuit, cum monachis illuc et ipse monachus aduenies monachicam in eo conuersationem instituit; quomodo et prius beatus pater Augustinus in Cantia fecisse noscitur, scribente ei reuerentissimo papa Gregorio, quod et supra posuimus: 'Sed quia tua fraternitas' inquit 'monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia Anglorum, quae nuper auctore Deo ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conuersationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum
p. 271 ex / his quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia.'[1]

XXVIII [XXVI]

Exim Cudberct crescentibus meritis religiosae intentionis ad anachoreticae quoque contemplationis, quae diximus, silentia secreta peruenit. Verum quia de uita illius et uirtutibus ante annos plures sufficienter et uersibus heroicis et simplici oratione conscripsimus, hoc tantum in praesenti commemorare satis sit, quod aditurus insulam protestatus est fratribus, dicens: 'Si mihi diuina gratia in loco illo donauerit, ut de opere manuum mearum uiuere queam, libens ibi morabor; sin alias, ad uos citissime Deo uolente reuertar.' Erat autem locus et aquae prorsus et frugis et arboris inops, sed et spirituum malignorum frequentia humanae habitationi minus accommodus. Sed ad uotum uiri Dei habitabilis

[a] antiquis ibidem *c*

[1] Bede is quoting from the *Liber Responsionum* which he incorporated into the *History* at i. 27. He inserted this passage into the *VP*, thus proving that he had a copy before 721. See p. 80 and *Two Lives*, pp. 208, 348.

but he would linger among the hill folk, calling the peasants to heavenly things both by the words he said and by his virtuous deeds.

So when the venerable servant of the Lord had passed many years in the monastery at Melrose and had distinguished himself by great tokens of his spiritual powers, the worthy Abbot Eata transferred him to the island of Lindisfarne so that there also, by his authority as prior, he might teach the brothers how to keep the discipline of the Rule and illustrate it by his own behaviour; for the reverend father Eata ruled this place also as abbot at the time. In fact in this monastery, even from ancient times, the bishop had been accustomed to live with his clergy and the abbot to live with the monks, who none the less belonged to the bishop's household, because Aidan who was the first bishop of this place came as a monk and established monastic life there. This also, still earlier, the blessed Father Augustine is known to have done in Kent, when the most reverend Pope Gregory wrote to him as has been related above: 'You, my brother, being conversant with monastic rules, ought not to live apart from your clergy in the English Church, which, by the guidance of God, has lately been converted to the faith; but you ought to institute that manner of life which our fathers followed in the earliest beginning of the Church: none of them said that anything he possessed was his own but they had all things in common.'[1]

CHAPTER XXVIII (XXVI)

LATER on, as Cuthbert grew in merit and in the intensity of his devotion, as has been said before, he attained also to the silence and secrecy of the hermit's life of contemplation. But since I wrote some years ago at length about his life and virtues, both in heroic verse and also in prose, it is enough here merely to mention that when he was about to go to the island, he made this declaration to his brothers: 'If by divine grace it is permitted to me to be able to support myself in this place by the work of my hands, I will gladly stay there; but if matters turn out otherwise, I intend, God willing, to return to you forthwith.' Now this place was utterly lacking in water, corn and trees; and as it was frequented by evil spirits, it was ill suited for human habitation; but it became in all

per omnia factus est; siquidem ad[a] aduentum eius spiritus recessere maligni. Cum autem ipse sibi ibidem expulsis hostibus mansionem angustam circumuallante aggere et domus in ea necessarias iuuante fratrum manu, id est oratorium et habitaculum commune, construxisset, iussit[b] fratres in eiusdem habitaculi pauimento foueam facere; erat autem tellus durissima et saxosa, cui nulla omnino spes uenae fontanae uideretur inesse. Quod dum facerent, ad fidem et preces famuli Dei alio die aqua plena inuenta est, quae usque ad hanc diem sufficientem cunctis illo aduenientibus gratiae suae caelestis copiam ministrat. Sed et ferramenta sibi ruralia cum frumento adferri rogauit, quod dum praeparata terra
p. 272 tempore congruo / seminaret, nil omnino non dico spicarum, sed ne herbae quidem ex eo germinari usque ad aestatis tempora contigit. Vnde uisitantibus se ex more fratribus hordeum iussit adferri, si forte uel natura soli illius uel uoluntas esset superni Largitoris, ut illius frugis ibi potius seges oriretur. Quod dum sibi adlatum ultra omne tempus serendi, ultra omnem spem fructificandi eodem in agro sereret, mox copiosa seges exorta desideratam proprii laboris uiro Dei refectionem praebebat.

Cum ergo multis ibidem annis Deo solitarius seruiret (tanta autem erat altitudo aggeris, quo mansio eius erat uallata, ut caelum tantum ex ea, cuius introitum sitiebat, aspicere posset), contigit ut congregata synodo non parua sub praesentia regis Ecgfridi iuxta fluuium Alne in loco, qui dicitur Adtuifyrdi (quod significat Ad duplex uadum), cui beatae memoriae Theodorus archiepiscopus praesidebat, unanimo omnium consensu ad episcopatum ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis eligeretur. Qui cum multis legatariis ac litteris ad se praemissis nequaquam suo monasterio posset erui, tandem rex ipse praefatus una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumuine necnon et aliis religiosis ac potentibus uiris insulam nauigauit. Conueniunt et de ipsa insula Lindisfarnensi in hoc ipsum multi de fratribus, genu flectunt omnes, adiurant per Dominum, lacrimas fundunt, obsecrant; donec ipsum quoque lacrimis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris atque ad synodum pertrahunt. Quo dum perueniret, quamuis multum renitens,[c] unanima cunctorum uoluntate superatur atque ad suscipiendum

[a] ad *om. c* [b] iussitque *c2* [c] paenitens *c*

respects habitable as the man of God wished, since at his coming the evil spirits departed. Having driven out the foe, with the help of the brothers he built a small dwelling-place surrounded by a rampart which contained the necessary buildings, namely an oratory and a living room for common use. He asked the brothers to dig a well in the floor of the living room, though as the ground was hard and rocky, there seemed to be no hope whatever of a spring. They did so relying upon the faith and prayers of the servant of God, and the next day it was found to be full of water, so that to this day it provides an abundance of its heavenly bounty to all who come there. He also asked for agricultural implements to be brought as well as wheat, and when he had prepared the ground he sowed it at the proper time. But by summer not a single blade, not to mention ears, had sprouted from it. So when the brothers were making their accustomed visit, he ordered them to bring barley to see if perhaps the nature of the soil or the will of the heavenly Giver demanded rather that a crop of this kind should grow there. Though the barley was brought long after the proper time of sowing, he put it in the same ground, when there seemed no hope of any harvest, yet an abundant crop quickly appeared, providing the man of God with the means of supporting himself by his own labour.

He served God in solitude for many years on this island and so high was the rampart that surrounded his dwelling that he could see nothing else but the heavens which he longed to enter. It happened that a synod of no small size was gathered together in the presence of King Ecgfrith near the river Aln in a place called *Adtuifyrdi* (which means 'at the two fords') over which Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory presided, and there Cuthbert was elected to the bishopric of the church of Lindisfarne by the unanimous consent of all. But he could by no means be dragged from his monastery, though many messengers and letters were sent to him. Finally the king himself sailed to the island together with the holy Bishop Trumwine, as well as many other religious and powerful men. Many of the brothers from the island of Lindisfarne came too for the same purpose. They all knelt down and adjured him in the name of the Lord, with tears and prayers, until at last they drew him, also in tears, from his sweet retirement and dragged him to the synod. When he arrived there, he was reluctantly overcome by their unanimous desire and compelled

episcopatus officium collum submittere conpellitur; eo maxime uictus sermone, quod famulus Domini Boisil, cum ei mente prophetica cuncta quae eum essent superuentura patefaceret, anti-
p. 273 stitem quoque eum futurum esse praedixerat. Nec tamen / statim ordinatio decreta, sed peracta hieme quae imminebat, in ipsa sollemnitate paschali completa est Eboraci sub praesentia praefati[a] regis Ecgfridi, conuenientibus ad consecrationem eius septem episcopis, in quibus beatae memoriae Theodorus primatum tenebat. Electus est autem primo in episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae pro Tunbercto, qui ab episcopatu fuerat depositus; sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiae, in qua conuersatus fuerat, dilexit praefici, placuit ut Eata reuerso ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis, cui regendae primo fuerat ordinatus, Cudberct ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet.

Qui susceptum episcopatus gradum ad imitationem beatorum apostolorum uirtutum ornabat operibus. Commissam namque sibi plebem et orationibus protegebat adsiduis et admonitionibus saluberrimis ad caelestia uocabat; et, quod maxime doctores iuuare solet,[b] ea quae agenda docebat ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat.[c] Erat quippe ante omnia diuinae caritatis igne feruidus, patientiae uirtute modestus, orationum deuotioni sollertissime intentus, affabilis omnibus qui ad se consolationis gratia ueniebant; hoc ipsum quoque orationis loco ducens, si infirmis fratribus opem suae exhortationis tribueret, sciens quia, qui dixit 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum', dixit et 'Diliges proximum'.[d1] Erat abstinentiae castigatione insignis, erat gratia conpunctionis semper ad caelestia suspensus. Denique cum sacrificium Deo uictimae salutaris offerret, non eleuata in altum uoce sed profusis ex imo pectore lacrimis Domino sua uota commendabat.

p. 274

XXIX [XXVII]

DUOBUS autem annis in episcopatu peractis, repetiit insulam ac monasterium suum, diuino admonitus oraculo quia dies sibi mortis, uel uitae magis illius, quae sola uita dicenda est, iam

[a] praefati *om. c* [b] solet *om. c2* [c] praemonstraret *c2* [d] proximum tuum *c*

[1] Matth. 22: 37, 39.

to submit his neck to the yoke of the bishopric. But he was chiefly prevailed upon by the words of Boisil the servant of God, who with prophetic insight had foretold all that was to happen to him and had predicted that he would become a bishop. His consecration, however, was not arranged immediately but only after winter, which was then just beginning. It took place at York, at the Easter festival, in the presence of King Ecgfrith; seven bishops attended the consecration, among whom Theodore of blessed memory held precedence. Cuthbert was first of all elected to the bishopric of the church at Hexham in the place of Tunberht, who had been deposed from the episcopate; but because Cuthbert preferred to rule over the church of Lindisfarne in which he had lived, it was arranged that Eata should return to the church at Hexham to which he had originally been consecrated and Cuthbert was to undertake the government of the church at Lindisfarne.

After Cuthbert had been consecrated bishop, his works of virtue, like those of the apostles, became an ornament to his episcopal rank. He protected the people who had been committed to his charge with his constant prayers and summoned them to heavenly things by his most wholesome admonitions. He taught them what should be done but first showed them how to do it by his own example, as it is most helpful for a teacher to do. He was before all things fired with divine love, sober-minded and patient, diligent and urgent in devotion and prayer, and friendly to all who came to him for comfort. He held that to give the weak brethren help and advice was a fit substitute for prayer, for he knew that He who said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God', also said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour'.[1] He was outstanding in his use of penitential abstinence and, through the grace of contrition, he was always intent on heavenly things. For example, when he offered up the saving Victim as a sacrifice to God, he offered his prayer to the Lord not by raising his voice but by shedding tears which sprang from the depths of his heart.

CHAPTER XXIX (XXVII)

AFTER he had spent two years in the bishopric, he returned to his island monastery, for he had been warned by a divine oracle that the day of his death was approaching or rather the day of his

adpropiaret introitus; sicut ipse quoque tempore eodem nonnullis, sed uerbis obscurioribus, quae tamen postmodum manifeste intellegerentur, solita sibi simplicitate pandebat; quibusdam autem hoc idem etiam manifeste reuelabat.

Erat enim presbyter uitae uenerabilis nomine Hereberct, iamdudum uiro Dei spiritalis amicitiae foedere copulatus; qui in insula stagni illius pergrandis, de quo Deruuentionis fluuii primordia erumpunt,[1] uitam ducens solitariam, annis singulis eum uisitare et monita ab eo perpetuae salutis audire solebat. Hic cum audiret eum ad ciuitatem Lugubaliam deuenisse, uenit ex more, cupiens salutaribus eius exhortationibus ad superna desideria magis magisque accendi. Qui dum sese alterutrum caelestis uitae[2] poculis debriarent, dixit inter alia antistes: 'Memento, frater Heriberct, ut modo quicquid opus habes me interroges mecumque loquaris; postquam enim ab inuicem digressi fuerimus, non ultra nos in hoc saeculo carnis obtutibus inuicem aspiciemus. Certus sum namque, quia tempus meae resolutionis instat, et uelox est depositio tabernaculi mei.'[3] Qui haec audiens prouolutus est eius uestigiis, et fusis cum gemitu lacrimis 'Obsecro' inquit 'per Dominum, ne me deseras, sed tui memor sis fidissimi sodalis, rogesque supernam pietatem ut, cui simul in terris seruiuimus, ad
p. 275 eius uidendam gratiam simul / transeamus ad caelos. Nosti enim, quia ad tui oris imperium semper uiuere studui, et quicquid ignorantia uel fragilitate deliqui, aeque ad tuae uoluntatis examen mox emendare curaui.' Incubuit precibus antistes, statimque edoctus in spiritu inpetrasse se, quod petebat a Domino,'Surge,' inquit 'frater mi, et noli plorare, sed gaudio gaude, quia quod rogauimus superna nobis clementia donauit.'

Cuius promissi et prophetiae ueritatem sequens rerum astruxit euentus; quia et digredientes ab inuicem non se ultra corporaliter uiderunt, et uno eodemque die, hoc est tertio decimo kalendarum Aprilium, egredientes e corpore spiritus eorum mox beata inuicem uisione coniuncti sunt, atque angelico ministerio pariter ad regnum caeleste translati. Sed Heriberct diutina prius infirmitate decoquitur, illa (ut credibile est) dispensatione dominicae pietatis, ut, si quid minus haberet meriti a beato Cudbercto, suppleret hoc

[1] Derwentwater. The island is still called St. Herbert's Isle.

[2] *VP* reads *sapientiae*, which makes better sense than *vitae*. The latter may be due to a slip in copying.

[3] 2 Pet. 1: 14.

entrance into that life which alone can be called life. This he made known to certain people with his usual candour but in obscure language which they only clearly understood at a later time; to others, however, he revealed it openly.

Now there was a priest of holy life named Herbert, who had long been bound to Cuthbert, the man of God, by the bonds of spiritual friendship. He had been living a solitary life in an island of that large mere from which spring the sources of the river Derwent.[1] He used to come to Cuthbert every year and listen to his teaching concerning everlasting salvation. When he heard that Cuthbert was visiting the city of Lugubalia (Carlisle), he went there according to his custom, hoping to be inspired more and more to heavenly desires by his helpful advice. While they were refreshing each other with draughts of heavenly living waters,[2] Cuthbert said, 'Brother Herbert, remember to ask me now whatever you need to know and to discuss with me, because after we have parted we shall never again see each other in this world with the eyes of the flesh. For I am certain that the time of my departure and of laying aside my earthly tabernacle is at hand.'[3] When Herbert heard this, he fell at his feet and with sighs and tears he said, 'I beseech you by the Lord not to desert me but to remember your most faithful companion and ask the merciful Lord that, as we served Him together on earth, we may journey together to the skies to behold His grace in heaven. For you know that I have always sought to live in accordance with your spoken commands and whatever I have done amiss through ignorance and weakness, I have taken equal care to amend at once according to your judgement and will.' The bishop gave himself up to prayer and forthwith, having learned in spirit that he had gained what he sought from the Lord, he said, 'Rise up, brother, and do not weep but be very glad because the Lord in His mercy has granted what we asked of Him.'

The issue of events confirmed the truth of the prophecy for, after they had separated, they did not see each other in the flesh but their spirits left their bodies on one and the same day, namely 20 March; together they beheld the beatific vision and together they were borne to the heavenly kingdom by ministering spirits. But Herbert was first wasted by a long illness, as we may well believe, by the decree of the divine grace, so that if in any way he had less merit than the blessed Cuthbert, the punishment and

castigans longae[a] egritudinis dolor; quatinus aequatus gratia suo intercessori, sicut uno eodemque tempore cum eo de corpore egredi, ita etiam una atque indissimili sede perpetuae beatitudinis meruisset recipi.

Obiit autem pater reuerentissimus in insula Farne, multum deprecatus fratres ut ibi quoque sepeliretur, ubi non paruo tempore pro Domino militaret; at tamen tandem eorum precibus uictus assensum dedit, ut ad insulam Lindisfarnensium relatus in ecclesia deponeretur. Quod dum factum esset, episcopatum ecclesiae illius anno uno seruabat uenerabilis antistes Uilfrid, donec eligeretur, qui pro Cudbercto antistes ordinari deberet.

Ordinatus est autem post haec Eadberct, uir scientia scripturarum diuinarum simul et praeceptorum caelestium obseruantia ac maxime elimosynarum operatione / insignis; ita ut iuxta legem
p. 276 omnibus annis decimam non solum quadrupedum, uerum etiam frugum omnium atque pomorum necnon et uestimentorum partem pauperibus daret.

XXX [XXVIII]

VOLENS autem latius demonstrare diuina dispensatio, quanta in gloria uir Domini Cudberct post mortem uiueret, cuius ante mortem uita sublimis crebris etiam miraculorum patebat indiciis, transactis sepulturae eius annis XI, inmisit in animo fratrum, ut tollerent ossa illius, quae more mortuorum consumto iam et in puluerem redacto corpore reliquo sicca inuenienda putabant, atque in nouo recondita loculo in eodem quidem loco sed supra pauimentum dignae uenerationis gratia locarent. Quod dum sibi placuisse Eadbercto antistiti suo referrent, adnuit consilio eorum, iussitque ut die depositionis eius hoc facere meminissent. Fecerunt autem ita, et aperientes sepulchrum inuenerunt corpus totum, quasi adhuc uiueret, integrum et flexibilibus artuum conpagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similius; sed et uestimenta omnia, quibus indutum erat, non solum intemerata uerum etiam prisca nouitate et claritudine miranda parebant. Quod ubi uidere fratres, nimio mox timore perculsi, festinarunt referre antistiti quae inuenerant. Qui tum forte in remotiore ab ecclesia loco refluis undique

[a] longe *c*

pain of a long illness might make up for it; and being made equal in grace to his intercessor, he might be counted worthy to depart from the body with him at one and the same hour, and also to be received into one and the same dwelling of perpetual bliss.

The most reverend father died on the island of Farne, having urgently prayed his brothers that he might be buried in the place where he had fought for the Lord for no small space of time. At length, however, he yielded to their entreaties and consented to be carried back to the island of Lindisfarne and buried in the church there. After this was done the reverend Bishop Wilfrid held the bishopric at that church for a year until the consecration of Cuthbert's successor.

Afterwards Eadberht was consecrated, a man renowned as well for his knowledge of the divine Scriptures as for his observance of the heavenly commands, especially in almsgiving: in accordance with the law he gave to the poor every year a tenth part, not only of his beasts but also of his corn and fruit and his garments as well.

CHAPTER XXX

BUT the divine providence wished to show still further in what glory Saint Cuthbert lived after his death, whose sublime life had been attested before his death by frequent signs and miracles; so He put it into the heart of the brothers, eleven years after his burial, to take his bones—which they expected to find quite dry, the rest of the body, as is usual with the dead, having decayed away and turned to dust—and to put them in a new coffin in the same place, but above the floor, so that they might be worthily venerated. When they reported their decision to Eadberht their bishop, he consented to their plan and ordered them to carry it out on the anniversary of his burial. They did so and, opening the grave, they found the body intact and whole as if it were still alive, the joints of the limbs flexible and much more like a sleeping than a dead man. Moreover all his garments in which his limbs had been clothed were not only undefiled but seemed to be perfectly new and wonderfully bright. When the brothers saw this, they were struck with great fear and hastened to tell the bishop what they had found. He happened to be alone in a place remote from the church, surrounded on every side by the sea at

pelagi fluctibus cincto solitarius manebat. In hoc etenim semper Quadragesimae tempus agere, in hoc quadraginta ante dominicum natale dies in magna continentiae, orationis et lacrimarum de-
p. 277 uotione transigere solebat; in quo etiam uenerabilis / prodecessor eius Cudberct, priusquam insulam Farne peteret, aliquandiu secretus Domino militabat.

Adtulerunt autem ei et partem indumentorum, quae corpus sanctum ambierant. Quae cum ille et munera gratanter acciperet et miracula libenter audiret (nam et ipsa indumenta quasi patris adhuc corpori circumdata miro deosculabatur affectu), 'Noua' inquit 'indumenta corpori pro his quae tulistis circumdate, et sic reponite in arca quam parastis. Scio autem certissime, quia non diu uacuus remanebit locus ille, qui tanta miraculi caelestis gratia sacratus est; et quam beatus est, cui in eo facultatem quiescendi Dominus totius beatitudinis auctor atque largitor praestare dignabitur!' Haec et huiusmodi plura ubi multis cum lacrimis et magna conpunctione antistes lingua etiam tremente conpleuit, fecerunt fratres ut iusserat, et inuolutum nouo amictu corpus nouaque in theca reconditum supra pauimentum sanctuarii posuerunt.

Nec mora, Deo dilectus antistes Eadberct morbo correptus est aceruo, ac per dies crescente multumque ingrauescente ardore languoris, non multo post, id est pridie nonas Maias, etiam ipse migrauit ad Dominum. Cuius corpus in sepulchro benedicti patris Cudbercti ponentes, adposuerunt desuper arcam, in qua incorrupta eiusdem patris membra locauerant. In quo etiam loco signa sanitatum aliquoties facta meritis amborum testimonium ferunt; e quibus aliqua in libro uitae illius olim memoriae mandauimus. Sed et in hac historia quaedam, quae[a] nos nuper audisse contigit, superadicere[b] commodum duximus.[1]

p. 278

XXXI [XXIX]

ERAT in eodem monasterio frater quidam, nomine Badudegn, tempore non pauco hospitum ministerio deseruiens, qui nunc usque superest, testimonium habens ab uniuersis fratribus cunctisque superuenientibus hospitibus, quod uir esset multae pietatis ac religionis, iniunctoque sibi officio supernae tantum mercedis gratia subditus.[c] Hic cum quadam die lenas siue saga, quibus in

[a] unum quod *c* [b] nunc superadicere *c* [c] subditur *c*

[1] The miracles related in chapters 31 and 32 do not occur in the *VP* but are often attached to later manuscripts of the Life.

flood tide. Here he always used to spend the season of Lent as well as the forty days before the Lord's birthday, in deep devotion, with abstinence, prayers, and tears. In this place his venerable predecessor Cuthbert fought for a while for the Lord in solitude before he went to Farne Island.

So they brought him part of the clothes which had wrapped the holy body. He joyfully received these gifts and gladly listened to the story of the miracle, kissing the garments with great affection as though they were still wrapped round the father's body, and he said, 'Put fresh garments around the body instead of those you have brought and replace it thus in the coffin which you have prepared. I know most assuredly that the place which has been consecrated by so great a miracle of heavenly grace will not long remain empty. And greatly blessed is he to whom the Lord, the Author and Giver of all blessings, shall deign to grant the right to rest therein.' When the bishop had finished saying these words with many tears and great emotion and trembling voice, the brothers did as he commanded; they wrapped the body in a new garment, put it in a new coffin and placed it on the floor of the sanctuary.

Very soon Bishop Eadberht, beloved of God, was attacked by a dire disease and the violence of the illness increased from day to day. Not long afterwards, that is on 6 May, he too went to be with the Lord. His body was placed in the sepulchre of the blessed Father Cuthbert and they put over it the coffin in which they had laid the incorrupt limbs of the father. It is related that miracles of healing often happened in this place, bearing testimony to the merits of them both. Some of these I have recorded in my book about his life; but I have judged it convenient to add to this book some which I have recently chanced to hear.

CHAPTER XXXI (XXIX)

THERE was in the same monastery a brother named Baduthegn,[1] who is still alive and who for a long time had acted as guest-master. It is the testimony of all the brothers and the guests who visited there that he was a man of great piety and devotion, who carried out his appointed duties solely for the sake of his heavenly reward. One day, after he had been down to the sea, washing the

hospitale utebatur, in mari lauasset,[a] rediens domum, repentina medio itinere molestia tactus est, ita ut corruens in terram et aliquandiu pronus iacens uix tandem resurgeret. Resurgens autem sensit dimidiam corporis sui partem a capite usque ad pedes paralysis languore depressam, et maximo cum labore baculo innitens domum peruenit. Crescebat morbus paulatim et nocte superueniente grauior effectus est, ita ut die redeunte[b] uix ipse per se exsurgere aut incedere ualeret. Quo affectus incommodo, concepit utillimum mente consilium, ut ad ecclesiam, quoquo modo posset, perueniens, intraret ad tumbam reuerentissimi patris Cudbercti, ibique genibus flexis supplex supernam pietatem rogaret, ut uel ab huiuscemodi languore, si hoc sibi utile esset, liberaretur, uel, si se tali molestia diutius castigari diuina prouidente gratia oporteret, patienter dolorem ac placida mente sustineret inlatum. Fecit igitur, ut animo disposuerat, et inbecilles artus baculo sustentans intrauit ecclesiam, ac prosternens se ad
p. 279 corpus uiri Dei, pia inten/tione per eius auxilium Dominum sibi propitium fieri precabatur. Atque inter preces uelut in soporem solutus, sentit,[c] ut ipse postea referre erat solitus, quasi magnam latamque manum caput sibi in parte qua dolebat tetigisse, eodemque tactu totam illam, quae languore pressa fuerat, corporis sui partem, paulatim fugiente dolore ac sanitate subsequente, ad pedes usque[d] pertransisse. Quo facto, mox euigilans, sanissimus surrexit, ac pro sua sanitate Domino gratias denuo referens, quid erga se actum esset fratribus indicauit; cunctisque congaudentibus ad ministerium, quod sollicitus exhibere solebat, quasi flagello probante castigatior rediit. Sed et indumenta, quibus Deo dicatum corpus Cudbercti uel uiuum antea uel postea defunctum uestierant, etiam ipsa a gratia curandi non uacarunt, sicut in uolumine uitae et uirtutum eius quisque legerit, inueniet.

XXXII [XXX]

Nec silentio praetereundum, quod ante triennium per reliquias eius factum, nuper mihi per ipsum in quo factum est fratrem innotuit.[1] Est autem factum in monasterio, quod[e] iuxta amnem Dacore constructum ab eo cognomen accepit, cui tunc uir religiosus

[a] mare labasset *c* [b] redeunte die *c2* [c] sensit *c* [d] ad pedes usque *om. c* [e] quod *om. c*

[1] The opening sentence echoes phrases from Gregory's *Dialogues* iv. 57.

blankets and coverings which were used in the guest house, he was seized on the way back with a sudden pain so that he fell to the ground and lay there prone for a long time, only rising again with difficulty. As he rose, he felt that one side of his body was afflicted with paralysis from head to foot and it was only with a great effort that he reached home, leaning on a stick. The disease gradually increased and, by nightfall, it had become still worse, so that on the next day he could scarcely rise or walk by himself. In his affliction he conceived the wise plan of going to the church as best he could, making his way to the tomb of the reverend Father Cuthbert; there, on bended knees, he intended humbly to beseech the mercy of the Lord so that he might either be delivered from his disease, if this were good for him, or if the divine grace decreed that he must endure so great an affliction still longer, that he might bear the pain that was laid upon him with patience and a quiet mind. He did as he had planned and, supporting his weak limbs with a staff, he entered the church and prostrated himself before the body of the man of God, praying with devout fervour that the Lord, through Cuthbert's intercession, would be propitious to him. While he was praying he seemed to fall into a deep sleep and, as he afterwards used to relate, he felt a great broad hand touch his head where the pain lay; the touch also passed over all that part of his body which had been afflicted by the disease, right down to his feet; slowly the pain fled and health was restored. After this he quickly awoke and rose up completely cured. He gave thanks to God for his recovery and told his brothers what had happened to him; to the joy of them all he returned to the office which he had been accustomed to fulfil so faithfully, yet still more purified and chastened as though by a scourge. The garments too, which had covered the dedicated body of Cuthbert while he was alive and after his death, did not lack the grace of healing, as anyone who reads may find in the book of his life and miracles.

CHAPTER XXXII (XXX)

NOR must I pass over in silence a cure which took place three years ago through his relics and was told me recently by the very brother to whom it happened.[1] It occurred in a monastery built near the river Dacre from which it received its name, over which

Suidberct abbatis iure praefuit. Erat in eo quidam adulescens, cui tumor deformis palpebram oculi fedauerat. Qui cum per dies crescens oculo interitum minaretur, curabant medici hunc adpositis pigmentorum fomentis emollire, nec ualebant. Quidam abscidendum esse docebant, alii hoc fieri metu maioris periculi uetabant. Cumque tempore non pauco frater praefatus tali incom-
p. 280 modo laboraret, neque inminens / oculo exitium humana manus curare ualeret, quin per dies augesceret, contigit eum subito diuinae pietatis gratia per sanctissimi patris Cudbercti reliquias sanari.

Nam quando fratres sui corpus ipsius post[a] multos sepulturae annos incorruptum reppererunt, tulerunt partem de capillis, quam more reliquiarum rogantibus amicis dare uel ostendere in signum miraculi possent. Harum particulam reliquiarum eo tempore habebat penes se quidam de presbyteris eiusdem monasterii nomine Thrydred, qui nunc ipsius monasterii abbas est. Qui cum die quadam ingressus ecclesiam aperuisset thecam reliquiarum, ut portionem earum roganti amico praestaret, contigit et ipsum adulescentem, cui oculus languebat, in eadem tunc ecclesia adesse. Cumque presbyter portionem quantam uoluit amico dedisset, residuum dedit adulescenti, ut suo in loco reponeret. At ille salubri instinctu admonitus, cum accepisset capillos sancti capitis, adposuit palpebrae languenti, et aliquandiu tumorem illum infestum horum adpositione conprimere ac mollire curabat. Quo facto, reliquias, ut iussus erat,[b] sua in theca recondidit, credens suum oculum capillis uiri Dei, quibus adtactus erat, ocius esse sanandum. Neque eum sua fides fefellit (erat enim, ut referre est solitus, tunc hora circiter secunda diei), sed cum alia, quaeque dies illa exigebat, cogitaret et faceret, inminente hora ipsius diei sexta repente contingens oculum ita sanum cum palpebra inuenit, ac si nil umquam in eo deformitatis ac tumoris apparuisset.

LIBER QUARTUS EXPLICIT

[a] per *c* [b] iusserat *c*

the religious man Swithberht then ruled as abbot. In it there was a certain young man whose eyelid was disfigured by an unsightly tumour, which grew daily larger until it threatened the loss of the eye. Though the doctors sought to reduce it by applying fomentations and ointments, they could do nothing. Some thought it should be cut away, while others opposed this course for fear of doing greater harm. The brother had been suffering from this affliction for a long time, and no human aid could cure it; the trouble increased daily and the loss of his eye was imminent, when it happened that he was suddenly healed, thanks to the mercy of the Lord, by the relics of the holy father Cuthbert. When the brothers had found his body uncorrupt after being buried many years, they had taken part of the hair either to give as relics to their friends who asked for them or to show as a proof of the miracle.

One of the priests of the monastery named Thrythred who is now abbot there, had at that time a small part of these relics in his possession. As he entered the church one day and was opening the casket of relics to give part of them to a friend who had asked for some, the young man with the diseased eye happened to be within. The priest gave his friend as much as he wanted and then handed over the rest to the youth to put back in the casket. The latter received the hairs of the holy head and, moved by a timely impulse, applied them to his diseased eyelid, trying for some time to reduce and soften the swelling by their application. Having done this, he replaced the relics in the casket as he had been bidden, believing that his eye would soon be healed by the hair of the man of God which had touched it. Nor was his faith in vain. It was then, as he used to relate, about eight in the morning. After being occupied in mind and body with the duties of the day, he suddenly touched his eye about midday and found that the eyelid was as sound as if there had never been any deformity or tumour on it.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK

LIBER QVINTVS

I. Vt Oidiluald successor Cudbercti in anachoretica uita laborantibus in mari fratribus tempestatem orando sedauerit.

II. Vt episcopus Iohannes[a] mutum benedicendo curauerit.

III. Vt puellam languentem orando sanauerit.

IIII. Vt coniugem comitis infirmam aqua benedicta curauerit.

V. Vt item[b] puerum comitis orando a morte reuocauerit.

VI. Vt clericum suum cadendo contritum aeque orando ac benedicendo a morte reuocauerit.

VII. Vt Ceadualla rex Occidentalium Saxonum baptizandus Romam uenerit, sed et successor eius[c] Ini eadem beatorum apostolorum limina deuotus adierit.

VIII. Vt Theodoro defuncto archiepiscopatus gradum Berctuald susceperit, et inter plurimos quos ordinauit etiam Tobiam uirum doctissimum Hrofensi ecclesiae fecerit antistitem.

VIIII. Vt Ecgberct uir sanctus ad praedicandum in Germania uenire uoluerit, nec ualuerit; porro Uictberct aduenerit quidem, sed quia nec ipse aliquid profecisset, rursus in Hiberniam unde uenerat redierit.

X. Vt Uilbrord[d] in Fresia praedicans multos ad Christum[e] conuerterit, et ut socii eius Heuualdi sint martyrium passi.

XI. Vt uiri uenerabiles[f] Suidberct in Brittanis, Uilbrord[d] Romae sint in Fresiam ordinati episcopi.

XII. Vt quidam in prouincia Nordanhymbrorum a mortuis resurgens multa et tremenda et desideranda quae uiderat narrauerit.

XIII. Vt econtra alter[g] ad mortem ueniens oblatum sibi a daemonibus codicem suorum uiderit peccatorum.

XIIII. Vt item alius moriturus deputatum sibi apud inferos locum poenarum uiderit.

XV. Vt plurimae Scottorum ecclesiae instante Adamnano catholicum pascha susceperint, utque idem librum de locis sanctis scripserit.

XVI. Quae in eodem libro de loco dominicae natiuitatis, passionis et resurrectionis commemorauerit.

XVII. Quae item de loco ascensionis dominicae et sepulchris patriarcharum.

[a] Iohannis *c* [b] idem *c* [c] eius *om. c* [d] Uilbrod *c*
[e] Dominum *c* [f] uir uenerabilis *c* [g] alius *c*

BOOK V

1. How Oethelwald, Cuthbert's successor as hermit, calmed a storm by his prayers when his brethren were struggling at sea.
2. How Bishop John cured a dumb man with his blessing.
3. How he healed a sick girl by his prayers.
4. How he cured with consecrated water the sick wife of a *gesith.*
5. How he recalled the servant of a *gesith* from death by his prayers.
6. How by his prayers and his blessing he saved from death a cleric who had been injured by a fall.
7. How Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons, went to Rome to be baptized; and further how his devout successor Ine also visited the shrines of the blessed Apostles.
8. How, when Theodore died, Berhtwold was made archbishop; and how, amongst many others whom he consecrated, he appointed the learned Tobias to be bishop of the church at Rochester.
9. How a holy man named Egbert planned to go and preach in Germany but was prevented; how Wihtberht did go but, because he made so little progress, returned to Ireland whence he had come.
10. How Willibrord preached in Frisia and converted many to Christ; and how his companions the Hewalds suffered martyrdom.
11. How the venerable Swithberht and Willibrord were consecrated bishops for Frisia; the one in Britain and the other in Rome.
12. How a certain man, a Northumbrian, rose from the dead and related many things he had seen, some to be dreaded and some desired.
13. How, on the other hand, another man when near death was shown a book by devils, in which his sins were recorded.
14. How someone else, just before his death, saw the place of punishment appointed him in hell.
15. How most of the Irish Churches, at the instance of Adamnan, accepted the catholic Easter; and how the latter wrote a book about the holy places.
16. How he described in that book the place of the Lord's birth, of His passion, and of His resurrection.
17. What he wrote about the place of the Lord's ascension and about the tombs of the patriarchs.

XVIII. Vt Australes Saxones episcopos acceperint Eadberctum et Eollan,[a] Occidentales Danihelem[b] et Aldhelmum; et de scriptis eiusdem Aldhelmi.

XIX. Vt Coinred Merciorum et Offa Orientalium Saxonum rex in monachico habitu Romae uitam finierint, et de uita uel obitu Uilfridi episcopi.

XX. Vt religioso abbati Hadriano Albinus, Uilfrido in episcopatum Acca successerit.

XXI. Vt Ceolfrid abbas regi Pictorum architectos ecclesiae, simul et epistulam de catholico pascha uel de tonsura miserit.

XXII. Vt Hiienses monachi cum subiectis sibi monasteriis canonicum praedicante Ecgbercto celebrare pascha coeperint.

XXIII. Qui sit in praesenti status gentis Anglorum uel Brittaniae totius.

XXIIII. Recapitulatio chronica totius operis; et de persona auctoris.

INCIPIT IPSE LIBER LEGE FELIX

[a] Eallan *m* [b] Danielum *c*

18. How the South Saxons received Eadberht and Ealla as bishops and the West Saxons received Daniel and Aldhelm; and about Aldhelm's writings.

19. How Cenred, king of the Mercians, and Offa, king of the East Saxons, ended their lives at Rome in monastic habit; and about the life and death of Bishop Wilfrid.

20. How Albinus succeeded Abbot Hadrian, and how Acca succeeded Wilfrid as bishop.

21. How Abbot Ceolfrith sent church builders to the king of the Picts and also sent a letter about the catholic Easter and the tonsure.

22. How the monks of Iona and their subject monasteries began to celebrate the canonical Easter through the instruction of Egbert.

23. The present state of the English race and of all Britain.

24. Chronological summary of the whole work; and about the person of the author.

BEGINNING OF BOOK V GOOD LUCK TO THE READER!

I

p. 281 SUCCESSIT autem uiro Domini Cudbercto in exercenda uita solitaria, quam in insula Farne ante episcopatus sui tempora gerebat, uir uenerabilis Oidiluald,[1] qui multis annis in monasterio, quod dicitur Inhrypum, acceptum presbyteratus officium condignis gradu ipse consecrabat actibus. Cuius ut meritum uel uita qualis fuerit certius clarescat, unum eius narro miraculum, quod mihi unus e fratribus propter quos et in quibus patratum est ipse narrauit, uidelicet Gudfrid,[2] uenerabilis Christi famulus et presbyter, qui etiam postea fratribus eiusdem ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis, in qua educatus est, abbatis iure praefuit.

'Veni' inquit 'cum duobus fratribus aliis ad insulam Farne, loqui desiderans cum reuerentissimo patre Oidilualdo. Cumque allocutione eius refecti et benedictione petita domum rediremus, ecce subito, positis nobis in medio mari, interrupta est serenitas qua uehebamur, et tanta ingruit tamque fera tempestatis hiems,[a] ut neque uelo neque remigio quicquam proficere, neque aliud quam mortem sperare ualeremus. Cumque diu multum cum uento
p. 282 pelagoque frustra / certantes, tandem post terga respiceremus, si forte uel ipsam de qua egressi eramus insulam aliquo conamine repetere possemus, inuenimus nos undiqueuersum pari tempestate praeclusos, nullamque spem nobis in nobis restare salutis. Vbi autem longius uisum leuauimus, uidimus in ipsa insula Farne egressum de latibulis suis amantissimum Deo patrem Oidilualdum iter nostrum inspicere. Audito etenim fragore procellarum ac feruentis oceani, exierat uidere quid nobis accideret; cumque nos in labore ac disperatione positos cerneret, flectebat genua sua ad patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi[3] pro nostra uita et salute precaturus. Et cum orationem conpleret, simul tumida aequora placauit,[4] adeo ut cessante per omnia saeuitia tempestatis, secundi nos uenti ad terram usque per plana maris terga comitarentur.

[a] tempestas hiemis *c*

[1] This Oethelwald appears (under the form Oedilwald) in an early ninth-century list of benefactors of the church at Lindisfarne, known as the *Liber Vitae*, under the heading of anchorite (*Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*. Facsimile of MS. Brit. Mus. Cott. Domit. vii, Surtees Society, CXXXVI, 1923, fol. 15).

CHAPTER I

CUTHBERT, the man of God, was succeeded in the solitary life which he lived on Farne Island before he became a bishop by the venerable Oethelwald.[1] The latter, after he had been ordained priest, sanctified his office for many years in the monastery at Ripon by deeds worthy of that rank. In order to illustrate his merits and the kind of life he lived, I will relate a miracle which was told me by one of the brothers for whose benefit and among whom it was performed, a venerable servant and priest of Christ named Guthfrith,[2] who afterwards presided as abbot over the brothers of the church at Lindisfarne where he had been brought up.

'I came', he said, 'with two other brothers to Farne Island, wishing to talk to the venerable father Oethelwald. After we had been refreshed by his words and had asked his blessing, we were returning home, when suddenly, while we were in the midst of the sea, the calm weather which had accompanied us was broken, and so fierce a wintry tempest arose that we could make no progress either by sailing or rowing and expected nothing but death. After we had struggled for a long time in vain against wind and sea, we looked back to see if perhaps we could, by any effort, at least return to the island we had left. But we found that we were shut in by the storm on every hand, and there was no hope of safety by our own efforts. However, looking into the distance, we saw Oethelwald, the beloved of God, had emerged from his retreat on Farne Island and was watching our progress; for he had heard the crashing of the storm and the boiling ocean and had come out to see what was happening to us. When he saw our desperate plight, he bowed his knees and prayed to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ[3] for our life and safety. No sooner was his prayer ended than he had calmed the swelling main;[4] so that the fierce tempest ceased on all sides and favourable winds carried us over a smooth sea to land.

[1] When Bede wrote his prologue to the *VP*, Guthfrith was sacrist of the church and promised to add Bede's name to the *album congregationis* of the Lindisfarne church; probably this was the predecessor of the *Liber Vitae*. Cf. *Two Lives*, p. 342.

[3] Eph. 3: 14.

[4] An echo of Virgil, *Aen.* i. 142.

Cumque euadentes ad terram nauiculam quoque nostram ab undis exportaremus, mox eadem, quae nostri gratia modicum siluerat, tempestas rediit, et toto illo die multum[a] furere non cessauit; ut palam daretur intellegi, quia modica illa quae prouenerat intercapedo quietis ad uiri Dei preces nostrae euasionis gratia caelitus donata est.'

Mansit autem idem uir Dei in insula Farne XII annis, ibidemque defunctus, sed in insula Lindisfarnensi iuxta praefatorum corpora episcoporum in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri sepultus est. Gesta uero sunt haec temporibus Aldfridi regis, qui post fratrem suum[b] Ecgfridum genti Nordanhymbrorum X et VIIII annis praefuit.

II

CUIUS[c] regni principio defuncto Eata episcopo, Iohannes uir
p. 283 sanctus Hagustaldensis ecclesiae prae/sulatum suscepit. De quo plura uirtutum miracula qui eum familiariter nouerunt dicere solent, et maxime uir reuerentissimus ac ueracissimus Bercthun, diaconus quondam eius, nunc autem abbas monasterii quod uocatur Inderauuda, id est In Silua Derorum;[1] e quibus aliqua memoriae tradere commodum duximus.

Est mansio quaedam secretior, nemore raro et uallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi ecclesia, idest unius ferme miliarii et dimidii spatio interfluente Tino amne separata, habens clymiterium[2] sancti Michahelis archangeli, in qua uir Dei saepius, ubi oportunitas adridebat temporis, et maxime in Quadragesima, manere cum paucis atque orationibus ac lectioni quietus operam dare consuerat. Cumque tempore quodam, incipiente Quadragesima, ibidem mansurus adueniret, iussit suis quaerere pauperem aliquem maiore infirmitate uel inopia grauatum, quem secum habere illis diebus ad faciendam elimosynam possent; sic enim semper facere solebat. Erat autem in uilla non longe posita quidam adulescens mutus, episcopo notus (nam saepius ante illum percipiendae elimosynae gratia uenire consueuerat), qui ne unum quidem sermonem umquam profari poterat, sed et scabiem tantam

[a] multum *om. c* [b] suum *om. c2* [c] huius *c*

[1] Now Beverley. This latter name dates back at least to the eleventh century.

[2] The meaning of *clymiterium* (found only here) is uncertain but it seems clear from the context that it means an oratory. The Old English version translates it *gebædhus and ciricean*, 'prayer-house and church'. The dwelling described here is similar to that which Chad built himself near Lichfield as a place of retirement for himself and a few other monks. Here too there was an oratory (iv. 3). The site is identified by Plummer (II. 274) with St. John's Lee, but

As soon as we had landed and carried our little vessel up from the sea, the tempest, which had been calmed for our sakes for a short time, returned and continued to rage furiously all that day; so it was plain to see that the short interval of calm which had occurred was granted by heaven for our escape, in answer to the prayers of the man of God.

Oethelwald remained on Farne Island for twelve years and died there; but he was buried in the church of St. Peter the apostle on the island of Lindisfarne, near the bodies of the bishops mentioned above. These incidents took place in the time of King Aldfrith, who succeeded his brother Ecgfrith and ruled over the Northumbrians for nineteen years.

CHAPTER II

At the beginning of Aldfrith's reign, Bishop Eata died and was succeeded as bishop of the church at Hexham by a holy man named John. Many miracles were told of him by those who knew him well and especially by the most reverend and truthful Berhthun, once his deacon but now abbot of the monastery called *Inderauuda*[1] (Beverley), that is, 'in the wood of the men of Deira'. We have thought it fitting to preserve the memory of some of these miracles.

There is a remote dwelling, enclosed by a rampart and amid scattered trees, not far from the church at Hexham, about a mile and a half away, and separated from it by the river Tyne. It has an oratory[2] dedicated to St. Michael the archangel in which the man of God with a few others very often used to devote himself to prayer and reading when a favourable opportunity occurred, and especially in Lent. On one occasion, when he had come there to stay at the beginning of Lent, he told his followers to seek out some poor man who was afflicted by a serious illness or in dire need, to have with them during these days and to benefit from their charity; for this was his constant custom. There was in a village not far away a dumb youth known to the bishop, who often used to come to him to receive alms and had never been able to utter a single word. Besides this, he had so much scabbiness and scurf

a more likely site is at Warden, less than two miles upstream, also on the opposite bank of the Tyne, with a church dedicated to St. Michael containing Anglo-Saxon work (Taylor, II. 632–4).

ac furfures habebat in capite, ut nil umquam capillorum ei in superiore parte capitis nasci ualeret; tantum in circuitu horridi crines stare uidebantur. Hunc ergo adduci praecepit episcopus, et ei in conseptis eiusdem mansionis paruum tugurium fieri, in quo manens cotidianam ab eis stipem acciperet. Cumque una Quadragesimae esset impleta septimana, sequente dominica iussit ad se intrare pauperem; ingresso linguam proferre ex ore ac sibi ostendere iussit, / et adprehendens eum de mento, signum sanctae crucis linguae eius inpressit. Quam signatam reuocare in os, et loqui illum praecepit, 'Dicito' inquiens 'aliquod uerbum; dicito *gae*,' quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum adfirmandi et consentiendi, id est 'etiam'. Dixit ille statim, soluto uinculo linguae, quod iussus erat. Addidit episcopus nomina litterarum: 'Dicito A'; dixit ille 'A'. 'Dicito B'; dixit ille et hoc. Cumque singula litterarum nomina dicente episcopo responderet, addidit et syllabas ac uerba dicenda illi proponere. Et cum in omnibus consequenter responderet, praecepit eum sententias longiores dicere, et fecit; neque ultra cessauit tota die illa et nocte sequente, quantum uigilare potuit, ut ferunt qui praesentes fuere, loqui aliquid et arcana suae cogitationis ac uoluntatis, quod numquam antea potuit, aliis ostendere, in similitudinem illius diu claudi, qui curatus ab apostolis Petro et Iohanne exiliens stetit et ambulabat, et intrauit cum illis in Templum, ambulans et exiliens[a] et laudans Dominum,[1] gaudens nimirum uti officio pedum, quo tanto erat tempore destitutus. Cuius sanitati congaudens episcopus praecepit medico etiam sanandae scabredini capitis eius curam adhibere. Fecit ut iusserat, et iuuante benedictione ac precibus antistitis, nata est cum sanitate cutis uenusta species capillorum, factusque est iuuenis limpidus uultu et loquella promtus, capillis pulcherrime crispis, qui ante fuerat deformis pauper et mutus. Sicque de percepta laetatus sospitate, offerente etiam ei episcopo ut in sua familia manendi locum acciperet, magis domum reuersus est.

p. 284

p. 285

III

NARRAUIT idem Bercthun et aliud de praefato antistite miraculum: quia cum reuerentissimus uir Uilfrid post longum exilium[2] in episcopatum esset Hagustaldensis ecclesiae receptus, et idem

[a] et exiliens *om. c*

[1] Cf. Act. 3: 2–8.

[2] This exile lasted from Wilfrid's quarrel with Aldfrith about 691 until his restoration to Ripon and Hexham about 706.

on his head that no hair could grow on the crown save for a few rough hairs which stuck out around it. The bishop had this young man brought and ordered a little hut to be built for him in the enclosure of their dwelling, in which he could stay and receive his daily allowance. On the second Sunday in Lent, he ordered the poor man to come in to him and then he told him to put out his tongue and show it him. Thereupon he took him by the chin and made the sign of the holy cross on his tongue; after this he told him to put his tongue in again and say something. 'Say some word,' he said, 'say *gæ*', which in English is the word of assent and agreement, that is, yes. He said at once what the bishop told him to say, the bonds of his tongue being unloosed. The bishop then added the names of the letters: 'Say A', and he said it. 'Say B', and he said that too. When he had repeated the names of the letters after the bishop, the latter added syllables and words for the youth to repeat after him. When he had repeated them all, one after the other, the bishop taught him to say longer sentences, which he did. After that those who were present relate that he never ceased all that day and night, as long as he could keep awake, to talk and to reveal the secrets of his thoughts and wishes to others which he could never do before. He was like the man who had long been lame, who, when healed by the Apostles Peter and John, stood up, leapt and walked, entering the Temple with them, walking and leaping and praising God,[1] rejoicing to have the use of his feet of which he had so long been deprived. The bishop rejoiced with him at his cure and ordered the physician to undertake to heal his scabby head. He did as he was bidden and, with the help of the bishop's blessing and prayers, his skin was healed and he grew a beautiful head of hair. So the youth gained a clear complexion, ready speech, and beautiful curly hair, whereas he had once been ugly, destitute, and dumb. So rejoicing in his newfound health he returned home, which he preferred to do though the bishop offered him a permanent place in his own household.

CHAPTER III

BERHTHUN told another miracle which the bishop performed. The reverend Wilfrid was restored to the bishopric of the church at Hexham after a long exile,[2] and the same John, upon the death

Iohannes, defuncto Bosa uiro multae sanctitatis et humilitatis, episcopus pro eo Eboraci substitutus, uenerit ipse tempore quodam ad monasterium uirginum in loco qui uocatur Uetadun, cui tunc Hereburg abbatissa praefuit.[1] 'Vbi cum uenissemus,' inquit 'et magno uniuersorum gaudio suscepti essemus, indicauit nobis abbatissa, quia quaedam de numero uirginum, quae erat filia ipsius carnalis, grauissimo languore teneretur; quia flebotomata est nuper in brachio, et cum[a] esset in studio, tacta est infirmitate repentini doloris, quo mox increscente magis grauatum est brachium illud uulneratum, ac uersum in tumorem adeo ut uix duabus manibus circumplecti posset, ipsaque iacens in lecto prae nimietate doloris iam moritura uideretur. Rogauit ergo episcopum abbatissa, ut intrare ad eam ac benedicere illam dignaretur, quia crederet eam ad benedictionem uel tactum illius mox melius habituram. Interrogans autem ille, quando flebotomata esset puella, et ut cognouit, quia in luna quarta, dixit: "Multum insipienter et indocte fecistis in luna quarta flebotomando. Memini enim beatae memoriae Theodorum archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis flebotomia, quando et lumen lunae et reuma oceani in cremento est. Et quid ego possum puellae, si moritura est, facere?" At illa instantius obsecrans
p. 286 pro filia, quam oppido diligebat (nam et / abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat),[2] tandem obtenuit, ut ad languentem intraret. Intrauit ergo me secum adsumto ad uirginem, quae iacebat multo, ut dixi, dolore constricta, et brachio in tantum grossescente ut nil prorsus in cubito flexionis haberet, et adstans dixit orationem super illam, ac benedicens egressus est. Cumque post haec hora conpetente consideremus ad mensam, adueniens quidam clamauit me foras et ait: "Postulat[b] Quoenburg" (hoc enim erat nomen uirginis) "ut ocius regrediaris ad eam." Quod dum facerem, repperi illam ingrediens uultu hilariorem, et uelut sospiti similem. Et dum adsiderem illi, dixit: "Vis petamus bibere?" At ego: "Volo" inquam, "et multum delector si potes." Cumque oblato poculo biberemus ambo, coepit mihi dicere quia "ex quo episcopus oratione pro me et[c] benedictione conpleta egressus est, statim melius habere incipio, et si necdum uires pristinas recepi, dolor

[a] cum adhuc *c* [b] postulauit *c* [c] ac *c2*

[1] Nothing more is known of this monastery nor of the abbess Hereburh nor her daughter. The place is in the East Riding of Yorkshire seven miles north of Beverley and was the site of a Gilbertine house in the twelfth century.

[2] Other examples of this kind of hereditary succession are Ælfflæd and her mother Eanflæd, who ruled over Whitby (iv. 26), and Chad, who succeeded his brother Cedd at Lastingham (iii. 23). Benedict Biscop warned the monks at

of Bosa, a man of great holiness and humility, was made bishop of York in his place. He went on a certain occasion to a monastery of nuns in a place called *Wetadun* (Watton), over which Abbess Hereburh was at that time presiding.[1] 'After we had arrived,' he said, 'and had been joyfully received by them all, the abbess told us that one of the nuns, who was her own daughter, was afflicted by a grievous illness. She had recently been bled in the arm and, while still under treatment, was seized with a sudden pain which rapidly increased. Her wounded arm grew worse and became so much swollen that it could hardly be encircled by both hands. She was lying in bed and seemed likely to die through the violence of the pain. The abbess asked the bishop to deign to visit her and give her his blessing, believing that she would greatly improve if he blessed or touched her. Then he asked when the girl had been bled and, on hearing that it was on the fourth day of the moon, he exclaimed, "You have acted foolishly and ignorantly to bleed her on the fourth day of the moon; I remember how Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory used to say that it was very dangerous to bleed a patient when the moon is waxing and the Ocean tide flowing. And what can I do for the girl if she is at the point of death?" but the abbess entreated him still more urgently on behalf of her daughter, whom she loved greatly and had planned to make abbess in her place.[2] At last she persuaded him to visit the sick girl. So, taking me with him, he went in to where the maiden was lying, suffering great pain as I have said, and with her arm so swollen that she could not bend her elbow. He stood by her, said a prayer over her, blessed her, and went out. Afterwards, when we were sitting at the table at the usual hour, someone came and called me out saying, "Cwenburh"—that was the girl's name—"asks you to come back to her at once." I did so and as I went in I found her looking much more cheerful and apparently healed. As I sat by her she said, 'Shall we ask for something to drink?" I answered, "Yes, indeed, and if you can drink I shall be delighted." A vessel was brought and when we had both drunk she said to me, "After the bishop had prayed for me, given me his blessing, and gone away, I felt better at once, and though I have

Wearmouth against appointing a kinsman as his successor who did not 'walk in the way of truth' (*HAB*, Plummer, I. 375). The system of appointing members of the founder's clan as head of a monastery was prevalent in Ireland. Bede condemns the practice in his *Letter to Egbert* (*EHD*, I. 742).

tamen omnis et de brachio, ubi ardentior inerat, et de toto meo corpore, uelut ipso episcopo foras eum exportante, funditus ablatus est, tametsi tumor adhuc brachii manere uidetur." Abeuntibus autem nobis inde, continuo fugatum dolorem membrorum fuga quoque tumoris horrendi secuta est, et erepta morti ac doloribus uirgo laudes Domino Saluatori una cum ceteris qui ibi erant seruis illius referebat.'

IIII

ALIUD quoque non multum huic dissimile miraculum de praefato antistite narrauit idem abbas, dicens: 'Villa erat comitis cuius-
p. 287 dam, qui uocabatur Puch, / non longe a monasterio nostro, id est duum ferme milium spatio separata; cuius coniux XL ferme diebus erat aceruissimo languore detenta, ita ut tribus septimanis non posset de cubiculo, in quo iacebat, foras efferri. Contigit autem eo tempore uirum Dei illo ad dedicandam ecclesiam ab eodem comite[a] uocari.[1] Cumque dedicata esset ecclesia, rogauit comes eum ad prandendum in domum suam ingredi. Rennuit episcopus, dicens se ad monasterium, quod proxime erat, debere reuerti. At ille obnixius precibus instans, uouit etiam se elimosynas pauperibus daturum, dummodo ille dignaretur ea die domum suam ingrediens ieiunium soluere. Rogaui et ego una cum illo, promittens etiam me elimosynas in alimoniam inopum dare, dum ille domum comitis pransurus ac benedictionem daturus intraret. Cumque hoc tarde ac difficulter impetraremus, intrauimus ad reficiendum. Miserat autem episcopus mulieri, quae infirma iacebat, de aqua benedicta, quam in dedicationem ecclesiae consecrauerat, per unum de his qui mecum uenerant fratribus, praecipiens ut gustandam illi daret et, ubicumque maximum ei dolorem inesse didicisset, de ipsa eam aqua lauaret. Quod ut factum est, surrexit statim mulier sana, et non solum se infirmitate longa carere, sed et perditas dudum uires recepisse sentiens, obtulit poculum episcopo ac nobis, coeptumque ministerium nobis omnibus propinandi usque ad prandium conpletum non omisit, imitata socrum beati Petri, quae cum febrium fuisset ardoribus fatigata, ad tactum manus dominicae surrexit, et sanitate simul ac uirtute recepta ministrabat eis.'[2]

[a] comiti *c2*

[1] As this and the following incident show, it seems to have been not uncommon in the seventh and eighth centuries for noble laymen to build churches on their estates. It was in this way that most parish churches arose in the early Middle Ages. Escomb the seventh- or eighth-century church near Bishop Auckland in Durham is perhaps the earliest complete example of a still surviving parish church, though its origin is unknown (Taylor I. 234–8).

not yet recovered my full strength, all the pain has entirely gone from my arm where it was most violent and from my whole body, just as if the bishop himself had carried it away, although the swelling still seems to persist in my arm." After we had gone the dreadful swelling departed as the pain had done and the maiden, saved from suffering and death, gave thanks to her Saviour and Lord, with all the other servants of His who were there.'

CHAPTER IV

ABBOT BERHTHUN also used to relate another miracle not unlike this one, which the bishop performed; he said, 'Not far from our monastery, less than two miles away, was the dwelling of a certain *gesith* named Puch, whose wife had been suffering for nearly forty days from a severe disease, so that for three weeks it had not been possible to carry her out of the room in which she lay. Now, at that time, it happened that the man of God was called by the *gesith* to dedicate a church[1] and, after the dedication, the man invited the bishop to dine at his house. The bishop refused, saying that he must return to the monastery which was close by. But the *gesith* was most insistent in his request, vowing that he would give alms to the poor, if only the bishop would deign to come in and break his fast with him that day. I also added my entreaties, promising that I too would give alms for the relief of the poor if he would dine at the *gesith*'s house and give him his blessing. When at length and with difficulty we had persuaded him, we went in to dinner. Now the bishop had sent one of the brothers who had come with me to take some holy water, which he had consecrated for the dedication of the church, to the woman who lay ill. He told him to give her some to drink, also instructing him to wash the place where the pain was worst with the water. When this was done, the woman at once rose cured, realizing that she was not only free from her protracted illness but had also recovered her long-lost strength; she brought the cup to the bishop and to the rest of us and continued to serve us all with drink until dinner was finished. In this she imitated the mother-in-law of St. Peter, who had been sick of a fever, but rose and ministered to them, having regained her health and strength at the touch of the Lord's hand.[2]

[2] Matth. 8: 14–15.

p. 288

V

ALIO item tempore uocatus ad dedicandam ecclesiam comitis uocabulo Addi, cum postulatum conplesset ministerium, rogatus est ab eodem comite intrare ad unum de pueris eius, qui acerrima egritudine premebatur, ita ut, deficiente penitus omni membrorum officio, iamiamque moriturus esse uideretur; cui etiam loculus iam tunc erat praeparatus in quo defunctus condi deberet. Addidit autem uir etiam lacrimas precibus, diligenter obsecrans ut intraret oraturus pro illo, quia multum necessaria sibi esset uita ipsius; crederet uero quia, si ille ei manum inponere atque eum benedicere uoluisset, statim melius haberet. Intrauit ergo illo episcopus, et uidit eum mestis omnibus iam morti proximum, positumque loculum iuxta eum, in quo sepeliendus poni deberet; dixitque orationem ac benedixit eum, et egrediens dixit solito consolantium sermone: 'Bene conualescas et cito.' Cumque post haec sederent ad mensam, misit puer ad dominum suum, rogans sibi poculum uini mittere, quia sitiret. Gauisus ille multum quia[a] bibere posset, misit ei calicem uini benedictum ab episcopo; quem ut bibit surrexit continuo, et ueterno infirmitatis discusso induit se ipse uestimentis suis, et egressus inde intrauit ac salutauit episcopum et conuiuas, dicens quia ipse quoque delectaretur manducare et bibere cum eis. Iusserunt eum sedere secum ad epulas, multum gaudentes de sospitate illius: residebat, uescebatur, bibebat, laetabatur, quasi unus e conuiuis agebat; et multis post haec annis
p. 289 uiuens, in eadem quam acceperat salute permansit. Hoc / autem miraculum memoratus abbas non se praesente factum, sed ab his qui praesentes fuere sibi perhibet esse relatum.

VI

NEQUE hoc praetereundum silentio, quod famulus Christi Herebald in se ipso ab eo factum solet narrare miraculum, qui tunc quidem in clero illius conuersatus, nunc monasterio quod est iuxta ostium Tini fluminis abbatis iure praeest.[1] 'Vitam' inquit 'illius, quantum hominibus aestimare fas est,[b] quod[c] praesens optime cognoui, per omnia episcopo dignam esse conperi. Sed et

[a] qui *c2* [b] fas est aestimare *c2* [c] quia *c*

[1] Bede in the *VP*, cc. 3, 35 (written about 721), speaks of a monastery which had once been for men but in his time was for women, situated at the mouth of the Tyne. This, however, would seem to be another monastery, perhaps the one where the body of St. Oswine was buried.

CHAPTER V

AT another time he was called by a *gesith* named Addi to dedicate a church, and when he had completed the task, he was asked by the *gesith* to come and visit one of his servants who lay dangerously ill, so that he had lost all the use of his limbs and seemed to be at the point of death. In fact a coffin had already been made in which he was to be buried. The *gesith* urgently besought him with tears to go in and pray for his servant, because his life was of great concern to him; and he believed that, if the bishop were willing to lay his hands on him and bless him, he would soon mend. So the bishop went in and found him at the point of death, surrounded by mourners, while the coffin in which he was to be buried was lying beside him. He said a prayer, blessed him, and went out, adding the usual words of comfort, 'I wish you a quick recovery.' Later when they were sitting at the table the boy sent to his master, asking him to let him have a cup of wine because he was thirsty. His master was extremely glad that the servant could drink and sent him a cup of wine blessed by the bishop. He drank it and then, shaking off his lethargy and weakness, he got up and put on his clothes, left his room, and went in to greet the bishop and his fellow guests, saying that he would much like to eat and drink with them. They bade him sit down with them to dinner, greatly rejoicing at his recovery. He sat down, ate, drank, and made merry, behaving like one of the guests; and he lived for many years afterwards enjoying the good health which he had at that time recovered. The abbot recounted the miracle, though he was not himself present when it happened, but it was told him by some who were there.

CHAPTER VI

NOR must I pass over in silence a miracle which Herebald, a servant of Christ, tells as having been performed upon him by the bishop. At the time he was one of the bishop's clergy, but is now ruling as abbot over the monastery which is at the mouth of the Tyne (Tynemouth).[1] 'Living with him,' he said, 'and knowing his way of life extremely well, I considered that it was worthy of a bishop in every particular so far as it is lawful for a man to judge;

cuius meriti apud internum testem habitus sit, et in multis aliis et in me ipso maxime expertus sum, quippe quem[a] ab ipso, ut ita dicam, mortis limite reuocans ad uiam uitae sua oratione ac benedictione reduxit. Nam cum primaeuo adulescentiae tempore in clero illius degerem, legendi quidem canendique studiis traditus, sed non adhuc animum perfecte a iuuenilibus[b] cohibens inlecebris, contigit die quadam nos iter agentes cum illo deuenisse in uiam planam et amplam aptamque[c] cursui equorum; coeperuntque iuuenes qui cum ipso erant, maxime laici, postulare episcopum ut cursu maiore equos suos inuicem probare liceret. At ille primo negauit, otiosum dicens esse quod desiderabant; sed ad ultimum multorum unanima intentione deuictus, "Facite" inquit "si uultis, ita tamen ut Herebald ab illo se certamine funditus abstineat." Porro ipse diligentius obsecrans, ut et mihi certandi cum illis
p. 290 copia daretur (fidebam namque equo, quem / mihi ipse optimum donauerat), nequaquam impetrare potui.

'At cum saepius huc atque illuc, spectante me et episcopo, concitatis in cursum equis reuerterentur, et ipse lasciuo superatus animo non me potui cohibere sed, prohibente licet illo, ludentibus me miscui et simul cursu equi contendere coepi. Quod dum agerem, audiui illum post tergum mihi cum gemitu dicentem: "O quam magnum uae facis mihi sic equitando!" Et ego audiens nihilominus coeptis institi uetitis. Nec mora, dum feruens equus quoddam itineris concauum ualentiore impetu transiliret, lapsus decidi, et mox uelut emoriens sensum penitus motumque omnem perdidi. Erat namque illo in loco lapis terrae aequalis obtectus cespite tenui, neque ullus alter in tota illa campi planitie lapis inueniri poterat; casuque euenit, uel potius diuina prouisione ad puniendam inobedientiae meae culpam, ut hunc capite ac manu, quam capiti ruens subposueram, tangerem, atque infracto pollice capitis quoque iunctura solueretur, et ego, ut dixi, simillimus mortuo fierem. Et quia moueri non poteram, tetenderunt ibidem papilionem, in quo iacerem. Erat autem hora diei circiter septima, a qua ad uesperam usque quietus et quasi mortuus permanens, tunc paululum reuiuesco, ferorque domum a sociis, ac tacitus tota nocte perduro. Vomebam autem sanguinem, eo quod et interanea essent ruendo conuulsa. At episcopus grauissime de casu et interitu meo dolebat, eo quod me speciali diligeret affectu; nec uoluit nocte illa iuxta morem cum clericis suis manere, uerum

[a] quem quippe *c2* [b] iuuenalibus *c* [c] aptumque *c*

but I have also discovered, by the experience of others and particularly my own, what his merits were in the eyes of Him who sees the heart; for I was recalled from the threshold of death, so to speak, to the path of life by his prayers and benediction. In my early youth, I was living among his clergy and engaged in the study of reading and song, but I had not yet entirely withdrawn my heart from youthful pleasures. It happened one day, as we were on a journey with him, that we came upon a level and dry road suitable for galloping our horses. The young men who were with him, mostly laymen, began to ask the bishop for leave to gallop and try out their horses against one another. At first he refused, saying that it was an idle request; but at last he gave way to their unanimous pressure and said, "Do as you like, but let Herebald have absolutely no part in the game." Thereupon I earnestly begged him to give me leave to compete with them, for I had great faith in the splendid horse which he himself had given me; but I was unable to gain his consent.

'While the bishop and I were watching, and the horses were galloping back and forth along the course, I was so overcome by a spirit of wantonness that I could hold back no longer; so in spite of his command, I mingled among the contestants and began to race with them. As I did so, I heard him behind my back, saying with a sigh, "Oh, how you grieve me by riding in such a way!" I heard, yet I went on against his orders; immediately, as my fiery horse took a great leap over a hollow in the road, I fell and at once lost all feeling and power of movement just as if I were dead. For in that place there was a stone, level with the ground and covered by a thin layer of turf, and no other stone was to be found over the whole plain. Thus it happened by chance, or rather by divine intervention in order to punish my disobedience, that I hit it with my head and with the hand which I had put under my head as I fell; so my thumb was broken and my skull fractured and, as I said, I lay like a corpse. As I could not be moved, they put up a tent for me to lie in. Now it was about one o'clock in the afternoon and I lay as quiet as if I were dead until evening, when I revived a little and was carried home by my companions. I lay speechless all night, now vomiting blood because some internal organs had been ruptured in my fall. The bishop was deeply grieved by my accident and by the disaster, because he had a special affection for me. So he would not sleep that night with his

solus in oratione persistens noctem ducebat peruigilem, pro mea, ut reor, sospitate supernae pietati supplicans. Et mane primo ingressus ad me, ac dicta super me oratione, uocauit me nomine
p. 291 meo, et quasi / de somno graui excitatum interrogauit, si nossem quis esset, qui loqueretur ad me. At[a] ego aperiens oculos aio: "Etiam: tu es antistes meus amatus." "Potes" inquit "uiuere?" Et ego "Possum" inquam "per orationes uestras, si uoluerit Dominus." Qui inponens capiti meo manum cum uerbis benedictionis, rediit ad orandum; et post pusillum me reuisens, inuenit sedentem et iam loqui ualentem, coepitque me interrogare diuino, ut mox patuit, admonitus instinctu, an me esse baptizatum absque scrupulo nossem. Cui ego absque ulla me hoc dubietate scire respondi, quia salutari fonte in remissionem peccatorum essem ablutus; et nomen presbyteri, a quo me baptizatum noueram, dixi. At ille "Si ab hoc" inquit "sacerdote baptizatus es, non es perfecte baptizatus; noui namque eum, et quia cum esset presbyter ordinatus, nullatenus propter ingenii tarditatem potuit cathecizandi uel baptizandi ministerium discere, propter quod et ipse illum ab huius praesumtione ministerii, quod regulariter implere nequibat, omnimodis cessare praecepi." Quibus dictis, eadem hora me cathecizare ipse curauit; factumque est ut, exsufflante illo in faciem meam,[1] confestim me melius habere sentirem. Vocauit autem medicum, et dissolutam mihi emicranii iuncturam conponere atque alligare iussit. Tantumque mox accepta eius benedictione conualui, ut in crastinum ascendens equum cum ipso iter in alium locum facerem; nec multo post plene curatus uitali etiam unda perfusus sum.'

p. 292 Mansit autem in episcopatu annis xxx tribus, et sic / caelestia regna conscendens, sepultus[b] est in porticu sancti Petri in monasterio suo, quod dicitur In Silua Derorum, anno ab incarnatione dominica DCCXXI. Nam cum prae maiore senectute minus episcopatui administrando sufficeret, ordinato in episcopatum Eburacensis ecclesiae Uilfrido presbytero suo,[2] secessit ad monasterium praefatum, ibique uitam in Deo digna conuersatione conpleuit.

VII

ANNO autem regni Aldfridi tertio, Caedualla rex Occidentalium Saxonum, cum genti suae duobus annis strenuissime praeesset,

[a] et *c2* [b] sepultusque *c*

[1] In his allegorical exposition of 1 Sam. 17 (*Opp.* VIII. 106), Bede declares that it is right for teachers to drive out impure spirits from the hearers *exsufflando et catechizando.* [2] See p. 144, n. 2.

clergy, as was his custom, but spent the whole night alone in vigil and prayer, imploring, as I suppose, God's mercy for my recovery. In the early morning he came in to me, said a prayer over me, and called me by name. I awoke as though from a heavy sleep and he asked me if I knew who it was who was talking to me. I opened my eyes and said, "Yes, you are my beloved bishop." He answered, "Can you live?" I said, "I can, with the help of your prayers, if it is the Lord's will." Then, placing his hand on my head with words of blessing, he returned to his prayers; when he came back very soon afterwards, he found me sitting up and able to speak; and, urged as it soon appeared by a divine instinct, he began to ask me whether I was perfectly certain that I had been baptized. I answered that I knew without any doubt that I had been washed in the fountain of salvation for the remission of sins, and I told him the name of the priest who had baptized me. The bishop answered, "If you were baptized by that priest you were not perfectly baptized, for I know that, when he was ordained priest, he was so slow-witted that he was unable to learn the office of catechism or baptism; and for this reason I ordered him not to presume to exercise this ministry because he could not perform it properly." Saying this, he made it his business to catechize me forthwith; as he did so and breathed upon my face,[1] I immediately felt better. Then he called a doctor and ordered him to set and bind up my fractured skull. As soon as I had received his blessing, I was so much better that on the next day I mounted my horse and journeyed with him to another place; and very soon after I had fully recovered, I was washed in the water of life.'

He continued in the bishopric for thirty-three years and then he ascended to the heavenly kingdom and was buried in the chapel of St. Peter in his monastery called Beverley, in the year of our Lord 721. When, owing to advancing years, he was unable to administer his bishopric, he consecrated his priest Wilfrid to the see of York[2] and retired to his monastery, where he ended his days in a way of life honouring to God.

CHAPTER VII

IN the third year of Aldfrith's reign, Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons, after ruling his people most ably for two years, gave up his

relicto imperio propter Dominum regnumque perpetuum uenit Romam, hoc sibi gloriae singularis desiderans adipisci, ut ad limina beatorum apostolorum fonte baptismatis ablueretur, in quo solo didicerat generi humano patere uitae caelestis introitum; simul etiam sperans quia, mox baptizatus, carne solutus ad aeterna gaudia iam mundus transiret. Quod utrumque, ut mente disposuerat, Domino iuuante conpletum est. Etenim illo perueniens, pontificatum agente Sergio, baptizatus est die sancto sabbati paschalis anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXXXVIIII; et in albis adhuc positus, languore correptus, duodecimo kalendarum Maiarum die solutus a carne et beatorum est regno sociatus in caelis. Cui etiam tempore baptismatis papa memoratus Petri nomen inposuerat, ut beatissimo apostolorum principi, ad cuius sacratissimum corpus a finibus terrae pio ductus amore uenerat,
p. 293 etiam nominis ipsius consortio / iungeretur. Qui in eius quoque ecclesia sepultus est, et iubente pontifice epitaphium in eius monumento scriptum,[1] in quo et memoria deuotionis ipsius fixa per saecula maneret, et legentes quoque uel audientes exemplum facti ad studium religionis accenderet. Scriptum est ergo hoc modo:

Culmen, opes, subolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
  Exuuias, proceres, moenia, castra, lares,
Quaeque patrum uirtus et quae congesserat ipse,
  Caedual armipotens liquit amore Dei,
Vt Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes,
  Cuius fonte meras sumeret almus aquas,
Splendificumque iubar radianti carperet haustu,[a]
  Ex quo uiuificus fulgor ubique fluit.
Percipiensque alacer rediuiuae praemia uitae,
  Barbaricam rabiem nomen et inde suum
Conuersus conuertit ouans: Petrumque uocari
  Sergius antistes iussit, ut ipse pater
Fonte renascentis, quem Christi gratia purgans
  Protinus albatum[b] uexit in arce poli.
Mira fides regis, clementia maxima Christi,
  Cuius consilium nullus adire potest!

[a] hausto *c2* [b] ablatum *c2*

[1] The epitaph was written by Crispus, archbishop of Milan from 681 to 725. See F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1957), I. 159. Bede must have obtained a copy from some traveller to Rome. The sepulchral

throne for the sake of the Lord and to win an everlasting kingdom, and went to Rome. He was anxious to gain the special privilege of being washed in the fountain of baptism within the threshold of the apostles; for he had learned that by the way of baptism alone can the human race attain entrance to the heavenly life; at the same time he hoped that, soon after his baptism, he might be loosed from the bonds of the flesh and pass, cleansed as he was, to eternal joy; and both these things came to pass with God's help just as he had intended. He arrived in Rome while Sergius was pope and was baptized on the holy Saturday before Easter Day in the year of our Lord 689; while still in his white robes, he was attacked by an illness and, on 20 April, he was freed from the bonds of the flesh and joined the company of the blessed in heaven. At his baptism Pope Sergius had given him the name of Peter, so that he might be united in name also with the blessed chief of the apostles, to whose most sacred body he had come from the very ends of the earth, inspired by loving devotion. He was also buried in St. Peter's church and, by order of the pope, an epitaph[1] was placed on his tomb, so that the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever and those who read it or heard it read might be kindled to religious zeal by his example. This is how it runs:

His high estate, wealth, kin, a mighty crown,
His strongholds, chieftains, spoils, his own renown,
And that of all his sires, Caedwal forsook,
Inspired by love of Heaven, that he might look,
A pilgrim king, on Peter and his shrine,
There taste at his pure fount the streams divine
Whence flows a quickening glory through the earth.
So when with eager soul he sought new birth,
He laid aside his barbarous rage and shame
And, with changed heart, to Peter changed his name
As Sergius bade, who took a father's place
For this his son, reborn by heavenly grace;
And that same grace soon bore him clothed in white,
Up through the skies into the realms of light.
Great the king's faith, Christ's mercy greater still,
Whose counsels far surpass all mortal skill.

stone on which it was carved was discovered in the sixteenth century by the builders of the present St. Peter's, though it now seems to have disappeared again. Cædwalla was baptized on 10 April. Normally the white baptismal robes were put off on the octave of the day of baptism but as it was probably clear that death was approaching he was allowed to wear them until his death.

Sospes enim ueniens supremo ex orbe Britanni
Per uarias gentes, per freta perque uias,
Vrbem Romuleam uidit, templumque uerendum
Aspexit Petri mystica dona gerens.
Candidus inter oues Christi sociabilis ibit:
Corpore nam tumulum, mente superna tenet.
Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse uides.

Hic depositus est Caedual, qui et Petrus, rex Saxonum, sub die XII
p. 294 kalendarum Mairaum, indictione secunda, qui uixit / annos plus[a] minus XXX, imperante domno Iustiniano piissimo Aug̃. ān̄. et cons. IIII, pontificante apostolico uiro domno Sergio papa an̄. secundo.

Abeunte autem Romam Caedualla, successit in regnum Ini[1] de stirpe regia. Qui cum XXXVII annis imperium tenuisset gentis illius, et ipse, relicto regno[b] ac iuuenioribus commendato, ad limina beatorum apostolorum Gregorio pontificatum tenente profectus est, cupiens in uicinia sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris, quo familiarius a sanctis recipi mereretur in caelis. Quod his temporibus plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles ignobiles, laici clerici, uiri ac feminae certatim facere consuerunt.[2]

VIII

ANNO autem[c] post hunc, quo Caedualla Romae defunctus est, proximo, id est DCXCmo incarnationis dominicae, Theodorus beatae memoriae archiepiscopus, senex et plenus dierum, id est annorum LXXXVIII, defunctus est; quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum ipse[d] iamdudum somnii reuelatione edoctus, suis praedicere solebat. Mansit autem in episcopatu annis XXII, sepultusque est in ecclesia sancti Petri, in qua[e] omnium episcoporum Doruuernensium sunt corpora deposita. De quo una cum consortibus eiusdem[f] sui gradus recte ac ueraciter dici potest, quia

[a] plus *om. c2* [b] imperio *c2* [c] autem *om. c* [d] ipse *om. c* [e] quo *c* [f] sortibus eisdem *m*

[1] Ine reigned over the West Saxons from 688 to 726. The code of laws he promulgated between 688 and 694 has survived as an appendix to the Laws of Alfred, who acknowledged his indebtedness to Ine when he drew up his own code in the late ninth century. Cf. *EHD*, I. 364 ff.

[2] The *History* and the *HAB* strikingly illustrate the popularity of pilgrimages to Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries. Benedict Biscop paid six visits and Wilfrid three, though they each generally had special purposes for their

From earth's remotest end, from Britain's isle,
To Romulus's town, o'er many a weary mile,
Bearing his gifts by devious ways he passed
Until he gazed on Peter's shrine at last.
Now while within the tomb his body lies,
His soul, washed white, joins Christ's flock in the skies.
'Twould seem he laid his earthly sceptre down
Only to change it for Christ's lasting crown.

Here was buried Cædwalla, otherwise Peter, king of the Saxons, on 20 April, in the second indiction, being thirty years of age more or less, in the reign of the most religious ruler the Emperor Justinian, in the fourth year of his consulship; and in the second year of the papacy of the apostolic ruler, Pope Sergius.

When Cædwalla left for Rome, Ine,[1] who was of the royal stock, succeeded to the throne. After he had ruled over the West Saxons for thirty-seven years, he also left his kingdom to younger men and went to the threshold of the apostles, while Gregory was pope, to spend some of his time upon earth as a pilgrim in the neighbourhood of the holy places, so that he might be thought worthy to receive a greater welcome from the saints in heaven. At this time many Englishmen, nobles and commons, layfolk and clergy, men and women, were eager to do the same thing.[2]

CHAPTER VIII

THE year after Cædwalla died in Rome, that is, in the year of our Lord 690, Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory died at the age of eighty-eight, being old and full of years. He had long been in the habit of prophesying to his friends that he would live so long, for it had been revealed to him in a dream. He remained bishop for twenty-two years and was buried in the church of St. Peter in which the bodies of all the archbishops of Canterbury are interred. Of him and of all his fellow archbishops it can rightly

journey as well as the pilgrimage. Royal pilgrims were Cædwalla and Ine of Wessex, Cenred of Mercia, and Offa of Essex. All these went never to return. Oswiu intended to go but died before he could carry out his plan (vi. 5). Boniface in 747 expresses strong disapproval of women joining in these pilgrimages because so many fell into evil ways on the road and never returned (Tangl, no. 78). See also iv. 23, p. 409; p. 498. n. 2; and W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome* (Freiburg, 1937).

p. 295 'corpora ipsorum in pace sepulta sunt, et nomen / eorum uiuet in generationes et generationes'.[1] Vt enim breuiter dicam, tantum profectus spiritalis tempore praesulatus illius Anglorum ecclesiae, quantum numquam antea potuere, ceperunt. Cuius personam, uitam, aetatem et obitum epitaphium quoque monumenti ipsius uersibus heroicis XXX et IIII palam ac lucide cunctis illo aduenientibus pandit, quorum primi sunt hi:

Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore praesul,
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga uocat.
Princeps pontificum, felix summusque sacerdos
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

Vltimi autem hi:

Namque diem nonam decimam September habebat,
Cum carnis claustra spiritus egreditur,
Alma nouae scandens felix consortia uitae,
Ciuibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli.

Successit autem Theodoro in episcopatum Berctuald, qui erat abbas in monasterio, quod iuxta ostium[a] aquilonale fluminis Genladae[3] positum Racuulfe[2] nuncupatur; uir et ipse scientia scripturarum inbutus, sed et ecclesiasticis simul ac monasterialibus disciplinis summe instructus, tametsi prodecessori suo minime conparandus. Qui electus est quidem in episcopatum anno dominicae incarnationis DCXCmo secundo, die primo mensis Iulii, regnantibus in Cantia Uictredo et Suaebhardo; ordinatus autem[b] anno sequente tertio die kalendarum Iuliarum dominica a Goduine[4] metropolitano episcopo Galliarum; et sedit in sede sua pridie kalendarum Septembrium dominica. Qui inter multos quos ordinauit antistites[c], etiam Gebmundo Hrofensis ecclesiae praesule
p. 296 defuncto, Tobiam[5] pro illo / consecrauit, uirum Latina Greca et Saxonica lingua atque eruditione multipliciter instructum.

VIIII

Eo tempore uenerabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi et sacerdos Ecgberct, quem in Hibernia insula

[a] hostium *c* [b] est autem *c* [c] antistes *in all our authorities except the Cottonian MS.*

[1] Ecclus. 44: 14.

[2] In the *ASC*, under 669, it is recorded that King Egbert of Kent gave Reculver to Bass his priest to build a monastery there. The ancient church stood until it was pulled down in 1805 but the remains were uncovered in 1926 (Clapham, pl. 3 and p. 22, and Taylor, II. 503–9). It is on the north coast of Kent, nine miles from Canterbury. The earliest Anglo-Saxon charter of which

and truly be said that their 'bodies are buried in peace but their name liveth throughout all generations'.[1] To put it briefly, the English Churches made more spiritual progress while he was archbishop than ever before. The epitaph on his tomb, consisting of thirty-four heroic verses, openly and clearly describes to all comers his character, his life, his age, and his death. These are the first lines:

> Here lies a holy bishop's mortal frame;
> In Grecian tongue is THEODORE his name.
> A great high priest was he, the church's head,
> Who in sound doctrine his disciples fed.

and these are the last:

> September was the month, the nineteenth day,
> When from the flesh his spirit took its way,
> Climbing in bliss to share new life and love
> With angel-citizens of heaven above.

Berhtwold succeeded him, having been abbot of the monastery at Reculver,[2] which is to the north of the mouth of the river Yant.[3] He was a man with a deep knowledge of the Scriptures and well versed in ecclesiastical and monastic teaching, but not to be compared with his predecessor. He was elected to the bishopric in the year of our Lord 692, on 1 July, while Wihtred and Swæfheard were ruling in Kent. He was consecrated in the following year on Sunday, 29 June, by Godwin,[4] metropolitan of the Gaulish church, and was enthroned on Sunday, 31 August. Among the many bishops he consecrated was Tobias[5] to be bishop of Rochester after the death of Gefmund. Tobias was a man of great learning and was familiar with the Latin, Greek, and English languages.

CHAPTER IX

AT that time the venerable servant of Christ and priest Egbert, a man to be named with all honour, was living a life of exile in

the original survives is a grant of land in Thanet to the Reculver monastery by Hlothere (*EHD*, 1. 443).

[3] Genlade is an alternative name for the northern arm of the river Wantsum, which once divided the Isle of Thanet from the mainland. It survives today in the name of Yantlet Creek. Cf. p. 72, n. 3.

[4] Godwin was archbishop of Lyons from about 693 to about 713.

[5] The date of the accession of Tobias is uncertain but he died in 726. He was a pupil of Theodore and Hadrian (v. 23).

peregrinam ducere uitam pro adipiscenda in caelis patria retulimus, proposuit animo pluribus prodesse, idest, inito opere apostolico, uerbum Dei aliquibus earum,[a] quae nondum audierant, gentibus euangelizando committere. Quarum[b] in Germania plurimas nouerat esse nationes, a quibus Angli uel Saxones, qui nunc Brittaniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a uicina gente Brettonum corrupte Garmani[1] nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqui Saxones, Boructuari.[2] Sunt alii perplures hisdem[c] in partibus populi paganis adhuc ritibus seruientes, ad quos uenire praefatus Christi miles circumnauigata Brittania disposuit, siquos forte ex illis ereptos Satanae ad Christum transferre ualeret; uel, si hoc fieri non posset, Romam uenire ad uidenda atque adoranda beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi limina cogitauit.

Sed ne aliquid horum perficeret, superna illi oracula simul et opera restiterunt. Siquidem electis sociis strenuissimis et ad praedi candum Verbum idoneis, utpote actione simul et eruditione praeclaris, praeparatis omnibus quae nauigantibus esse necessaria uidebantur, uenit die quadam mane primo ad eum unus de
p. 297 fratribus, discipulus quondam in Brittania et minister Deo / dilecti sacerdotis Boisili[3] (cum esset idem Boisil praepositus monasterii Mailrosensis[d] sub abbate Eata, ut supra narrauimus), referens ei uisionem, quae sibi eadem nocte apparuisset, 'Cum expletis' inquiens 'hymnis matutinalibus in lectulo membra posuissem, ac leuis mihi somnus obrepsisset, apparuit magister quondam meus et nutritor amantissimus Boisil, interrogauitque me an eum cognoscere possem. Aio: "Etiam; tu es enim Boisil." At ille "Ad hoc" inquit "ueni, ut responsum Domini Saluatoris Ecgbercto adferam, quod te tamen referente oportet ad illum uenire. Dic ergo illi, quia non ualet iter quod proposuit implere; Dei enim[e]

[a] eadem *c* [b] quorum *m* [c] isdem *c* [d] Mailronensis *c* [e] enim *om. c2*

[1] Professor Jackson suggests that this may be a Vulgar Latin form of *Germani*, preserved in Britain but lost on the Continent (K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 281).

[2] The Frisians occupied the coast of north-west Europe from the Maas to beyond the Ems. The Rugini or Rugii (Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 43) were originally found on the shores of the Baltic, probably near the mouth of the Oder. Their name survives in modern Rugen. The Huns were of course not of Germanic origin but broke into Europe from the eastern steppes about 375. After the death of their leader Attila in 453 they gradually disappeared. It is possible that Bede means the Avars, who were settled north of the Danube.

Ireland, as has been said before, so that he might reach his heavenly fatherland. He planned to bring blessing to many peoples by undertaking the apostolic task of carrying the word of God, through the preaching of the gospel, to some of those nations who had not yet heard it. He knew that there were very many peoples in Germany from whom the Angles and Saxons, who now live in Britain, derive their origin; hence even to this day they are by a corruption called *Garmani*[1] by their neighbours the Britons. Now these people are the Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns, Old Saxons, and *Boruhtware* (Bructeri);[2] there are also many other nations in the same land who are still practising heathen rites to whom this soldier of Christ proposed to go, after sailing round Britain, to try if he could deliver any of them from Satan and bring them to Christ. But if he could not do this, he intended to go to Rome, there to visit and worship at the shrines of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ.

But divine revelations and interventions prevented him from carrying out any of these plans. He had already chosen the most vigorous of his companions and those who were outstanding both by their lives and learning and so most suitable for preaching the Word; and everything that was necessary for the voyage was prepared. Then early one morning one of the brothers came to him who had once lived in Britain and been a servant of Boisil,[3] the beloved priest of God, when this Boisil was prior in the monastery at Melrose under the abbot Eata, as has already been said. The man related to Egbert a vision which he had seen during the night; he said, 'When the mattin hymns were finished and I had lain down on my bed, I fell into a light sleep and there appeared to me my late master and much loved tutor Boisil who asked me if I recognized him. I answered, "Yes, you are Boisil." He then went on, "I have come to bring to Egbert the reply of his Lord and Saviour which you must deliver to him. Tell him that he cannot perform this proposed journey. But it is God's will that

On the Old Saxons see i. 15 and v. 10. The Danes were found in the Danish islands and in the south-western part of Sweden. The Boruhtware or Bructeri were found in a district between the Lippe and the Ruhr which in later times was called Borahtra. See also v. 11.

[3] Boisil was the friend and teacher of Cuthbert. He received Cuthbert into Melrose as a postulant and prophesied that he would become a bishop. His name is still preserved in the Scottish village of St. Boswells (iv. 27 and *VP*, chapters 6 and 8).

uoluntatis est, ut ad Columbae monasteria magis docenda pergat.'' Erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianae transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem, primusque fundator monasterii quod in Hii insula multis diu Scottorum Pictorumque populis uenerabile mansit. Qui uidelicet Columba[1] nunc a nonnullis composito a cella et Columba nomine Columcelli uocatur. Audiens autem uerba uisionis Ecgberct praecepit fratri, qui retulerat, ne cuiquam haec alteri referret, ne forte inlusoria esset uisio. Ipse autem tacitus rem considerans ueracem esse timebat; nec tamen a praeparando itinere, quo ad gentes docendas iret, cessare uolebat.

At post dies paucos rursum uenit ad eum praefatus frater, dicens quia et ea nocte sibi post expletos matutinos Boisil per uisum apparuerit, dicens: 'Quare tam neglegenter ac tepide dixisti Ecgbercto, quae tibi dicenda praecepi? At nunc uade et dic illi, quia[a] uelit nolit debet ad monasteria Columbae uenire, quia
p. 298 aratra eorum non recte incedunt; oportet autem / eum ad rectum haec tramitem reuocare.' Qui haec audiens denuo praecepit fratri, ne haec cui patefaceret. Ipso uero, tametsi certus est factus de uisione, nihilominus temtauit iter dispositum cum fratribus memoratis incipere. Cumque iam naui[b] inposuissent, quae tanti itineris necessitas poscebat, atque oportunos aliquot diebus uentos expectarent, facta est nocte quadam tam saeua tempestas, quae perditis nonnulla ex parte his quae in naui erant rebus, ipsam in latus iacentem inter undas relinqueret; saluata sunt tamen omnia, quae erant Ecgbercti et sociorum eius. Tum ipse quasi propheticum illud dicens, quia 'propter me est tempestas haec',[2] subtraxit se illi profectioni, et remanere domi passus est.

At uero unus de sociis eius, uocabulo Uictberct,[3] cum esset et ipse contemtu mundi ac doctrinae scientia insignis (nam multos annos in Hibernia peregrinus anchoreticam in magna perfectione uitam egerat), ascendit nauem, et Fresiam perueniens duobus annis continuis genti illi ac regi eius Rathbedo[4] uerbum salutis praedicabat, neque aliquem tanti laboris fructum apud barbaros inuenit

[a] quia *om. c* [b] naui iam *c*

[1] See p. 220, n. 2. [2] Jon. 1: 12.

[3] This priest is also mentioned by Alcuin in his *Life of Willibrord* but nothing further is known of him. See *MGH, SRM*, VII. 118.

[4] This king of the Frisians was said to have been on the point of baptism at the hands of St. Wulframn, archbishop of Sens, when, after having been told

he should go instead and give instruction in the monasteries of Columba."' Now Columba was the first teacher of the faith to the Picts who lived beyond the hills to the north, and the first founder of the monastery in the island of Iona, which has long been greatly honoured by many of the tribes of Picts and Irish. Columba[1] is now called Columcill by some, which is a compound of the word *cella* and the name Columba. When Egbert heard the story of the vision, he told the brother who related it not to repeat it to anyone else, for fear the vision should be an illusion. He himself silently considered the matter and feared it might be true; but, nevertheless, he was unwilling to cease his preparations for the journey to those people whom he intended to instruct.

A few days afterwards the same brother came back to him and said that on that very night, immediately mattins were finished, Boisil had again appeared to him in a vision saying, 'Why have you delivered the message I gave you to Egbert in so careless and lukewarm a manner? Now go and say to him that, whether he likes it or not, he must go to Columba's monasteries, for they are cutting a crooked furrow and he must call them back to the true line.' On hearing this Egbert again charged the brother to tell no one. Though he was now sure of the vision, he nevertheless attempted to start on his intended voyage with the brothers. But after they had placed all the necessities for such a voyage on board and had waited several days for favourable winds, one night there arose a fierce tempest in which some of the goods in the ship were lost and it was left lying on its side in the water. Nevertheless, everything that belonged to Egbert and his companions was saved. Then, quoting the words of the prophet, 'For my sake this great tempest is upon you',[2] he withdrew from the undertaking and resigned himself to staying at home.

There was one of his companions named Wihtberht[3] who was remarkable both for his contempt of this world and for his learning. He had spent many years in exile in Ireland, living as a hermit in great perfection of life. He took ship and, after reaching Frisia, spent two whole years preaching the word of life to that nation and to its king Radbod,[4] but he reaped no fruit for all this

that his ancestors were all in hell, he refused to be parted from them in heaven and rejected baptism (*Vita Vulframni*, *MGH*, *SRM*, v. 668). He was constantly at war with the Franks under Pippin and Charles Martel and died in 719.

auditores. Tum reuersus ad dilectae locum peregrinationis, solito in silentio uacare Domino coepit; et quoniam externis prodesse ad fidem non poterat, suis amplius ex uirtutum exemplis prodesse curabat.

X

VT autem uidit uir Domini Ecgberct, quia nec ipse ad praedicandum gentibus uenire permittebatur, retentus ob aliam sanctae
p. 299 ecclesiae utilitatem, de qua / oraculo fuerat praemonitus, nec Uictberct illas deueniens in partes quicquam proficiebat, temtauit adhuc in opus Verbi mittere uiros sanctos et industrios, in quibus eximius Uilbrord[1] presbyteri gradu et merito praefulgebat. Qui cum illo aduenissent (erant autem numero duodecim), diuertentes ad Pippinum ducem Francorum,[2] gratanter ab illo suscepti sunt. Et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam expulso inde Rathbedo rege ceperat, illo eos ad praedicandum misit, ipse quoque imperiali auctoritate iuuans, ne qui praedicantibus quicquam molestiae inferret, multisque eos qui fidem suscipere uellent beneficiis adtollens; unde factum est, opitulante gratia diuina, ut multos in breui ab idolatria ad fidem conuerterent Christi.

Horum secuti exempla duo quidam presbyteri de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia multo tempore pro aeterna patria exulauerant, uenerunt ad prouinciam Antiquorum Saxonum, si forte aliquos ibidem praedicando Christo adquirere possent. Erant autem unius ambo, sicut deuotionis, sic etiam uocabuli, nam uterque eorum appellabatur Heuuald; ea tamen distinctione, ut pro diuersa capillorum specie unus Niger Heuuald, alter Albus Heuuald diceretur. Quorum uterque pietate religionis inbutus, sed Niger Heuuald magis sacrarum litterarum erat scientia institutus. Qui uenientes in prouinciam intrauerunt hospitium cuiusdam uilici, petieruntque ab eo ut transmitterentur ad satrapam[3] qui super eum erat, eo quod haberent aliquid legationis et causae utilis, quod deberent ad illum perferre. Non enim habent regem idem Antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suae genti praepositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt aequaliter sortes, /

[1] See p. 253, n. 4, and p. 491, nn. 4 and 5.

[2] Pippin of Heristal, Austrasian mayor of the palace. He died in 714 and was succeeded by his son Charles Martel.

[3] The Latin terms *uilicus* and *satrapa* are translated in the Old English version by *tungerefa* and *ealdorman*.

labour among the barbarians who heard him. So he returned to his beloved place of exile and began again to give himself up to the Lord, in his accustomed life of silence; and although he failed to help strangers to the faith, yet he took care to help his own people more, by the example of his virtues.

CHAPTER X

So Egbert, the man of the Lord, saw that he was not permitted to go and preach to the nations himself, but was retained to be of some other use to the holy Church, as he had been forewarned by a prophecy; and even though Wihtberht had made no headway when he went into those parts, yet Egbert still attempted to send holy and industrious men to the task of preaching the Word; among these Willibrord[1] was outstandingly eminent as a priest both in rank and merit. When they arrived, twelve in number, they went to visit Pippin, duke of the Franks,[2] by whom they were graciously received; and as he had just driven King Radbod out of nearer Frisia and had taken it over, he sent them to preach there; at the same time he gave them the support of his royal authority so that none should molest them as they preached; he also bestowed many favours on those who were willing to receive the faith. So it came about that, aided by divine grace, they converted many in a short time from idolatry to faith in Christ.

Following their example, two English priests who had long lived in exile in Ireland for the sake of their eternal fatherland, came to the kingdom of the Old Saxons in the hope of winning some in that land to Christ by their preaching. They both shared the same devotion and also the same name, for they were both named Hewald, but with this distinction that because of the different colour of their hair one was called Black Hewald and the other White Hewald; both were full of religious devotion, but Black Hewald was more learned in the holy Scriptures. When they reached the land, they went into the guest-house of a certain reeve, asking him to give them safe conduct to the viceroy[3] who was over him because they had a message of importance which they had to deliver to him. The Old Saxons have no king but only a number of viceroys who are set over the people and, when at any time war is about to break out, they cast lots impartially and all

p. 300 et quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant; peracto autem bello, rursum aequalis potentiae omnes fiunt satrapae. Suscepit ergo eos uilicus, et promittens se mittere eos ad satrapam qui super se erat, ut petebant, aliquot diebus secum retenuit.

Qui cum cogniti essent a barbaris, quod essent alterius religionis (nam et psalmis semper atque orationibus uacabant, et cotidie sacrificium Deo uictimae salutaris offerebant, habentes secum uascula sacra et tabulam altaris uice dedicatam),[1] suspecti sunt habiti quia, si peruenirent ad satrapam et loquerentur cum illo, auerterent illum a diis suis, et ad nouam Christianae fidei religionem transferrent, sicque paulatim omnis eorum prouincia ueterem cogeretur noua mutare culturam. Itaque rapuerunt eos subito et interemerunt, Album quidem Heuualdum ueloci occisione gladii, Nigellum autem longo suppliciorum cruciatu et horrenda membrorum omnium discerptione; quos interemtos in Hreno proiecerunt. Quod cum satrapa ille, quem uidere uolebant, audisset, iratus est ualde, quod ad se uenire uolentes peregrini non permitterentur, et mittens occidit uicanos illos omnes uicumque incendio consumsit. Passi sunt autem praefati sacerdotes et famuli Christi quinto nonarum Octobrium die.

Nec martyrio eorum caelestia defuere miracula. Nam cum peremta eorum corpora amni, ut diximus, a paganis essent iniecta, contigit ut haec contra impetum fluuii decurrentis per XL fere milia passuum ad ea usque loca, ubi illorum erant socii, transferrentur.[b] Sed et radius lucis permaximus atque ad caelum usque altus omni nocte supra locum fulgebat illum, ubicumque ea
p. 301 peruenisse contingeret, et hoc / etiam paganis, qui eos occiderant, intuentibus. Sed et unus ex eis in uisione nocturna apparuit cuidam de sociis suis, cui nomen erat Tilmon, uiro inlustri et ad saeculum quoque nobili, qui de milite factus fuerat monachus, indicans quod eo loci corpora eorum posset inuenire, ubi lucem de caelo terris radiasse conspiceret. Quod ita conpletum est: inuenta namque eorum corpora iuxta honorem martyribus condignum recondita sunt, et dies passionis uel inuentionis eorum congrua illis in locis ueneratione celebratus. Denique gloriosissimus dux Francorum Pippin, ubi haec conperiit, misit et adducta

[a] namque *c* [b] transferentur *c*

[1] This was a portable altar such as the one which belonged to St. Cuthbert and is preserved in Durham Cathedral. It is a small oak board measuring 5¼ × 4¼ in. and inscribed IN HONOREM S PETRU (in honour of St. Peter). See *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 326–36. It is marked with five Latin crosses, one at each corner and one in the middle. Symeon of Durham describes a similar one found in the tomb of Acca, bishop of Hexham, when his relics were translated

follow and obey the one on whom the lot falls, for the duration of the war. When the war is over, they all become viceroys of equal rank again. So the reeve received them and though he promised to send them to the viceroy who was over him, as they requested, yet he kept them several days.

When the barbarians saw them continually engaged in psalms and prayers and daily offering up the sacrifice of the saving Victim to God—for they had sacred vessels with them and a consecrated board instead of an altar[1]—they realized that these men were of a different religion. They began to suspect that, if the Hewalds came to the viceroy and talked to him, they might turn him away from their gods and bring him to a new faith, the Christian religion, and so gradually the whole land would be compelled to change its old religion for a new one. So they seized them suddenly and put them to death. They slew White Hewald quickly with a sword but Black Hewald was put to lingering torture and was torn limb from limb in a horrible fashion; their bodies were thrown into the Rhine. When the viceroy whom they wished to see heard of it, he was extremely angry that the pilgrims had not been permitted to see him as they wished. So he sent and slew all those villagers and burned their village. These priests and servants of Christ suffered on 3 October.

Heavenly miracles were not lacking at their martyrdom. When the heathen threw their dead bodies into the river, as I described, they were carried for nearly forty miles against the current to the place where their companions were. A great ray of light reaching to heaven shone every night upon the spot where they chanced to be and even the heathen who had slain them saw it. One of the brothers appeared by night in a vision to one of their companions whose name was Tilmon, a distinguished man and noble also in the worldly sense, who had been a soldier and become a monk. The vision pointed out to him that the bodies could be found in the place where he saw a light shining from heaven to earth. And so it befell; their bodies were found and buried with the honour due to martyrs, while the day of their passion and also of the finding of their bodies was fittingly observed in those places. In fact, that most glorious duke of the Franks, Pippin, on learning

somewhere about 1050 (Symeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold, II. 33. But see also P. Hunter Blair, 'Observations on the *Historia Regum*', *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), p. 89).

ad se eorum corpora condidit cum multa gloria in ecclesia Coloniae[1] ciuitatis iuxta Hrenum. Fertur autem quia in loco quo occisi sunt fons ebullierit, qui in eodem loco usque hodie copiosa fluenti sui dona profundat.[a]

XI

PRIMIS sane temporibus aduentus eorum in Fresiam, mox ut conperiit Uilbrord datam sibi a princípe licentiam ibidem praedicandi, accelerauit uenire Romam, cuius sedi apostolicae tunc Sergius papa[2] praeerat, ut cum eius licentia et benedictione desideratum euangelizandi gentibus opus iniret; simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere, ut dum in gente cui praedicaret destructis idolis ecclesias institueret, haberet in promtu reliquias sanctorum quas ibi introduceret,[3] quibusque ibidem depositis, consequenter in eorum honorem, quorum essent illae, singula quaeque loca dedicaret.
p. 302 Sed et / alia perplura, quae tanti operis negotium quaerebat, uel ibi discere uel inde accipere cupiebat. In quibus omnibus cum sui[b] uoti compos esset effectus, ad praedicandum rediit.

Quo tempore fratres, qui erant in Fresia Verbi ministerio mancipati, elegerunt ex suo numero uirum modestum moribus et mansuetum corde Suidberctum, qui eis ordinaretur antistes,[4] quem Brittaniam destinatum ad petitionem eorum ordinauit reuerentissimus Uilfrid episcopus, qui tum forte patria pulsus in Merciorum regionibus exulabat. Non enim eo tempore habebat episcopum Cantia, defuncto quidem Theodoro, sed necdum Berctualdo successore eius, qui trans mare ordinandus ierat, ad sedem episcopatus sui reuerso.

Qui uidelicet Suidberct accepto episcopatu de Brittania regressus, non multo post ad gentem Boructuarorum[5] secessit, ac

[a] perfundat *c2* [b] sui *om. c2*

[1] This would presumably be in the original church on the site of the present cathedral. The relics of the two brothers were afterwards said to have been translated by Hanno II, archbishop of Cologne in 1074, and placed one on either side of the patron St. Cunibert. They are sometimes said to be in the church of St. Cunibert, but this was not completed until 1248; if this is so, they must have been translated again at a later date.

[2] He was pope from 687 to 701. He was reigning when Cædwalla arrived in Rome (v. 7). He granted privileges to Ceolfrith for his monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow (*HAB*, Plummer, I. 380).

what had happened, sent and had their bodies brought to him and buried with much splendour in the church of the city of Cologne,[1] on the Rhine. It is said that a spring burst forth in the spot where they were killed which to this day provides the place with an abundant supply of water.

CHAPTER XI

ON their first arrival in Frisia, Willibrord, as soon as he heard that the king had given him permission to preach, hurried to Rome while Pope Sergius[2] was ruling over the apostolic see, in order to begin the missionary task he wished to undertake with the pope's permission and approval. At the same time he hoped to receive some relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ in order that, when he had destroyed their idols and founded churches in the nation to which he was preaching, he might have relics of the saints ready to put into them,[3] dedicating each church in honour of the saint whose relics they were. He also wished both to learn about and obtain many other things necessary for so great a task. And when he had all that he wanted, he returned to his preaching.

At this time, the brothers who were engaged in the ministry of the Word in Frisia chose one of their number, a meek-hearted man of sober ways named Swithberht, to be consecrated bishop over them.[4] They sent him to Britain, where at their request he was consecrated by the most reverend Bishop Wilfrid, who was at that time an exile in Mercia, having been driven out of his own land. For at the time Kent had no bishop, since Theodore was dead and Berhtwold, his successor who had crossed the sea to be consecrated, had not yet returned to his episcopal see.

When Swithberht had received the rank of bishop and had returned from Britain, he left soon afterwards to go to the nation of the *Boruhtware* (Bructeri)[5] and led many of them into the way of

[3] It is clear from this passage and from i. 30 that relics were considered essential to the consecration of a church. Gregory sent relics to Augustine for this purpose (i. 29).

[4] Swithberht was consecrated by Wilfrid, who, after his quarrel with Aldfrith about 691, went to Æthelred of Mercia. As Berhtwold was in Gaul from some time after July 692 until August 693 for his consecration, the consecration of Swithberht must have taken place between these dates. Eddius does not mention the consecration.

[5] See p. 477 and n. 2.

multos eorum praedicando ad uiam ueritatis perduxit. Sed expugnatis non longo post tempore Boructuaris a gente Antiquorum Saxonum, dispersi sunt quolibet hi qui Verbum receperant. Ipse antistes cum quibusdam Pippinum petiit, qui interpellante Bliththrydae[1] coniuge sua dedit ei locum mansionis in insula quadam Hreni, quae lingua illorum uocatur In Litore,[2] in qua ipse constructo monasterio, quod hactenus heredes possident eius,[3] aliquandiu continentissimam gessit uitam, ibique diem clausit ultimum.

Postquam uero per annos aliquot in Fresia qui aduenerant docuerunt, misit Pippin fauente omnium consensu uirum uenerabilem Uilbrordum Romam, cuius adhuc pontificatum Sergius habebat, postulans ut eidem Fresonum genti archiepiscopus ordinaretur. /
p. 303 Quod ita ut petierat impletum est, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXCVI.[4] Ordinatus est autem in ecclesia sanctae martyris Ceciliae die natalis eius, inposito sibi a papa memorato nomine Clementis, ac mox remissus ad sedem episcopatus sui, idest post dies XIIII ex quo in Vrbem uenerat.

Donauit autem ei Pippin locum cathedrae episcopalis in castello suo inlustri, quod antiquo gentium illarum uerbo Uiltaburg, id est Oppidum Uiltorum, lingua autem Gallica Traiectum uocatur; in quo aedificata ecclesia reuerentissimus pontifex longe lateque uerbum fidei praedicans multosque ab errore reuocans, plures per illas regiones ecclesias sed et monasteria nonnulla construxit. Nam non multo post alios quoque illis in regionibus ipse constituit antistites ex eorum numero fratrum, qui uel secum uel post se illo ad praedicandum uenerant; ex quibus aliquanti iam dormierunt in Domino. Ipse autem Uilbrord, cognomento Clemens, adhuc superest, longa[a] iam uenerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum, et post multiplices militiae caelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans.[5]

[a] longe *c*

[1] This is the Anglo-Saxon form of the name Plectrudis by which she is usually known. After Pippin's death she tried to take his place, but was forced to give way to Charles Martel, a son of one of Pippin's concubines.

[2] This is now known as Kaiserswerth, seven miles north of Düsseldorf. The relics of St. Swithberht are still preserved in a shrine in the thirteenth-century choir of the church there. *In litore* is a translation of OE. *on pæm waroðe*, which in its turn is a transliteration of Old German *up demo weride*, which really means 'on the island'. Kaiserswerth stood on an island until the thirteenth century, when one branch of the Rhine was blocked during a siege.

[3] For further examples of hereditary succession in monasteries see p. 460, n. 2.

truth by his teaching. But soon afterwards the *Boruhtware* were defeated by the Old Saxons and those who had accepted the Word were scattered here and there. So the bishop and certain others went to Pippin who, at the request of his wife Bliththryth (Plectrudis),[1] gave him a dwelling-place on an island in the Rhine which in their language is called 'On the Shore' (Kaiserswerth).[2] Here he built a monastery which his heirs still occupy,[3] in which he dwelt for a time, living a life of great austerity; and there he died.

When those who had come from Britain had spent some time in Frisia teaching, Pippin, with the consent of them all, sent the venerable Willibrord to Rome while Sergius was still pope, asking for him to be consecrated archbishop of the Frisians. This was duly performed as Pippin requested, in the year of our Lord 696.[4] He was consecrated in the church of the holy martyr Cecilia, on the day of her festival, and the pope gave him the name of Clement. He was sent back to the bishopric fourteen days after his arrival in the city.

Pippin gave him a place for his episcopal see in his famous fortress which, in the ancient language of the people, is called *Wiltaburg*, that is the town of the Wilti, but in the Gallic tongue is called *Traiectum* (Utrecht). The reverend bishop built a church here and preached the word of faith far and wide, recalling many from their errors. He also built a number of churches throughout those districts and established several monasteries. Not long afterwards he appointed in those parts a number of bishops from among the brothers who had come with him or had followed him there for the purpose of preaching. Some of these have now fallen asleep in the Lord, but Willibrord himself, surnamed Clement, is still alive and honoured for his great age, having been thirty-six years a bishop. After fighting many a battle in the heavenly warfare, he now longs with all his heart for the prize of a heavenly reward.[5]

[4] In Willibrord's own calendar (see p. 382, n. 2) the date is given as 695 in an entry probably made by Willibrord himself. The consecration, as the calendar shows, was on the eve of the festival of St. Cecilia, 21 November, which fell on a Sunday in 695, a normal day for consecrating bishops. The pope gave him the name of Clement seeing that 23 November was the festival of that saint.

[5] Willibrord died in 739, aged 81. He was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Echternach. For an excellent account of his career see W. Levison, 'St. Willibrord and his place in history', *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp. 314 ff.

XII

His temporibus miraculum memorabile et antiquorum simile in Brittania factum est. Namque ad excitationem uiuentium de morte animae quidam aliquandiu mortuus ad uitam resurrexit corporis, et multa memoratu digna quae uiderat narrauit; e quibus hic
p. 304 aliqua breuiter perstringenda esse putaui. Erat / ergo[a] pater familias in regione Nordanhymbrorum quae uocatur Incunen-ingum,[1] religiosam cum domu sua gerens uitam. Qui infirmitate corporis tactus, et hac crescente per dies ad extrema perductus, primo tempore noctis defunctus est, sed diluculo reuiuescens ac repente residens, omnes qui corpori flentes adsederant timore inmenso perculsos in fugam conuertit; uxor tantum, quae amplius amabat, quamuis multum tremens et pauida remansit. Quam ille consolatus 'Noli' inquit 'timere, quia iam uere surrexi a morte qua tenebar, et apud homines sum iterum uiuere permissus; non tamen ea mihi, qua ante consueram, conuersatione sed multum dissimili ex hoc tempore uiuendum est.' Statimque surgens abiit ad uillulae oratorium, et usque ad diem in oratione persistens, mox omnem quam possederat substantiam in tres diuisit portiones, e quibus unam coniugi, alteram filiis tradidit, tertiam sibi ipse retentans[2] statim pauperibus distribuit. Nec multo post saeculi curis absolutus ad monasterium Mailros,[3] quod Tuidi fluminis circumflexu[b] maxima ex parte clauditur, peruenit, acceptaque tonsura locum secretae mansionis, quam praeuiderat abbas, intrauit, et ibi usque ad diem mortis in tanta mentis et corporis contritione durauit, ut multa illum quae alios laterent uel horrenda uel desideranda uidisse, etiamsi lingua sileret, uita loqueretur.

Narrabat autem hoc modo quod uiderat, 'Lucidus' inquiens 'aspectu et clarus erat indumento, qui me ducebat. Incedebamus autem tacentes, ut uidebatur mihi, contra ortum solis solstitialem; cumque ambularemus, deuenimus ad uallem multae latitudinis ac
p. 305 profunditatis, infinitae autem longitudinis, quae ad / leuam nobis sita unum latus flammis feruentibus nimium terribile, alterum

[a] enim *c2* [b] circumplexu *c*

[1] This is presumably the Cunningham district of modern Ayrshire, for though it was part of Strathclyde, it may quite possibly have been under Northumbrian domination during part of the seventh century.

[2] That is, he reserved it for the good of his own soul by giving it to the poor.

CHAPTER XII

ABOUT this time a memorable miracle occurred in Britain like those of ancient times. In order to arouse the living from spiritual death, a certain man already dead came back to life and related many memorable things that he had seen, and I think that some of them ought to be briefly mentioned here. There was a man, the father of a family, who lived a religious life together with his household in a district of Northumbria which is called *Incunen-ingum* (Cunningham).[1] He was stricken down by an illness which grew worse from day to day until he reached his end and died in the early hours of the night. But at dawn he came to life again and suddenly sat up, so that all who were sitting mourning round his corpse were terrified beyond measure and fled, except his wife, who loved him dearly and remained with him, though trembling with fear. The man comforted her, saying, 'Do not be afraid, for I have indeed risen from death which held me in its bonds, and I have been permitted to live again amongst mankind; nevertheless after this I must not live as I used to, but in a very different way.' He rose and went to the oratory in the village and continued in prayer until daylight came. He thereupon divided everything he possessed into three parts; he gave one part to his wife, another to his sons, and the third part he reserved for himself[2] but immediately distributed it to the poor. Soon afterwards he freed himself from the cares of this world and went to the monastery at Melrose,[3] which is almost encircled by a bend in the river Tweed. He received the tonsure and retired to a secret retreat provided by the abbot. There, until the day of his death, he lived a life of such penance of mind and body that even if he had kept silence, his life would have declared that he had seen many things to be dreaded or desired which had been hidden from other men.

He described what he had seen in this way: 'I was guided by a man of shining countenance and wearing bright robes. We went in silence in what appeared to me to be the direction of the rising of the sun at the summer solstice. As we walked we came to a very deep and broad valley of infinite length. It lay on our left and one side of it was exceedingly terrible with raging fire, while the

[3] The monastery which Cuthbert entered when Eata was abbot and Boisil prior. It was Old Melrose, about 2½ miles east of the existing monastery ruins. The seventh-century buildings were burned down in 839 by Kenneth MacAlpin.

furenti grandine ac frigore niuium omnia perflante atque uerrente non minus intolerabile praeferebat.[1] Vtrumque autem erat animabus hominum plenum, quae uicissim huc inde uidebantur quasi tempestatis impetu iactari. Cum enim uim feruoris inmensi tolerare non possent, prosiliebant miserae in medium rigoris infesti; et cum neque ibi quippiam requiei inuenire ualerent, resiliebant rursus urendae in medium flammarum inextinguibilium. Cumque hac infelici uicissitudine longe lateque, prout aspicere poteram, sine ulla quietis intercapedine innumerabilis spirituum deformium multitudo torqueretur, cogitare coepi quod hic fortasse esset infernus, de cuius tormentis intolerabilibus narrari saepius audiui. Respondit cogitationi meae ductor, qui me praecedebat, "Non hoc" inquiens "suspiceris; non enim hic infernus est ille, quem putas."

'At cum me hoc spectaculo tam horrendo perterritum paulatim in ulteriora produceret, uidi subito ante nos obscurari incipere loca, et tenebris omnia repleri. Quas cum intraremus, in tantum paulisper condensatae sunt, ut nihil praeter ipsas aspicerem, excepta dumtaxat specie et ueste eius, qui me ducebat. Et cum progrederemur "sola sub nocte per umbras",[2] ecce subito apparent ante nos crebri flammarum tetrarum globi ascendentes quasi de puteo magno rursumque decidentes in eundem. Quo cum perductus essem, repente ductor meus disparuit, ac me solum in medio tenebrarum et horridae uisionis reliquit. At cum idem globi ignium sine intermissione modo alta peterent, modo ima baratri repeterent, cerno omnia quae ascendebant fastigia flammarum
p. 306 plena esse / spiritibus hominum, qui instar fauillarum cum fumo ascendentium nunc ad sublimiora proicerentur, nunc retractis ignium uaporibus relaberentur in[a] profunda. Sed et fetor incomparabilis cum eisdem uaporibus ebulliens omnia illa tenebrarum loca replebat. Et cum diutius ibi pauidus consisterem, utpote incertus quid agerem, quo uerterem gressum, qui me finis maneret, audio subitum post terga sonitum inmanissimi fletus ac miserrimi, simul et cachinnum crepitantem quasi uulgi indocti captis hostibus insultantis. Vt autem sonitus idem clarior redditus ad me usque peruenit, considero turbam malignorum spirituum, quae quinque[b] animas hominum merentes heiulantesque, ipsa multum exultans

[a] in profunda . . . replebat *om. c* [b] quae quinque] quaecumque *c*

[1] It was a widespread conception in the Middle Ages that one of the punishments of hell consisted of alternating extremes of heat and cold. Bede refers to

other was no less intolerable on account of the violent hail and icy snow which was drifting and blowing everywhere.[1] Both sides were full of the souls of men which were apparently tossed from one side to the other in turn, as if by the fury of the tempest. When the wretched souls could no longer endure the fierceness of the terrific heat, they leapt into the midst of the deadly cold; and when they could find no respite there, they jumped back only to burn once again in the midst of the unquenchable flames. Since a countless multitude of misshapen spirits, far and wide, was being tortured in this alternation of misery as far as I could see, and without any interval of respite, I began to think that this might be hell, of whose intolerable torments I had often heard tell. But my guide who went before me answered my thoughts, "Do not believe it," he said, "this is not hell as you think."

'When he had gradually led me further on, utterly terrified by this awful spectacle, I suddenly saw that the places in front of us began to grow dimmer until darkness covered everything. As we entered this darkness, it quickly grew so thick that I could see nothing else except the shape and the garment of my guide. As we went on "through the shades in the lone night",[2] there suddenly appeared before us masses of noisome flame, constantly rising up as if from a great pit and falling into it again. When my guide had brought me to this place, he suddenly disappeared and left me alone in the midst of the darkness and of the horrible scene. I saw, as the globes of fire now shot up and now fell back again ceaselessly into the bottom of the pit, that the tips of the flames as they ascended, were full of human souls which, like sparks flying upward with the smoke, were now tossed on high and now, as the vaporous flames fell back, were sucked down into the depths. Furthermore, an indescribable stench which rose up with these vapours filled all these abodes of darkness. When I had stood there a long time in great terror, uncertain what to do or where to turn or what end awaited me, I suddenly heard behind my back the sound of wild and desperate lamentation, accompanied by harsh laughter as though a rude mob were insulting their captured foes. As the noise grew clearer and finally reached me, I beheld a crowd of evil spirits, amid jeers and laughter, dragging five

it himself in several places. See Plummer, II. 296. So St. Guthlac sees in hell 'sulphurous eddies of flames mixed with icy hail'. Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), p. 105.

[2] From Virgil, *Aeneid* vi. 268.

et cachinnans, medias illas trahebat in tenebras; e quibus uidelicet hominibus, ut dinoscere potui, quidam erat adtonsus ut clericus, quidam laicus, quaedam femina. Trahentes autem eos maligni spiritus descenderunt in medium baratri illius ardentis;[a] factumque est ut, cum longius subeuntibus eis fletum hominum et risum daemoniorum clare discernere nequirem, sonum tamen adhuc promiscuum in auribus haberem. Interea ascenderunt quidam spirituum obscurorum de abysso illa flammiuoma, et adcurrentes circumdederunt me, atque oculis flammantibus et de ore ac naribus ignem putidum efflantes angebant; forcipibus quoque igneis, quos tenebant in manibus, minitabantur me conprehendere, nec tamen me ullatenus contingere, tametsi terrere, praesumebant. Qui cum undiqueuersum hostibus et caecitate tenebrarum[b] conclusus, huc illucque oculos circumferrem, si forte alicunde quid auxilii quo saluarer adueniret, apparuit retro uia qua ueneram quasi fulgor
p. 307 stellae micantis inter tenebras, qui paulatim crescens, et ad / me ocius festinans, ubi adpropinquauit, dispersi sunt et aufugerunt omnes qui me forcipibus rapere quaerebant spiritus infesti.

'Ille autem, qui aduenientes eos fugauit, erat ipse qui me ante ducebat; qui mox conuersus ad dextrum iter quasi contra ortum solis brumalem me ducere coepit. Nec mora, exemtum tenebris in auras me[c] serenae lucis eduxit. Cumque me in luce aperta duceret, uidi ante nos murum permaximum, cuius neque longitudini hinc uel inde neque altitudini ullus esse terminus uideretur. Coepi autem mirari, quare ad murum accederemus, cum in eo nullam ianuam uel fenestram uel ascensum alicubi conspicerem. Cum ergo peruenissemus ad murum, statim nescio quo ordine fuimus in summitate eius. Et ecce ibi campus erat latissimus ac laetissimus, tantaque flagrantia uernantium flosculorum plenus, ut omnem mox fetorem tenebrosi fornacis, qui me peruaserat, effugaret admirandi huius suauitas odoris. Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei siue solis meridiani radiis uideretur esse praeclarior. Erantque[d] in hoc campo innumera hominum albatorum conuenticula sedesque plurimae agminum laetantium. Cumque inter choros felicium incolarum medios me duceret, cogitare coepi quod hoc fortasse[e] esse regnum caelorum, de quo praedicari saepius audiui. Respondit ille cogitatui meo, "Non," inquiens, "non hoc est regnum caelorum quod autumas."

[a] ardentes *c2* [b] *c puts* et caecitate tenebrarum *after* conclusus [c] me *om. c* [d] erant namque *c2* [e] fortasse hoc *c*

human souls, wailing and shrieking, into the midst of the darkness. I could see that one was tonsured like a clerk, one a layman, and one a woman. The evil spirits dragged them down into the midst of the burning pit; and it came about that, as they descended deeper, I was unable to discern clearly between human lamentations and devilish laughter, but there was a confused noise in my ears. Meanwhile some of the gloomy spirits rose from the flaming abyss and rushed at me, surrounding me with burning eyes and tormenting me with the noisome flame which issued from their mouths and nostrils. They also threatened to seize me with the fiery tongs which they held in their hands, but although they ventured to terrify me, they did not dare to touch me. Being thus surrounded on all sides by foes and black darkness, I cast my eyes in every direction to see if there was any help or way of escape anywhere; and then there appeared behind me, on the road by which I had come, something like a bright star glimmering in the darkness which gradually grew and came rapidly towards me. On its approach all the hostile spirits who were seeking to seize me with their tongs scattered and fled.

'It was the one who had guided me before, whose coming put them to flight; turning to the right he began to lead me in the direction of the rising of the winter sun and quickly brought me out of the darkness into a serene and bright atmosphere. As he led me on in open light, I saw a very great wall in front of us which seemed to be endlessly long and endlessly high everywhere. I began to wonder why we were approaching this wall, since I could nowhere see any gate or window or steps to it. When we had reached the wall we suddenly found ourselves on top of it, by what means I know not. There was a very broad and pleasant plain, full of such a fragrance of growing flowers that the marvellous sweetness of the scent quickly dispelled the foul stench of the gloomy furnace which had hung around me. So great was the light that flooded all this place that it seemed to be clearer than the brightness of daylight or the rays of the noontide sun. In this meadow there were innumerable bands of men in white robes, and many companies of happy people sat around; as he led me through the midst of the troops of joyful inhabitants, I began to think that this might perhaps be the kingdom of heaven of which I had often heard tell. But he answered my thoughts: "No," he said, "this is not the kingdom of heaven as you imagine."

'Cumque procedentes transissemus et has beatorum mansiones spirituum, aspicio ante nos multo maiorem luminis gratiam quam prius, in qua etiam uocem cantantium dulcissimam audiui; sed et odoris flagrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur, ut is, quem antea degustans quasi maximum rebar, iam permodicus mihi /
p. 308 odor uideretur, sicut etiam lux illa campi florentis eximia, in conparatione eius quae nunc apparuit lucis, tenuissima prorsus uidebatur et parua. In cuius amoenitatem loci cum nos intraturos sperarem, repente ductor substitit; nec mora, gressum retorquens ipsa me, qua uenimus, uia reduxit.

'Cumque reuersi peruenieremus ad mansiones illas laetas spirituum candidatorum, dixit mihi: "Scis, quae sint ista omnia, quae uidisti?" Respondi ego: "Non." Et ait: "Vallis illa, quam aspexisti flammis feruentibus et frigoribus horrenda rigidis, ipse est locus in quo examinandae et castigandae sunt animae illorum, qui differentes confiteri et emendare scelera quae fecerunt,[a] in ipso tandem mortis articulo ad paenitentiam confugiunt, et sic de corpore exeunt; qui tamen, quia confessionem et paenitentiam uel in morte habuerunt, omnes in die iudicii ad regnum caelorum perueniunt. Multos autem preces uiuentium et elimosynae et ieiunia et maxime celebratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem iudicii liberentur, adiuuant. Porro puteus ille flammiuomus ac putidus, quem uidisti, ipsum est os gehennae, in quo quicumque semel inciderit, numquam inde liberabitur in aeuum. Locus uero iste florifer, in quo pulcherrimam hanc iuuentutem iucundari ac fulgere conspicis, ipse est, in quo recipiuntur[b] animae eorum qui in bonis quidem operibus de corpore exeunt; non tamen sunt tantae perfectionis, ut in regnum caelorum statim mereantur introduci; qui tamen omnes in die iudicii ad uisionem Christi et gaudia regni caelestis intrabunt. Nam quicumque in omni uerbo et opere et cogitatione perfecti sunt, mox de corpore egressi ad regnum caeleste perueniunt; ad cuius uicinia pertinet locus ille,
p. 309 ubi sonum cantilenae dulcis cum odore suauitatis / ac splendore lucis audisti. Tu autem, quia nunc ad corpus reuerti et rursum inter homines uiuere debes, si actus tuos curiosius discutere, et mores sermonesque tuos in rectitudine ac simplicitate seruare studueris, accipies et ipse post mortem locum mansionis inter haec quae cernis agmina laetabunda spirituum beatorum. Namque

[a] fecerant *c* [b] recipiantur *m*

'When we had passed through these abodes of the blessed spirits, I saw in front of us a much more gracious light than before; and amidst it I heard the sweetest sound of people singing. So wonderful was the fragrance which spread from this place that the scent which I had thought superlative before, when I savoured it, now seemed to me a very ordinary fragrance; and the wondrous light which shone over the flowery field, in comparison with the light which now appeared, seemed feeble and weak. When I began to hope that we should enter this delightful place, my guide suddenly stood still; and turning round immediately, he led me back by the way we had come.

'When we had reached the joyful mansions of the white-robed spirits, he said to me, "Do you know what all these things are, which you have seen?" I answered, "No!" Then he said, "The valley that you saw, with its awful flaming fire and freezing cold, is the place in which those souls have to be tried and chastened who delayed to confess and make restitution for the sins they had committed until they were on the point of death; and so they died. But because they did repent and confess, even though on their deathbed, they will all come to the kingdom of heaven on judgement day; and the prayers of those who are still alive, their alms and fastings and specially the celebration of masses, help many of them to get free even before the day of judgement. Furthermore, the fiery noisome pit which you saw is the very mouth of hell, into which whoever once falls will never be released from it through all eternity. This flowery place in which you see a fair and youthful company, so joyous and bright, is where the souls are received of those who depart from the body practising good works; but they are not in such a state of perfection that they deserve to be received immediately into the kingdom of heaven; nevertheless all of them at the day of judgement will enter into the presence of Christ and the joys of the heavenly kingdom. But any who are perfect in every word and deed and thought, as soon as they leave the body, come to the kingdom of heaven. This kingdom is near the place where you heard the sound of sweet singing, amid delightful fragrance and glorious light. You must now return to the body and live among men again; but if you seek to watch your actions with greater care and keep your ways and words righteous in singleness of heart, you yourself will receive a place after your death among the joyous band of the blessed spirits

ego, cum ad tempus abscessissem a te, ad hoc feci, ut quid de te fieri deberet agnoscerem.'' Haec mihi cum dixisset, multum detestatus sum reuerti ad corpus, delectatus nimirum suauitate ac decore loci illius quem intuebar, simul et consortio eorum quos in illo uidebam. Nec tamen aliquid ductorem meum rogare audebam; sed inter haec nescio quo ordine repente me inter homines uiuere cerno.'

Haec et alia quae uiderat idem uir Domini, non omnibus passim desidiosis ac uitae suae incuriosis referre uolebat, sed illis solummodo qui uel tormentorum metu perterriti uel spe gaudiorum perennium delectati profectum pietatis ex eius uerbis haurire[a] uolebant. Denique in uicinia cellae illius[b] habitabat quidam monachus nomine Haemgisl, presbyteratus etiam, quem bonis actibus adaequabat, gradu praeminens, qui adhuc superest et in Hibernia insula solitarius ultimam uitae aetatem pane cibario et frigida aqua sustentat. Hic saepius ad eundem uirum ingrediens, audiuit ab eo repetita interrogatione, quae et qualia essent quae exutus corpore uideret; per cuius relationem ad nostram quoque agnitionem peruenere, quae de his pauca perstrinximus. Narrabat autem uisiones suas etiam regi Aldfrido, uiro undecumque doctis-
p. 310 simo; et tam libenter tamque / studiose ab illo auditus est, ut eius rogatu monasterio supra memorato inditus ac monachica sit tonsura coronatus, atque ad eum audiendum saepissime, cum illas in partes deuenisset, accederet. Cui uidelicet monasterio tempore illo religiosae ac modestae uitae abbas et presbyter Ediluald[1] praeerat, qui nunc episcopalem Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae cathedram condignis gradu actibus seruat.

Accepit autem in eodem monasterio locum mansionis secretiorem, ubi liberius continuis in orationibus famulatui sui Conditoris uacaret. Et quia locus ipse super ripam fluminis erat situs, solebat hoc creber ob magnum castigandi corporis affectum ingredi, ac saepius in eo supermeantibus undis inmergi; sicque ibidem quamdiu sustinere posse uidebatur, psalmis uel precibus insistere, fixusque manere ascendente aqua fluminis usque ad lumbos, aliquando et usque ad collum; atque inde egrediens ad

[a] hausire *c* [b] eius *c2*

[1] Æthelwold began his monastic life as a servant of St. Cuthbert (*VP*, c. 30). He became prior of Melrose and was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne in 721. He had an elaborate case made (now lost) for the Lindisfarne Gospels, which had been written and illuminated by his predecessor Eadfrith. He also caused

whom you see. When I left you for a time, I did so in order to find out what your future would be." When he had finished speaking I returned to the body with much distaste, for I was greatly delighted with the sweetness and grace of the place I had seen and with the company of those whom I saw in it. I did not dare to ask any questions of my guide; but meanwhile I suddenly found myself, by what means I know not, alive and in the world of men.'

The man of God was unwilling to relate these and other things he had seen to any who were living a slothful or a careless life, but only to those who were terrified by fear of the torments or delighted with the hope of eternal joys and were ready to make his words a means of spiritual advancement. For instance, in the neighbourhood of his cell there lived a monk named Hæmgisl, who was an eminent priest and whose good works were worthy of his rank. He is still alive, living in solitude in Ireland and supporting his declining years on a scanty supply of bread and cold water. He would often visit this man and learn from him, by repeated questionings, what sort of things he saw when he was out of the body; it is from his account that these particulars which we have briefly described came to our knowledge. He also told his visions to King Aldfrith, a most learned man in all respects, who listened to them gladly and attentively; at the king's request he was admitted to the monastery already mentioned and was crowned with the monastic tonsure. Whenever the king visited that region, he often went to listen to his story. At that time the abbot and priest Æthelwold,[1] a man of pious and sober life, ruled over the monastery. Now he rules over the episcopal see of Lindisfarne and his deeds are worthy of his rank.

The man was given a more secret retreat in the monastery where he could freely devote himself to the service of his Maker in constant prayer, and as his retreat was on the banks of the river, he often used to enter it in his great longing to chastise his body, frequently immersing himself beneath the water; he would remain thus motionless, reciting prayers and psalms for as long as he could endure it, while the water of the river came up to his loins and sometimes up to his neck. When he came out of the water, he

a cross of stone to be put up in honour of St. Cuthbert, bearing his own name. This shared in the wandering of the saint's body and was finally erected in the churchyard of the newly built Durham Cathedral in 995. It has now disappeared.

terram, numquam ipsa uestimenta uda atque algida deponere curabat, donec ex suo corpore calefierent et siccarentur. Cumque tempore hiemali defluentibus circa eum semifractarum crustis glacierum, quas et ipse aliquando contriuerat, quo haberet locum standi siue inmergendi in fluuio, dicerent qui uidebant: 'Mirum, frater Drycthelme' (hoc enim erat uiro nomen),[1] 'quod tantam frigoris asperitatem ulla ratione tolerare praeuales', respondebat ille simpliciter (erat namque homo simplicis ingenii ac moderatae naturae): 'Frigidiora ego uidi.' Et cum dicerent: 'Mirum quod tam austeram tenere continentiam uelis', respondebat: 'Austeriora ego uidi.' Sicque usque ad diem suae uocationis infatigabili caelestium bonorum desiderio corpus senile inter cotidiana ieiunia domabat, multisque et uerbo et conuersatione saluti fuit.

p. 311

XIII

AT contra fuit quidam in prouincia Merciorum, cuius uisiones ac uerba, non autem et conuersatio, plurimis, sed non sibimet ipsi, profuit. Fuit autem temporibus Coenredi,[2] qui post Aedilredum regnauit, uir in laico habitu atque officio militari positus, sed quantum pro industria exteriori regi placens, tantum pro interna suimet neglegentia displicens. Ammonebat ergo illum sedulo ut confiteretur et emendaret ac relinqueret scelera sua, priusquam subito mortis superuentu tempus omne paenitendi et emendandi perderet. Verum ille, frequenter licet admonitus, spernebat uerba salutis, seseque tempore sequente paenitentiam acturum[a] esse promittebat. Haec inter tactus infirmitate decidit in lectum, atque acri coepit dolore torqueri. Ad[b] quem ingressus rex (diligebat enim eum multum) hortabatur, ut uel tunc, antequam moreretur, paenitentiam ageret commissorum. At ille respondit non se tunc uelle confiteri peccata sua, sed cum ab infirmitate resurgeret, ne exprobrarent sibi sodales, quod timore mortis faceret ea quae sospes facere noluerat; fortiter quidem, ut sibi uidebatur, locutus, sed miserabiliter, ut post patuit, daemonica fraude seductus.

[a] aucturum *c* [b] at *c*

[1] Bede purposely omits Dryhthelm's name from the first part of the story in order to bring it in effectively at the end. The whole chapter is a good example of Bede's power of relating a vivid story.

[2] Cenred became king of Mercia in 704 on the resignation of his uncle Æthelred, who had entered the monastery at Bardney. Just after his accession,

would never trouble to take off his cold, wet garments until the warmth of his body had dried them. When in winter time the broken pieces of ice were floating round him, which he himself had had to break in order to find a place to stand in the river or immerse himself, those who saw him would say, 'Brother Dryhthelm,'—for that was his name[1]—'however can you bear such bitter cold?' He answered them simply, for he was a man of simple wit and few words, 'I have known it colder.' And when they said, 'It is marvellous that you are willing to endure such a hard and austere life', he replied, 'I have seen it harder.' And so until the day he was called away, in his unwearied longing for heavenly bliss, he subdued his aged body with daily fasts and led many to salvation by his words and life.

CHAPTER XIII

On the other hand, there was a man in the Mercian kingdom whose visions and words, but not his way of life, profited many but not himself. He lived in the time of Cenred,[2] Æthelred's successor, and was a layman, holding military rank; but however much he pleased the king by his outward industry, he displeased him by his inward negligence. The king warned him constantly to make confession, mend his ways, and give up his sins, before sudden death robbed him of all opportunity of repentance and amendment. But though he was frequently warned, he spurned this salutary advice, always promising that he would repent at some future time. Meanwhile he fell sick and took to his bed, suffering cruel pains. The king who loved him greatly went in to him and urged him to repent of his wickedness even then, before he died. He answered that he did not wish to confess his sins then, but only when he had recovered from his illness, lest his companions should accuse him of doing, for fear of death, something which he would not do when he was in good health; he imagined that he was speaking brave words but, as was afterwards apparent, he had been miserably deceived by the wiles of the devil.

Cenred received Wilfrid on his return from his last appeal to the pope (v. 19). In 709 he also resigned and went to Rome, where he was tonsured by Pope Constantine, an incident which was considered important enough to relate in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the official history of the popes. He died as a monk in Rome but the date of his death is unknown. (See p. 516, n. 2, and p. 517, n. 3.)

Cumque, morbo ingrauescente, denuo ad eum uisitandum ac docendum rex intraret, clamabat statim miserabili uoce: 'Quid uis modo? Quid huc uenisti? Non enim mihi[a] aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre.' At ille 'Noli' inquit 'ita loqui: uide ut sanum sapias.' 'Non' inquit 'insanio, sed pessimam mihi
p. 312 scientiam[b] certus prae oculis habeo.' 'Et / quid' inquit 'hoc est?' 'Paulo ante' inquit 'intrauerunt domum hanc duo pulcherrimi iuuenes, et resederunt[c] circa me, unus ad caput et unus ad pedes; protulitque unus libellum perpulchrum, sed uehementer modicum, ac mihi ad legendum dedit; in quo omnia, quae umquam bona feceram, intuens scripta repperi, et haec erant nimium pauca et modica. Receperunt codicem, neque aliquid mihi dicebant. Tum subito superuenit exercitus malignorum et horridorum uultu spirituum, domumque hanc et exterius obsedit et intus maxima ex parte residens impleuit. Tunc[d] ille, qui et obscuritate tenebrosae faciei et primatu sedis maior esse uidebatur eorum, proferens codicem horrendae[e] uisionis et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pene inportabilis, iussit uni ex satellitibus suis mihi ad legendum deferre. Quem cum legissem, inuenio omnia scelera, non solum quae opere uel uerbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione peccaui, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris. Dicebatque ad illos, qui mihi adsederant, uiros albatos et praeclaros: "Quid hic sedetis scientes certissime quia noster est iste?"[1] Responderunt: "Verum dicitis; accipite, et in cumulum damnationis uestrae ducite." Quo dicto statim disparuerunt; surgentesque duo nequissimi spiritus, habentes in manibus uomeres,[f2] percusserunt me, unus in capite et alius in pede; qui uidelicet modo cum magno tormento inrepunt in interiora corporis mei, moxque ut ad se inuicem perueniunt, moriar, et paratis ad rapiendum me daemonibus in inferni claustra pertrahar.'

p. 313 Sic loquebatur miser desperans, et non multo post / defunctus, paenitentiam, quam ad breue tempus cum fructu ueniae facere supersedit, in aeternum sine fructu poenis subditus facit. De quo

[a] mihi *om. c2* [b] conscientiam *c2* [c] residerunt *c* [d] tum *c* [e] horridae *c* [f] uomeres *is added by the correctors of the Leningrad and Moore MSS.; all our authorities omit the word, but the Cottonian MS. has* cultra *before* in manibus (*perhaps by conjecture, or from an earlier draft?*)

[1] This phrase is a reminiscence of some Irish or Old English apocrypha dealing with the fate of the soul in the next life. The cry of the angels or devils, whichever won the fight for the departing soul, was *Noster est ille homo* or similar words. See R. Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 95 ff.

[2] *Vomeres* (L^2 and M^2, see note) would normally mean ploughshares but *uomer* can mean a short pointed instrument and, in the OE. translation, is

As his disease grew worse, the king came again to see him and reason with him. But he called out at once in wretched tones, 'What do you want now? Why have you come? You can do nothing to help or save me now.' The king answered, 'Do not talk like that; behave like a sane man.' 'I am not mad,' he said, 'but I know the worst and I have seen it clearly.' 'And what is that?' the king asked. 'A short time ago,' he said, 'two most handsome youths came into my home and sat down near me, one at my head and one at my feet. One of them drew out a very beautiful but exceedingly small book and gave it me to read. On looking into it, I found all the good deeds I had ever done written down, but they were very few and trifling. They took the volume back but said nothing to me. Then suddenly there appeared an army of evil spirits with horrible faces; they surrounded the outside of the house, also filling almost the whole of the interior, and they too sat down. Then the one who seemed to be chief among them, judging by his dark and gloomy face and by the fact that he occupied the chief seat, took a volume of enormous size and almost unbearable weight, horrible to behold, and ordered one of his followers to bring it to me to read. On reading it I found all my sins written down very clearly but in hideous hand-writing: not only my sins of word and deed but even my slightest thoughts. He said to the glorious white-robed men who sat by me, "Why do you sit here since you know that this man is certainly ours?"[1] They said, "You speak the truth; take him away to help make up the number of the damned." With these words they immediately disappeared. Then two very wicked spirits who had daggers[2] in their hands struck me, one on the head and one on the foot. These daggers are now creeping into the interior of my body with great torment and, as soon as they meet, I shall die and, as the devils are all ready to seize me, I shall be dragged down into the dungeons of hell.'

Thus spoke the wretched man in his despair and, not long afterwards, he died. Now he suffers everlasting and fruitless punishment in torment because he failed to submit for a brief spell to the penance which would have brought him the fruit of

rendered by *handseax* meaning dagger or knife. In an Old English charm against stitch the sudden pain is attributed to little knives (called *seax* in one place), shot by witches. Cf. E. van K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York, 1942), p. 122. It is possibly some such folklore idea which is preserved in this story.

constat quia, sicut beatus papa Gregorius de quibusdam scribit, non pro se ista, cui non profuere, sed pro aliis uiderit,[1] qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum uacat, timerent, ne inprouiso mortis articulo praeuenti inpaenitentes perirent. Quod autem codices diuersos per bonos siue malos spiritus sibi uidit offerri, ob id superna dispensatione factum est, ut meminerimus facta et cogitationes nostras non in uentum diffluere, sed ad examen summi Iudicis cuncta seruari, et siue per amicos angelos in fine nobis ostendenda siue per hostes. Quod uero prius candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum daemones, illi perparuum isti enormem, animaduertendum est quod in prima aetate bona aliqua fecit, quae tamen uniuersa praue agendo iuuenis obnubilauit. Qui si e contrario errores pueritiae corrigere in adulescentia, ac bene faciendo a Dei oculis abscondere curasset, posset eorum numero sociari de quibus ait psalmus: 'Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata.'[2]

Hanc historiam, sicut a uenerabili antistite Pecthelmo[3] didici, simpliciter ob salutem legentium siue audientium narrandam esse putaui.

XIIII

NOUI autem ipse fratrem, quem utinam non nossem (cuius etiam nomen, si hoc aliquid prodesset, dicere possem), positum in monasterio nobili, sed ipsum ignobiliter uiuentem. Corripiebatur quidem sedulo a fratribus ac maioribus loci, atque ad castigati-
p. 314 orem / uitam conuerti ammonebatur. Et quamuis eos audire noluisset, tolerabatur tamen ab eis longanimiter ob necessitatem operum ipsius exteriorum; erat enim fabrili arte singularis. Seruiebat autem multum ebrietati et ceteris uitae remissioris illecebris, magisque in officina sua die noctuque residere, quam ad psallendum atque orandum in ecclesia audiendumque cum fratribus uerbum uitae concurrere consuerat. Vnde accidit illi, quod solent dicere quidam, quia qui non uult ecclesiae ianuam sponte humiliatus ingredi, necesse habet in ianuam inferni non

[1] Cf. Gregory's *Dialogues*, IV. 40, ed. Moricca, p. 294.

[2] Ps. 31 (32): 1.

[3] Pehthelm was the first to hold the English bishopric of Whithorn shortly before 731. He had been trained by Aldhelm and was evidently well known as a scholar, for Boniface appeals to him in one of his letters on points connected with canon law (Tangl, no. 32). He died in 735. The bishopric at Whithorn does not seem to have lasted very long into the ninth century owing to the Scandinavian invasions.

pardon. From this it is clear, as the blessed Pope Gregory writes about certain people, that he saw this vision not for his own benefit, because it did not profit him, but for the sake of others;[1] so that they, hearing of his fate, may fear to put off their time of repentance while they still have the opportunity, and not be cut off by sudden death and die impenitent. As for the various books he saw offered him by good and evil spirits, this was done by divine providence, so that we may remember that our thoughts and deeds are not scattered to the breeze but are all kept to be examined by the great Judge, and will be shown us at our end either by friendly angels or by our foes. First the angels offered a white book and then the devils offered a black book, the angels a very small one, the devils an enormous one: and it should be noted that in his early years he did some good deeds which he completely obscured by doing evil in his early maturity. If, on the other hand, he had troubled to correct the errors of childhood in his youth, hiding them from God's eyes by well-doing, he might have been able to associate himself with the company of those of whom the psalmist says, 'Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered.'[2]

I thought I ought to tell this story simply, just as I learned it from the venerable Bishop Pehthelm,[3] for the benefit of those who read or hear it.

CHAPTER XIV

I MYSELF knew a brother, and I would that I had not known him, whose name I could mention if it were any use. He himself belonged to a noble monastery but lived an ignoble life. He was often rebuked by the brothers and the elders there and warned to turn to a more chastened way of life. But although he would not listen to them, yet they bore with him patiently for the sake of his outward service, for he was an exceptionally skilled craftsman. But he was much addicted to drunkenness and the other pleasures of a loose life; he used to remain in his workshop day and night, rather than go to the church with the brothers to sing psalms and pray and listen to the word of life. It happened to him as people say, that he who is not willing to enter the church gate humbly of

sponte damnatus introduci. Percussus enim languore atque ad extrema perductus, uocauit fratres, et multum merens ac damnato similis coepit narrare, quia uideret inferos apertos et Satanan demersum in profundis Tartari Caiphanque[a] cum ceteris qui occiderunt Dominum iuxta eum flammis ultricibus contraditum; 'in quorum uicinia' inquit 'heu misero mihi locum despicio aeternae perditionis esse praeparatum.' Audientes haec[b] fratres coeperunt diligenter exhortari, ut uel tunc positus adhuc in corpore paenitentiam faceret. Respondebat ille desperans: 'Non est mihi modo tempus uitam mutandi, cum ipse uiderim iudicium meum iam esse conpletum.'

Talia dicens sine uiatico salutis obiit, et corpus eius in ultimis est monasterii locis humatum, neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere uel psalmos cantare uel saltim orare praesumebat. O quam grandi distantia diuisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras! Beatus protomartyr Stephanus passurus mortem pro ueritate uidit caelos apertos, uidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei;[1] et ubi erat futurus ipse post mortem, ibi oculos mentis ante mortem, quo laetior occumberet, misit. At contra faber iste tenebrosae mentis et actionis, inminente morte, uidit aperta Tartara, uidit / p. 315 damnationem diaboli et sequacium eius; uidit etiam suum infelix inter tales carcerem, quo miserabilius ipse desperata salute periret, sed uiuentibus, qui haec cognouissent, causam salutis sua perditione relinqueret. Factum est hoc nuper in prouincia Bernicorum, ac longe lateque diffamatum multos ad agendam et non differendam scelerum suorum paenitudinem prouocauit. Quod utinam exhinc etiam nostrarum lectione litterarum fiat!

XV

Quo tempore plurima pars Scottorum in Hibernia, et nonnulla etiam de Brettonibus in Brittania, rationabile et ecclesiasticum paschalis obseruantiae tempus Domino donante suscepit.[2] Siquidem Adamnan,[3] presbyter et abbas monachorum qui erant in

[a] Caiphan quoque *c* [b] haec] autem *c*

[1] Act. 7: 56.

[2] Bede is here referring to the northern Irish, for the southern Irish accepted the Roman Easter in 632 or 633 (see p. 218). By the Britons Bede may mean either those of Strathclyde or possibly the Cornish Britons whose conversion to the Roman Easter is related in v. 18.

[3] A good deal of information about Adamnan has been preserved in Irish tradition. He is said to have been Aldfrith's teacher at Iona (see Plummer II. 263). The occasion of this visit is said to have been to obtain the release of sixty Irish prisoners brought to England by Berht in 684 (iv. 26).

his own accord, is bound to be carried against his will to the gates of hell, a damned soul. He was attacked by an illness and, when he was in extremity, he called his brothers; lamenting like one already damned, he began to describe how he had seen hell opened and Satan in its infernal depths, with Caiaphas and the others who slew the Lord, close by him in the avenging flames: 'and near them', he said, 'I see a place of everlasting damnation prepared, alas, for me, wretched man that I am.' When the brothers heard this, they began to urge him earnestly to repent even then, seeing that he was still in the body; but he answered despairingly, 'There is no time now for me to change my way of life, since I have already myself seen judgement passed upon me.'

As he uttered these words, he died without receiving the saving viaticum and his body was buried in the furthest corner of the monastery; nor did anyone venture to say masses or sing psalms or even pray for him. Oh, how far asunder has God divided light from darkness! The blessed protomartyr Stephen, when he was about to suffer death for the sake of the truth, saw the heavens opened and the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.[1] The eyes of his mind were fixed before his death upon the place where he was to be after death, so that he might die more happily. But on the other hand this smith, a man of dark mind and dark deeds, when he was at the point of death, saw hell opened and the damnation of the devil and his followers. The unhappy man also saw his own place of imprisonment among them, so that he might perish the more miserably in despair himself, and yet might leave behind him a reason why those who were still alive and knew of this, should seek their own salvation by his own perdition. This happened lately in the kingdom of Bernicia. The story spread far and wide and roused many people to do penance for their sins without delay. And may the reading of this account of ours have the same effect!

CHAPTER XV

At this time, by the grace of God, the greater part of the Irish in Ireland and some of the Britons in Britain adopted the reasonable and canonical date for keeping Easter.[2] The priest Adamnan,[3] abbot of the monks on the island of Iona, was sent by his people

insula Hii, cum legationis gratia missus a sua gente uenisset ad Aldfridum regem Anglorum, et aliquandiu in ea prouincia moratus uideret ritus ecclesiae canonicos, sed et[a] a pluribus, qui erant eruditiores, esset sollerter admonitus, ne contra uniuersalem ecclesiae morem uel in obseruantia paschali uel in aliis quibusque decretis cum suis paucissimis et in extremo mundi angulo positis uiuere praesumeret, mutatus mente est; ita ut ea quae uiderat et audierat in ecclesiis Anglorum, suae suorumque[b] consuetudini libentissime praeferret. Erat enim uir bonus et sapiens et scientia scripturarum nobilissime instructus.

Qui cum domum redisset, curauit suos, qui erant in Hii quiue eidem erant subditi monasterio, ad eum quem cognouerat quem-
p. 316 que ipse toto ex corde susce/perat ueritatis callem perducere, nec ualuit. Nauigauit Hiberniam, et praedicans eis ac modesta exhortatione declarans legitimum paschae tempus, plurimos eorum, et pene omnes qui ab Hiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore auito correctos ad unitatem reduxit catholicam, ac legitimum paschae tempus obseruare perdocuit. Qui cum celebrato in Hibernia canonico pascha ad suam insulam reuertisset, suoque monasterio catholicam temporis paschalis obseruantiam instantissime praedicaret, nec tamen perficere quod conabatur posset, contigit eum ante expletum anni circulum migrasse de saeculo; diuina utique gratia disponente, ut uir unitatis ac pacis studiosissimus ante ad uitam raperetur aeternam quam redeunte tempore paschali grauiorem cum eis, qui eum ad ueritatem sequi nolebant, cogeretur habere discordiam.

Scripsit idem uir de locis sanctis librum legentibus multis utillimum, cuius auctor erat docendo ac dictando Galliarum episcopus Arcuulfus,[1] qui locorum gratia sanctorum uenerat Hierosolymam, et lustrata omni terra repromissionis Damascum quoque, Constantinopolim, Alexandriam, multas maris insulas adierat, patriamque nauigio reuertens ui tempestatis in occidentalia Brittaniae litora dilatus est; ac post multa ad memoratum Christi

[a] et *om. c* [b] suorum *c*

[1] Nothing more is known of this Gaulish bishop than we learn from Bede's account. It would seem that the bishop's ship was bound for the north of France and lost its way, somewhere on the west coast of Britain. Thence he went either to Ireland or Iona where he met Adamnan. Adamnan wrote an account of the holy places from his dictation which still survives. (See Bibliography, Section III, p. xiv.) Bede has a much shorter work on the same subject. Bede

on a mission to Aldfrith, king of the Angles, and stayed for some time in his kingdom to see the canonical rites of the church. He was earnestly advised by many who were better instructed than himself that he, in company with a very small band of followers, living in the remotest corner of the world, should not presume to go against the universal custom of the church in the matter of keeping Easter and in various other ordinances. He altered his opinion so greatly that he readily preferred the customs which he saw and heard in the English churches to those of himself and his followers. He was a good and wise man with an excellent knowledge of the scriptures.

On his return home he sought to bring his own people in Iona and those who were in houses subject to his monastery, into the way of truth which he had himself recognized and accepted with his whole heart; but he was unable to do so. So he sailed to Ireland and preached to the people there, modestly explaining to them the true date of Easter. He corrected their traditional error and restored nearly all who were not under the dominion of Iona to catholic unity, teaching them to observe Easter at the proper time. After he had celebrated Easter in Ireland canonically, he returned to his own island and earnestly put before his own monastery the catholic observance of the date of Easter, but he was unable to achieve his end; and it happened that before the year was over he had departed from the world. Thus by the interposition of divine grace, it came about that a man who greatly loved unity and peace was called to life eternal so that he was not compelled, when Easter time returned, to have a still graver controversy with those who would not follow him in the truth.

This man wrote a book on the holy places which has proved useful to many readers; his work was based upon information dictated to him by Arculf,[1] a bishop of Gaul who had visited Jerusalem to see the holy places. He had wandered all over the promised land and had been to Damascus, Constantinople. Alexandria, and many islands of the sea. But as he was returning to his native land by sea, he was cast by the violence of the tempest on to the west coasts of Britain. After many adventures he came

used Adamnan's work very largely but he also added extracts from two other writers, namely the account of Jerusalem and Judaea said to have been written by Eucherius, a fifth-century bishop of Lyons and also a Latin translation or adaptation of Josephus' *History of the Jews* attributed to a certain Hegesippus and made somewhere about 500. (See Index of Quotations.)

famulum Adamnanum perueniens, ubi doctus in Scripturis sanctorumque locorum gnarus esse conpertus est, libentissime est ab illo susceptus, libentius auditus, adeo ut, quaeque ille se in locis sanctis memoratu digna uidisse testabatur, cuncta mox iste litteris mandare curauerit. Fecitque opus, ut dixi, multis utile et maxime illis, qui longius ab eis locis, in quibus patriarchae uel
p. 317 apostoli erant, secreti ea tantum de his, quae lec/tione didicerint, norunt. Porrexit autem librum hunc Adamnan Aldfrido regi, ac per eius est largitionem etiam minoribus ad legendum contraditus.[1] Scriptor quoque ipse multis ab eo muneribus donatus patriam remissus est. De cuius scriptis aliqua decerpere ac nostrae huic historiae inserere commodum fore legentibus reor.

XVI

SCRIPSIT ergo de loco dominicae natiuitatis in hunc modum:[2]

Bethleem[a] ciuitas Dauid in dorso sita est angusto ex omni parte uallibus circumdato, ab occidente in orientem mille passibus longa, humili sine turribus muro per extrema plani uerticis instructo; in cuius orientali angulo quasi quoddam naturale semiantrum est, cuius exterior pars natiuitatis dominicae fuisse dicitur locus, interior praesepe Domini nominatur. Haec spelunca tota interius pretioso marmore tecta supra locum, ubi Dominus natus specialius traditur, sanctae Mariae grandem gestat ecclesiam.

Scripsit item hoc modo de loco passionis ac resurrectionis illius:

Ingressis a septentrionali[b] parte urbem Hierosolymam, primum de locis sanctis pro condicione platearum diuertendum est ad ecclesiam Constantinianam, quae Martyrium appellatur. Hanc Constantinus imperator, eo quod ibi crux Domini ab Helena matre reperta sit, magnifico et regio cultu construxit. Dehinc ab occasu Golgothana uidetur ecclesia, in qua etiam rupis apparet illa, quae quondam ipsam adfixo[c] Domini corpore crucem pertulit, argenteam modo pergrandem sustinens crucem, pendente magna desuper aerea rota cum lampadibus. Infra ipsum uero locum dominicae crucis excisa in petra crypta est, in qua super altare pro defunctis honoratis sacrificium solet offerri, positis interim in platea corporibus. Huius quoque ad occasum ec-
p. 318 clesiae / Anastasis, hoc est resurrectionis dominicae rotunda ecclesia,

[a] Bethlem *c* [b] septentrionale *c* [c] adfixam *c*

[1] Bede means that Aldfrith had copies of the book made.

[2] Bede is really quoting from his own abridgement throughout this and the following chapter and not from Adamnan's original work.

to the servant of Christ Adamnan who found him to be learned in the Scriptures and well acquainted with the holy places. Adamnan received him very gladly and eagerly listened to his words; he quickly committed to writing everything which Arculf had seen in the holy places which seemed to be worthy of remembrance. From this he made a book, as I said, which is useful to many and especially to those who live very far from the places where the patriarchs and apostles dwelt, and only know about them what they have learned from books. He gave this book to King Aldfrith and, through his kindness, it was circulated for lesser folk to read.[1] The writer was sent back to his own country laden with many gifts. I think that it will be useful to readers to make some extracts and put them into this *History*.

CHAPTER XVI

He wrote thus[2] about the Lord's birthplace:

Bethlehem, the city of David, is situated on a narrow ridge, surrounded on all sides by valleys; it is a mile long from west to east, and has a low wall without towers, built around the edge of the plateau. In its eastern corner is a kind of natural half-cave, of which the outer part is said to have been the place of the Lord's birth. The inner part is known as the Lord's manger. The whole of the interior of this cave is covered with precious marble and, over the exact spot where the Lord is said to have been born, stands the great church of St. Mary.

He wrote thus about the place of the Lord's passion and resurrection:

Entering the city of Jerusalem from the north end, the first place to be visited, as the layout of the streets demands, is the church of Constantine called the Martyrium. The Emperor Constantine built this in magnificent and royal style, because it was here that his mother Helena found the Lord's cross. Westward from here is the church of Golgotha in which the rock is still visible which once held the cross whereon the Lord's body was nailed. The rock now supports a large silver cross while above it hangs a great circle of bronze with lamps attached. Below the site of the Lord's cross, a crypt has been cut out in the rock and in this is an altar upon which the sacrifice is offered for the honoured dead, while their bodies meanwhile remain outside in the street. To the west of the church is the church of the Anastasis, that is,

tribus cincta parietibus, XII columnis sustentatur, inter parietes[a] singulos latum habens spatium uiae, quae tria altaria[b] in tribus locis parietis medii continet, hoc est australi, aquilonali et occidentali. Haec bis quaternas portas, id est introitus, per tres e regione parietes habet, e quibus quattuor ad uulturnum et quattuor ad eurum spectant. Huius in medio monumentum Domini rotundum petra excisum est, cuius culmen intrinsecus stans homo manu contingere potest, ab oriente habens introitum, cui lapis ille magnus adpositus est; quod intrinsecus ferramentorum uestigia usque in praesens ostendit. Nam extrinsecus usque ad culminis summitatem totum marmore tectum est. Summum uero culmen auro ornatum auream magnam gestat crucem. In huius ergo monumenti aquilonali parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra excisum, longitudinis VII pedum, trium mensura palmarum pauimento altius eminet, introitum habens a latere meridiano, ubi die noctuque XII lampades ardent, quattuor intra sepulchrum, VIII supra in margine dextro. Lapis qui ad ostium monumenti positus erat, nunc fissus est; cuius pars minor quadratum altare ante ostium nihilominus eiusdem monumenti stat, maior uero in orientali eiusdem ecclesiae loco quadrangulum aliud altare sub linteaminibus extat. Color autem eiusdem monumenti et sepulchri albo et rubicundo permixtus uidetur.

XVII

De loco quoque ascensionis dominicae praefatus auctor hoc modo refert:

Mons Oliuarum altitudine monti Sion par est, sed latitudine et longitudine praestat; exceptis uitibus et oliuis rarae ferax arboris, frumenti quoque et hordei fertilis. Neque enim brucosa sed herbosa et florida soli illius est qualitas. In cuius summo uertice, ubi Dominus ad caelos ascendit, ecclesia rotunda grandis ternas per circuitum cameratas habet porticus desuper tectas. Interior namque domus propter dominici corporis meatum camerari et tegi non potuit, altare ad
p. 319 orientem habens angusto culmine protectum, in / cuius medio ultima Domini uestigia, caelo desuper patente, ubi ascendit, uisuntur. Quae cum cotidie a credentibus terra tollatur, nihilominus manet, eandemque adhuc speciem ueluti inpressis signata uestigiis seruat. Haec circa aerea rota iacet, usque ad ceruicem alta, ab occasu habens introitum, pendente desuper in trocleis magna lampade, totaque die et nocte lucente. In occidentali eiusdem ecclesiae parte fenestrae octo, totidemque e regione lampades in funibus pendentes usque Hierosolymam per

[a] parietes *om. c* [b] altaria *om. c*

the Resurrection of the Lord, a round building surrounded by three walls and supported by twelve columns. Between each pair of walls is a broad passage containing three altars fixed in three places in the central wall, namely to the south and north and west. It has eight doors or entrances through the three walls, opposite one another, of which four face south-east and four east. In the centre is the round tomb of the Lord cut out of the rock, and a man standing inside can touch the roof with his hand. It has an entrance to the east and against it that great stone was set; to this day the cave on the inside bears the marks of iron tools. The exterior is completely covered with marble right to the top of the roof. This roof is adorned with gold and bears a great golden cross. On the north side of this tomb is the Lord's sepulchre, cut out of the same rock, being seven feet long and raised about three hand-breadths from the floor. The entrance is on the south side, where twelve lamps burn day and night, four within the sepulchre and eight above it on the right edge. The stone which was placed at the mouth of the sepulchre is now split in two, but the smaller portion stands as an altar of squared stone in front of the tomb itself, while the larger part forms another four-cornered altar, set up at the east end of the church and draped with linen cloths. The colour of the tomb and the sepulchre is white mingled with red.

CHAPTER XVII

OUR author writes thus about the place of the Lord's ascension:

The mount of Olives is equal in height to Mount Sion but exceeds it in breadth and length. Except for vines and olives, it has few trees, but it produces much wheat and barley, for the quality of the soil is not marshy but suitable rather for grass and flowers. At the summit, from which the Lord ascended to heaven, there is a great round church which has in its circumference three chapels with vaulted roofs. The interior of the church could not be vaulted or roofed because the Lord's body passed up out of it. To the east it has an altar roofed in with a narrow canopy, and in the centre of the church are to be seen the last footprints of the Lord as He ascended, being open to the sky above. Although the earth is daily carried away by the faithful, yet it still remains and preserves the same appearance of having been marked by the impress of His feet. Around these footprints there is a circular enclosure of bronze, as high as a man's neck, with a great lamp hanging above on pulleys, which shines day and night; it has an entrance from the west. At the west end of the church are eight windows and, opposite them, are as many lamps hanging from cords, whose light can be seen through the

uitrum fulgent; quarum lux corda intuentium cum quadam alacritate et conpunctione pauefacere dicitur. In die ascensionis dominicae per annos singulos, missa peracta, ualidi flaminis procella desursum uenire consueuit et omnes, qui in ecclesia adfuerint, terrae prosternere.

De situ etiam Chebron et monumentis patrum ita scribit:

Chebron quondam ciuitas et metropolis regni Dauid, nunc ruinis tantum quid tunc fuerit ostendens, uno ad orientem stadio speluncam duplicem in ualle habet, ubi sepulchra patriarcharum quadrato muro circumdantur, capitibus uersis ad aquilonem, et haec singula singulis tecta lapidibus instar basilicae dolatis;[1] trium patriarcharum candidis, Adam obscurioris et uilioris operis, qui haut longe ab illis ad borealem extremamque muri illius partem pausat. Trium quoque feminarum uiliores et minores memoriae cernuntur. Mamre[a] collis mille passibus a monumentis his ad boream, herbosus ualde et floridus, campestrem habens in uertice planitiem; in cuius aquilonali parte quercus Abrahae duorum hominum altitudinis truncus ecclesia circumdata est.

Haec de opusculis excerpta praefati scriptoris ad sensum quidem uerborum illius, sed breuioribus strictisque conprehensa sermonibus, nostris ad utilitatem legentium historiis indere placuit. Plura uoluminis illius siqui scire delectat, uel in ipso illo uolumine uel in eo, quod de illo dudum strictim excerpsimus, epitomate requirat.[2]

p. 320

XVIII

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCCV Aldfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum defunctus est, anno regni sui uicesimo necdum impleto. Cui succedens in imperium filius suus Osred,[3] puer octo circiter annorum, regnauit annis XI. Huius regni principio antistes Occidentalium Saxonum Haeddi[4] caelestem migrauit ad uitam. Bonus quippe erat uir ac iustus, et episcopalem uitam siue doctrinam magis insito sibi uirtutum amore quam lectionibus institutus exercebat. Denique reuerentissimus antistes Pecthelm, de quo in sequentibus suo loco dicendum est, qui cum successore eius Aldhelmo multo tempore adhuc diaconus siue monachus fuit,

[a] Mambre *c2*

[1] See p. 346, n. 1.

[2] See p. 508, n. 2.

[3] Osred grew up to be a vicious youth. He was killed in 716 (v. 22) at the age of nineteen. The northern recension of the *ASC* (MSS. D and E) add that his

glass as far as Jerusalem: and their rays are said to stir the hearts of all who see them to zeal and penitence. Each year on the day of the Lord's ascension, after mass was said, a fierce blast of wind used to come down and throw to the ground all who were in the church.

He writes thus about Hebron and the tombs of the patriarchs:

Hebron, once a city and the capital of David's kingdom, now only shows by its ruins what it once was. A furlong away to the east, in the valley, is a double cave where are the tombs of the patriarchs, their heads facing north, surrounded on four sides by a wall. Each one of these tombs is covered by a single stone, hewn after the shape of a church,[1] those of the three patriarchs being white, while that of Adam is darker and of poorer workmanship; he lies not far from them at the farthest end of the northern wall. There are also some smaller and poorer monuments to their three wives. The hill of Mamre is a mile to the north of these tombs, covered with grass and flowers, with a level plateau on the top. On the north side is Abraham's oak consisting of a trunk only, and twice the height of a man, being enclosed in a church.

I determined to add to this *History* excerpts from these writings for the benefit of readers. They contain the sense of his words but put more briefly and concisely. If anyone wishes to know more of this book, he may find it in the volume itself and in the abridgement of it which I have lately made.[2]

CHAPTER XVIII

IN the year of our Lord 705, Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, died, having reigned nearly twenty years. His son Osred,[3] a boy about eight years old, succeeded him and reigned eleven years. At the beginning of his reign Hædde,[4] bishop of the West Saxons, departed to the heavenly life. He was a good and just man, whose life and teaching as a bishop depended more on his innate love of virtue than on what he learned from books. In fact the reverend Bishop Pehthelm (of whom more will be said in the proper place), who was for a long time deacon and monk with Hædde's successor Aldhelm, used to relate that many miracles of healing happened

death took place 'south of the border'. Bede, in his *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert* (ed. W. Jaager, Leipzig, 1935, ll. 554–5), welcomes him on his accession as a new Josiah.

[4] See p. 233, n. 5.

referre est solitus, quod in loco quo defunctus est ob meritum sanctitatis eius multa sanitatum sint patrata miracula, hominesque prouinciae illius solitos ablatum inde puluerem propter languentes in aquam mittere atque huius gustum siue aspersionem multis sanitatem egrotis et hominibus et pecoribus conferre; propter quod frequenti ablatione pulueris sacri fossa sit ibidem facta non minima.

Quo defuncto, episcopatus prouinciae illius in duas parrochias diuisus est. Vna data Daniheli, quam usque hodie regit; altera Aldhelmo,[1] cui annis quattuor strenuissime praefuit; ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis et in scientia scripturarum sufficienter instructi. Denique Aldhelm, cum adhuc esset presbyter et abbas monasterii, quod Maildubi Vrbem nuncupant, scripsit iubente synodo suae gentis librum egregium aduersus errorem Brettonum,
p. 321 quo uel pascha non suo tempore / celebrant, uel alia perplura ecclesiasticae castitati et paci contraria gerunt; multosque eorum, qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Brettones, ad catholicam dominici paschae celebrationem huius lectione perduxit.[2] Scripsit et de uirginitate librum eximium, quem in exemplum Sedulii geminato opere et uersibus exametris et prosa conposuit.[3] Scripsit et alia nonnulla,[4] utpote uir undecumque doctissimus; nam et sermone nitidus,[5] et scripturarum, ut dixi, tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditione mirandus. Quo defuncto, pontificatum pro eo suscepit Fortheri,[6] qui usque hodie superest, uir et ipse in scripturis sanctis multum eruditus.

Quibus episcopatum administrantibus statutum est synodali decreto, ut prouincia Australium Saxonum, quae eatenus ad ciuitatis Uentanae, cui tunc Danihel praeerat, parrochiam pertinebat, et ipsa sedem episcopalem ac proprium haberet episcopum. Consecratusque est eis primus antistes Eadberct, qui erat abbas monasterii beatae memoriae Uilfridi episcopi, quod dicitur

[1] Aldhelm was born about 639 of the royal line of Wessex. He was instructed as a lad by the Irish monk Maelduibh at the place which came later to be called Malmesbury; then he went to Hadrian at Canterbury. He was ordained by Leuthere, bishop of Winchester, about 670, and in 675 became abbot of Malmesbury. Scholars flocked to the monastery. After the death of Hædde the diocese of Wessex was divided and he became bishop of Sherborne, dying in 709.

[2] This was the Epistle to Geraint or Gerontius, king of Dumnonia. See p. 146, n. 1.

[3] Sedulius, a fifth-century poet, wrote as a literary exercise a well-known poem called *Carmen Paschale* followed by a prose treatise on the same subject. (Cf. *BLTW*, p. 126.) Bede likewise wrote a metrical and prose *Life of St. Cuthbert*. Probably all three scholars were exemplifying the old rhetorical claim that

on the spot where Hædde died, through the merits of his holiness. He said that the men of that kingdom used to take soil from the place and put it in water for the benefit of the sick, and both sick men and cattle who drank it or were sprinkled with it, were healed. As a result of the constant removal of the sacred soil, a hole of considerable size was made there.

When Hædde died, the bishopric of the kingdom was divided into two dioceses. One was given to Daniel, who governs it to this day, the other to Aldhelm,[1] who presided over it energetically for four years. Both were fully instructed in ecclesiastical matters and in the knowledge of the Scriptures. For example, Aldhelm, when he was still priest and abbot of the monastery known as Malmesbury, by order of a synod of his own people wrote a remarkable book against the British error of celebrating Easter at the wrong time, and of doing many other things to the detriment of the pure practices and the peace of the Church; by means of this book he led many of those Britons who were subject to the West Saxons to adopt the catholic celebration of the Easter of the Lord.[2] He also wrote a most excellent book on virginity both in hexameter verse and in prose, producing a twofold work after the example of Sedulius.[3] He also wrote several other books,[4] for he was a man of wide learning. He had a polished style[5] and, as we have said, was remarkable for his erudition in both ecclesiastical and in general studies. On his death Forthhere[6] became bishop in his place; he also was a man most learned in the Scriptures.

While these men administered the see, it was decided by a decree of the synod that the kingdom of the South Saxons, which had hitherto belonged to the diocese of Winchester, over which Daniel presided, should have an episcopal see and a bishop of its own. Eadberht, who was consecrated first bishop, had been abbot of the monastery of Bishop Wilfrid of blessed memory, which is

the same subject could be treated in prose and verse without materially altering the sense.

[4] For an account of Aldhelm's life and works see E. S. Duckett, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947), pp. 3–97.

[5] Aldhelm's style seems to us fantastic, bombastic, and obscure. He shows the influence of that peculiar style of ornate Latin derived in part from commentaries on Virgil and Lucan, garnished with new words of Greek and even Hebrew origin, of which the *Hisperica Famina* is the best-known example.

[6] Forthhere went to Rome in 737 and seems to have resigned then in favour of Hereweald. The date of his death is unknown but he apparently returned from Rome, for he signed a charter in 739. Cf. *EHD*, I. 457.

Selaeseu;[1] quo defuncto, Eolla suscepit officium pontificatus. Ipso autem ante aliquot annos ex hac luce subtracto, episcopatus usque hodie cessauit.

XIX

ANNO autem imperii Osredi quarto Coinred, qui regno Merciorum nobilissime tempore aliquanto praefuerat, nobilius multo regni sceptra reliquit. Nam uenit Romam, ibique adtonsus,
p. 322 pontificatum habente / Constantino, ac monachus factus ad limina apostolorum in precibus, ieiuniis et elemosynis usque ad diem permansit ultimum; succedente in regnum Ceolredo[2] filio Aedilredi, qui ante ipsum Coinredum idem regnum tenebat. Venit autem cum illo et filius Sigheri regis Orientalium Saxonum, cuius supra meminimus, uocabulo Offa,[3] iuuenis amantissimae aetatis et uenustatis, totaeque suae genti ad tenenda seruandaque regni sceptra exoptatissimus. Qui pari ductus deuotione mentis reliquit uxorem, agros, cognatos et patriam propter Christum et propter euangelium, ut in hac uita centuplum acciperet, et in saeculo uenturo uitam aeternam.[4] Et ipse ergo, ubi ad loca sancta Romam peruenerunt, adtonsus et in monachico uitam habitu conplens, ad uisionem beatorum apostolorum in caelis diu desideratam peruenit.

Eodem sane anno quo hi Brittaniam reliquere, antistes eximius Uilfrid[5] post XL et V annos accepti episcopatus diem clausit extremum in prouincia quae uocatur Inundalum, corpusque eius loculo inditum perlatum est in monasterium ipsius, quod dicitur Inhrypum, et iuxta honorem tanto pontifici congruum in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri sepultum. De cuius statu uitae, ut ad priora repedantes paucis quae sunt gesta memoremus, cum esset puer bonae indolis, atque aetatem moribus transiens ita se modeste et circumspecte in omnibus gereret, ut merito a maioribus quasi

[1] The South Saxon see was established at Selsey, though Bede is vague about the date of its foundation. The dates of neither of the two earlier bishops of Selsey are certain. Eolla had died before 731, the date of the completion of the *History*. The vacancy here mentioned was filled by the appointment of Sigeferth or Sigga in 733.

[2] Ceolred was the son of Æthelred but had been passed over in favour of Cenred in 704, because his father thought he was either too young or else too unsatisfactory to succeed. See Tangl, Nos. 10, 73, and Felix, *Life of St. Guthlac*, pp. 5 f.

called Selsey.[1] When he died Eolla succeeded to the bishopric. He departed this life some years ago and the bishopric has remained vacant to this day.

CHAPTER XIX

IN the fourth year of the reign of Osred, Cenred, who had ruled the kingdom of Mercia for some time and very nobly, with still greater nobility renounced the throne of his kingdom. He went to Rome while Constantine was pope, received the tonsure, and became a monk at the shrine of the apostles and remained there until his last days, occupied in prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. He was succeeded by Ceolred,[2] son of that Æthelred who had been Cenred's predecessor. There came with him also Offa,[3] son of Sighere, the king of the East Saxons, already referred to; Offa was a youth so lovable and handsome that the whole race longed for him to have and to hold the sceptre of the kingdom. He too, inspired by a like devotion, left his wife, his lands, his kinsmen, and his fatherland for Christ and for the gospel in order that he might receive 'a hundredfold in this life and in the world to come, life everlasting.'[4] He too, when they reached the holy places at Rome, received the tonsure, ended his life in a monk's habit, and so attained to the vision of the blessed apostles in heaven which he had so long desired.

The same year that they left Britain, the famous Bishop Wilfrid[5] ended his days in the district called Oundle, after he had been bishop for forty-five years. His body was placed in a coffin and carried to the monastery at Ripon, where it was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, with the honour befitting so great a bishop. Let us now turn back and briefly relate some of the events of his life. He was a boy of good disposition and virtuous beyond his years. He behaved himself with such modesty and

[3] Nothing more is known of Offa than we are told here except that the incident was mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where it is stated that they both died soon after their arrival. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH, Gest. Pont. Roman.*, p. 225.

[4] Cf. Marc. 10: 29, 30.

[5] Bede uses Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* largely in his account of the saint. For Bede's relationship with both Wilfrid and Eddius and for fuller annotation of the chapter see Plummer, II. 315 ff., and Eddius, *Life of Wilfrid*, ed. B. Colgrave.

unus ex ipsis amaretur, ueneraretur, amplecteretur, ubi quartum decimum aetatis contigit annum, monasticam saeculari[a] uitam praetulit. Quod ubi patri suo narrauit (iam enim mater obierat), libenter eius uotis ac desideriis caelestibus adnuit, eumque coeptis
p. 323 insistere / salutaribus iussit. Venit ergo[b] ad insulam Lindisfarnensem, ibique monachorum famulatui se contradens diligenter ea, quae monasticae castitatis ac pietatis erant, et discere curabat et agere. Et quia acris erat ingenii, didicit citissime psalmos et aliquot codices, necdum quidem adtonsus, uerum eis quae[c] tonsura maiores sunt uirtutibus, humilitatis et oboedientiae, non mediocriter insignitus; propter quod et a senioribus et coaetaneis suis iusto colebatur affectu. In quo uidelicet monasterio cum aliquot annos Deo seruiret, animaduertit paulatim adulescens animi sagacis minime perfectam esse uirtutis uiam, quae tradebatur a Scottis, proposuitque animo uenire Romam, et qui ad sedem apostolicam ritus ecclesiastici siue monasteriales seruarentur uidere. Quod cum fratribus referret, laudauerunt eius propositum, eumque id quod mente disposuerat perficere suadebant. At ille confestim ueniens ad reginam Eanfledam, quia notus erat ei eiusque consilio ac suffragiis praefato fuerat monasterio sociatus, indicauit ei desiderium sibi inesse beatorum apostolorum limina uisitandi. Quae delectata bono adulescentis proposito, misit eum Cantiam ad regem Erconberctum, qui erat filius auunculi sui, postulans ut eum honorifice Romam transmitteret. Quo tempore ibi gradum archiepiscopatus Honorius, unus ex discipulis beati papae Gregorii, uir in rebus ecclesiasticis sublimiter institutus seruabat. Vbi cum aliquandiu demoratus adulescens animi uiuacis diligenter his quae inspiciebat discendis operam daret, superuenit illo alius adulescens nomine Biscop, cognomento Benedictus, de nobilibus Anglorum, cupiens et ipse Romam uenire, cuius supra meminimus.

Huius ergo comitatui rex sociauit Uilfridum, utque[d] illum secum
p. 324 Romam perduceret[d] iussit. Qui cum / Lugdunum peruenissent, Uilfrid a Dalfino ciuitatis episcopo ibi retentus est, Benedictus coeptum iter nauiter Romam usque conpleuit. Delectabatur enim antistes prudentia uerborum iuuenis, gratia uenusti uultus, alacritate actionis, et constantia ac maturitate cogitationis. Vnde

[a] singulari *c2* [b] enim *c2* [c] qui *c* [d] atque . . . perducere *c*

discretion in all things that he was deservedly loved, honoured, and cherished by his elders as though he were one of themselves. After he had reached the age of fourteen, he chose the monastic rather than the secular life. When he told his father this, for his mother was dead, he readily consented to the boy's godly desires and aspirations and bade him persevere in his profitable undertaking. So he came to the island of Lindisfarne and there devoted himself to the service of the monks, diligently striving to learn how to live a life of monastic purity and devotion. Since he was quick-witted he speedily learned the psalms and a number of other books; although he had not yet been tonsured, he was in no small measure distinguished for the virtues of humility and obedience, which are more important than the tonsure; and for this reason he was rightly loved by the older monks as well as by his contemporaries. After he had served God in that monastery for some years, being a youth of shrewd understanding, he gradually came to realize that the traditional way of virtuous life followed by the Irish was by no means perfect; so he resolved to go to Rome to see what ecclesiastical and monastic practices were observed in the apostolic see. When he told the brothers they commended his plan and persuaded him to carry out his purpose. He at once went to Queen Eanflæd because she knew him and because it was through her counsel and at her request that he had been admitted to the monastery. He told her of his desire to visit the shrines of the blessed apostles. She was delighted with the youth's excellent plan and sent him to King Eorcenberht of Kent, who was her cousin, asking him to send Wilfrid honourably to Rome. At that time Honorius, one of the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory, was archbishop there, a man deeply versed in ecclesiastical matters. The youth, who was very active-minded, spent some time in Kent, diligently setting himself to learn all that he saw, until another young man came, named Biscop, known also as Benedict, an Anglian of noble family, who also wished to go to Rome, and who has already been mentioned.

The king gave Wilfrid to Biscop as a companion and ordered Biscop to take him to Rome with him. When they reached Lyons, Wilfrid was held back by Dalfinus, the bishop of the city, while Benedict eagerly continued his journey to Rome. The bishop was delighted with the youth's prudent talk, his grace and beauty, his eager activity, and his consistent and mature way of thinking. So

et omnia quae necesse habebat habundanter ipsi cum sociis suis, quamdiu secum erant, donabat; et insuper offerebat ut, si uellet, partem Galliarum non minimam illi regendam committeret, ac filiam fratris sui uirginem illi coniugem daret, eumque ipse loco adoptiui semper haberet. At ille gratias agens pietati quam erga eum, cum esset peregrinus, habere dignaretur, respondit propositum se magis alterius conuersationis habere, atque ideo patria relicta Romam iter agere coepisse.

Quibus auditis antistes misit eum Romam, dato duce itineris et cunctis simul, quae necessitas poscebat itineris, largiter subministratis; obsecrans sedulo ut, cum patriam reuerteretur, per se iter facere meminisset. Veniens uero Romam, et orationibus ac meditationi rerum ecclesiasticarum, ut animo proposuerat, cotidiana mancipatus instantia, peruenit ad amicitiam uiri sanctissimi ac doctissimi, Bonifatii uidelicet archidiaconi, qui etiam consiliarius erat apostolici papae; cuius magisterio quattuor euangeliorum libros ex ordine didicit, computum paschae rationabilem et alia multa, quae in patria nequiuerat, ecclesiasticis disciplinis accommoda eodem magistro tradente percepit. Et cum menses aliquot ibi studiis occupatus felicibus exegisset, rediit ad Dalfinum in Galliam, et tres annos apud eum commoratus, attonsus est ab eo, et in tanto habitus amore, ut heredem sibi illum facere cogitaret. Sed ne hoc fieri posset, antistes crudeli morte praereptus est, et Uilfrid ad suae potius, hoc est Anglorum, gentis episcopatum /
p. 325 reseruatus. Namque Baldhild[a] regina missis militibus episcopum iussit interfici; quem ad locum quidem, quo decollandus erat, secutus est Uilfrid clericus illius desiderans cum eo, tametsi ipso multum prohibente, pariter occumbere; sed hunc ubi peregrinum atque oriundum de natione Anglorum cognouere carnifices, pepercere illi, neque eum trucidare cum suo uoluere pontifice.

At ille Brittaniam ueniens coniunctus est amicitiis Alhfridi regis, qui catholicas ecclesiae regulas sequi semper et amare didicerat. Vnde et illi, quia catholicum eum esse conperiit, mox donauit terram x familiarum in loco qui dicitur Stanford, et non multo post monasterium xxx familiarum in loco qui uocatur Inhrypum; quem uidelicet locum dederat pridem ad construendum inibi monasterium his qui Scottos sequebantur. Verum quia illi postmodum

[a] Balthild *c*

as long as he remained, he supplied him and his companions plentifully with all they needed; and furthermore he offered Wilfrid, if he would accept them, a considerable part of Gaul to rule over, his unmarried niece as his wife, and to adopt him as his son. Wilfrid thanked him for the kindness he had deigned to show him, a stranger, but answered that he had resolved upon another course of life and for that reason had left his native land and set out for Rome.

When the bishop heard this, he sent him to Rome, providing him with a guide for his journey, supplying him with an abundance of all things necessary for the road and earnestly begging that, on his return to his own country, he would come that way. When Wilfrid arrived in Rome he perseveringly devoted himself day by day, as he had intended, to constant prayer and the study of ecclesiastical matters, making friends with Archdeacon Boniface, a most holy and learned man, who was also a counsellor to the pope. Under his tuition he studied each of the four gospels in turn and learned the correct method of calculating Easter as well as gaining, under his teacher's guidance, a knowledge of many other matters of ecclesiastical discipline which were unknown in his own country. After he had spent some months in these happy studies, he returned to Dalfinus in Gaul, where he spent three years, being tonsured by him and so greatly beloved that he proposed to make Wilfrid his successor. But the bishop was cut off by a cruel death and so this was prevented; indeed, Wilfrid was reserved for the task of being a bishop over his own people, the Angles. Queen Baldhild had sent soldiers and ordered the bishop to be executed; Wilfrid, being one of his clergy, followed him to the place where he was to be beheaded, desiring to perish with him, though the bishop himself firmly opposed it. But when the executioners discovered that he was a foreigner of English race, they spared him and refused to put him to death with his bishop.

On returning to Britain, he made friends with King Alhfrith, who had learned always to obey and love the catholic rules of the church. When he found that Wilfrid was also catholic, he at once gave him ten hides in a place called Stamford, and soon afterwards a monastery with thirty hides in a place called Ripon. He had first offered this site to some who followed the Irish ways, so that they might build a monastery there. But when they were given the choice, they preferred to abandon the place rather than accept the

optione data maluerunt loco cedere quam pascha catholicum ceterosque ritus canonicos iuxta Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae consuetudinem recipere, dedit hoc illi, quem melioribus imbutum disciplinis ac moribus uidit.

Quo in tempore ad iussionem praefati regis presbyter ordinatus est in eodem monasterio ab Agilbercto episcopo Geuissorum, cuius supra meminimus, desiderante rege ut uir tantae eruditionis ac religionis sibi specialiter indiuiduo comitatu sacerdos esset ac doctor. Quem non multo post, detecta et eliminata, ut et supra docuimus, Scottorum secta, Galliam mittens, cum consilio atque consensu patris sui Osuiu episcopum sibi rogauit ordinari, cum esset annorum circiter XXX, eodem Agilbercto tunc episcopatum agente Parisiacae ciuitatis; cum quo et alii XI episcopi ad dedicationem antistitis conuenientes, multum honorifice ministerium /
p. 326 impleuerunt. Quo adhuc in transmarinis partibus demorante, consecratus est in episcopatum Eburaci, iubente rege Osuio, Ceadda uir sanctus, ut supra memoratum est, et tribus annis ecclesiam sublimiter regens, dehinc ad monasterii sui, quod est in Laestingaei, curam secessit, accipiente Uilfrido episcopatum totius Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae.

Qui deinde regnante Ecgfrido pulsus est episcopatu, et alii pro illo consecrati antistites, quorum supra meminimus; Romamque iturus et coram apostolico papa causam dicturus, ubi nauem conscendit, flante Fauonio pulsus est Fresiam,[1] et honorifice susceptus a barbaris ac rege illorum Aldgislo, praedicabat eis Christum, et multa eorum milia uerbo ueritatis instituens, a peccatorum suorum sordibus fonte Saluatoris abluit, et quod postmodum Uilbrord reuerentissimus Christi pontifex in magna deuotione conpleuit, ipse primus ibi opus euangelicum coepit. Ibi ergo hiemem cum noua Dei plebe feliciter exigens, sic Romam ueniendi iter repetiit; et ubi causa eius uentilata est, praesente Agathone papa et pluribus episcopis, uniuersorum iudicio absque crimine accusatus fuisse et episcopatu esse dignus inuentus est.

Quo in tempore idem papa Agatho, cum synodum congregaret Romae CXXV episcoporum aduersus eos qui unam in Domino Saluatore uoluntatem atque operationem dogmatizabant, uocari iussit et Uilfridum, atque inter episcopos considentem dicere

[1] Eddius (c. 26) maintains that Wilfrid chose to go to Frisia and had a calm and favourable voyage there.

catholic Easter and the other canonical rites of the Roman and apostolic church; so he gave it to one whom he found to be trained in better rules and customs.

At this time he was ordained priest at Ripon, on the command of the king, by Agilbert, bishop of the Gewisse, already mentioned, because the king wished that a man of such learning and devotion should be in special and constant attendance upon him as his priest and teacher. Not long after, as already explained, when the Irish sect had been exposed and banished, Alhfrith sent him to Gaul with the counsel and consent of his father Oswiu, requesting that he should be consecrated as his bishop by that same Agilbert who was now acting as bishop of Paris. Wilfrid was then about thirty years of age. Eleven bishops joined with Agilbert for the consecration, and the ceremony was carried out with great dignity. But since Wilfrid delayed overseas, a holy man named Chad, as already described, was consecrated to the bishopric of York at the command of King Oswiu. He ruled the church outstandingly well for three years and then retired to look after his monastery at Lastingham, while Wilfrid became bishop of the whole Northumbrian kingdom.

Later on, during the reign of Ecgfrith, Wilfrid was driven from the see and other bishops were consecrated in his place, as has already been related. Intending to go to Rome to plead his cause before the pope, he embarked on a ship and was driven by the west wind to Frisia,[1] where he was honourably received by the barbarians and their king Aldgisl. He preached Christ to them and, after instructing many thousands of them in the word of truth, he washed them from the stains of their sins in the Saviour's font. In this way he first began that work of evangelization which the most reverend bishop of Christ, Willibrord, afterwards completed with great devotion. He spent the winter happily there with these new people of God and then continued his journey to Rome. After his case had been considered in the presence of Pope Agatho and many bishops, it was decided by their unanimous judgement that he had been wrongly accused, and so he was declared worthy to hold his bishopric.

At that time Pope Agatho had called a synod of 125 bishops to Rome to testify against those who declared that there was only one will and operation in our Lord and Saviour. He ordered Wilfrid to be called to sit among the bishops, to declare his own

fidem suam, simul et prouinciae siue insulae, de qua uenerat. Cumque catholicus fide cum suis esset inuentus, placuit hoc inter cetera eiusdem synodi gestis inseri, scriptumque est hoc modo: 'Uilfridus Deo amabilis episcopus Eburacae ciuitatis, apostolicam
p. 327 sedem de sua causa / appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus absolutus, et cum aliis CXXV coepiscopis in synodo in iudicii sede constitutus, et pro omni aquilonali parte Brittaniae et Hiberniae, insulis quae[a] ab Anglorum et Brettonum necnon Scottorum et Pictorum gentibus incoluntur, ueram et catholicam fidem confessus est, et cum subscriptione[b] sua corroborauit.'

Post haec reuersus Brittaniam[1] prouinciam Australium Saxonum ab idolatriae ritibus ad Christi fidem conuertit; Uectae quoque insulae Verbi ministros destinauit; et secundo anno Aldfridi, qui post Ecgfridum regnauit, sedem suam et episcopatum ipso rege inuitante recepit. Sed post V annos denuo accusatus, ab eodem ipso rege et plurimis episcopis praesulatu pulsus est; ueniensque Romam[2] cum praesentibus accusatoribus acciperet locum se defendendi, considentibus episcopis pluribus cum apostolico papa Iohanne, omnium iudicio probatum est accusatores eius nonnulla in parte falsas contra eum machinasse calumnias. Scriptumque a praefato papa regibus Anglorum Aedilredo et Aldfrido, ut eum in episcopatum suum, eo quod iniuste fuerit condemnatus, facerent recipi.

Iuuit autem causam absolutionis eius lectio synodi beatae memoriae papae Agathonis, quae quondam ipso praesente in Vrbe atque in eodem concilio inter episcopos residente, ut praediximus, acta est. Cum ergo[c] causa exigente synodus eadem coram nobilibus et frequentia populi, iubente apostolico papa, diebus aliquot legeretur, uentum est ad locum ubi scriptum erat: 'Uilfridus Deo amabilis episcopus Eburacae ciuitatis, apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate de certis incertisque rebus
p. 328 absolutus,' et cetera / quae supra posuimus. Quod ubi lectum est,

[a] insulisque quae *in Eddius, Bede's source* [b] scriptione *c2* [c] enim *c*

[1] Bede omits all mention of Wilfrid's return to Northumbria, his imprisonment by Ecgfrith, and how he attempted to find shelter in Mercia and Wessex but was expelled from both kingdoms.

faith and that of the kingdom and the island from which he had come. When it was found that he and his people were catholic in their faith, they decided to insert the following words among the rest of the acts of the synod: 'Wilfrid, beloved of God, bishop of the city of York, appealing to the apostolic see concerning his own case and having been freed by its authority from all charges, specified and unspecified, and being appointed to sit in judgement in the synod with 125 other bishops, has confessed the true and catholic faith on behalf of the whole northern part of Britain and Ireland, together with the islands inhabited by the English and British races, as well as the Irish and Picts, and has confirmed it with his signature.'

After this, Wilfrid returned to Britain[1] and converted the kingdom of the South Saxons from their idolatrous worship to faith in Christ. He also sent ministers of the Word to the Isle of Wight; then during the second year of Aldfrith, Ecgfrith's successor, he was restored to his episcopal seat and his bishopric at the invitation of the king. But five years afterwards he was again accused and driven from the bishopric by the king and several bishops. He went to Rome[2] and was given an opportunity of defending himself in the presence of his accusers, before Pope John and many bishops. It was decided unanimously that his accusers had manufactured false charges against him, at least in part; and the pope wrote to the English kings, Æthelred and Aldfrith, bidding them restore him to his bishopric because he had been unjustly condemned.

His acquittal was greatly assisted by the reading of the acts of the synod of Pope Agatho of blessed memory, which was held when Wilfrid was present in the City and sat in council among the bishops as has already been described. When, as the case required, the acts of this synod were read for some days in the presence of the nobility and a large crowd of people at the command of the pope, they reached the place where it was written: 'Wilfrid, beloved of God, bishop of the city of York, appealing to the apostolic see concerning his own case and having been freed by its authority from all charges, specified and unspecified,' etc., as is stated above.

[2] Here Bede omits to mention Wilfrid's stay of eleven years in Mercia, where he acted as bishop of the Middle Angles, though he refers to this in iv. 23. More remarkable still, he does not mention the Council of Austerfield summoned by Aldfrith about 703, where Wilfrid's followers were excommunicated. (Eddius, cc. 46–49.)

stupor adprehendit audientes, et silente lectore coeperunt alterutrum requirere, quis esset ille Uilfridus episcopus. Tum Bonifatius consiliarius apostolici papae et alii perplures, qui eum temporibus Agathonis papae ibi uiderant, dicebant ipsum esse episcopum qui nuper Romam accusatus a suis atque ab apostolica sede iudicandus aduenerit; 'qui iamdudum' inquiunt 'aeque accusatus huc aduenies, mox audita ac diiudicata causa et controuersia utriusque partis, a beatae memoriae papa Agathone probatus est contra fas a suo episcopatu repulsus; et tanti apud eum habitus est, ut ipsum in concilio quod congregarat episcoporum quasi uirum incorruptae fidei et animi probi residere praeciperet.' Quibus auditis dicebant omnes una cum ipso pontifice, uirum tantae auctoritatis, qui per XL prope annos episcopatu fungebatur, nequaquam damnari debere, sed ad[a] integrum culpis accusationum absolutum patriam cum honore reuerti.

Qui cum Brittaniam remeans in Galliarum partes deuenisset, tactus est infirmitate repentina, et ea crescente adeo[b] pressus, ut neque equo uehi posset, sed manibus ministrorum portaretur in grabatto. Sic delatus in Maeldum ciuitatem Galliae quattuor diebus ac noctibus quasi mortuus iacebat, halitu tantum pertenui quia uiueret demonstrans. Cumque ita sine cibo et potu, sine uoce et auditu, quadriduo perseueraret, quinta demum inlucescente die, quasi de graui experrectus somno, exsurgens resedit; apertisque oculis uidit circa se choros psallentium simul et flentium fratrum, ac modicum suspirans interrogauit, ubi esset Acca
p. 329 presbyter.[1] Qui statim uocatus intrauit, et uidens eum / melius habentem ac loqui iam ualentem, flexis genibus gratias egit Deo cum omnibus qui aderant fratribus. Et cum parum consedissent, ac de supernis iudiciis trepidi aliqua confabulari coepissent, iussit pontifex ceteros ad horam egredi, et ad Accan presbyterum[c] ita loqui exorsus est: 'Visio mihi modo tremenda apparuit, quam te audire ac silentio tegere uolo, donec sciam quid de me fieri uelit Deus. Adstitit enim mihi quidam candido praeclarus habitu, dicens se Michahelem esse archangelum, et "ob hoc" inquit "missus sum, ut te a morte reuocem; donauit enim tibi Dominus uitam per orationes ac lacrimas discipulorum ac fratrum tuorum, et per intercessionem beatae suae genetricis semperque uirginis

[a] ad *om. c2* [b] abeo *m* [c] presbyterum *om. c2*

[1] See p. 253, n. 3.

When this was read, amazement fell on those who heard, and, after the reader had finished, they began to ask each other who this Bishop Wilfrid was. Then Boniface, a counsellor of the pope, and several others who had seen him there in the time of Pope Agatho, said that he was the bishop who had been accused by his fellows and had recently come to Rome to be judged by the apostolic see. 'And this man', they said, 'also came here, long ago, on a similar charge; the case and the controversy between the two parties was quickly heard and judgement given by Pope Agatho of blessed memory, who declared that he had been driven unlawfully from his see. The pope held him in such esteem that he ordered him to sit in the assembled council of bishops as being a man of uncorrupt faith and honest mind.' When they heard this, all including the pope declared that a man of such authority, who had been bishop for nearly forty years, ought not to be condemned but should return to his own land with honour, entirely cleared of the charges laid against him.

When he reached Gaul on his way back to Britain, he suddenly fell sick and gradually grew so much worse that he could not ride his horse but had to be carried in a litter by his servants. In this way he reached the city of Meaux in Gaul and there lay as if dead for four days and nights, his faint breathing being the only sound of life apparent. He went for four days and nights without food or drink, without speaking or hearing, and then at last as the fifth day was breaking, he arose and sat up as if he were awaking from a deep sleep. As he opened his eyes, he saw a band of brothers around him singing psalms and weeping; then, sighing gently, he asked where the priest Acca[1] was. Acca was immediately summoned and, on seeing that he was better and able to speak, fell on his knees and gave thanks to God together with all the brothers who were present. After they had been sitting for a little time conversing, with some trepidation, about the judgements of heaven, the bishop ordered the others to go out for the time being and said to the priest Acca: 'I have just seen an awful vision which I wish you to hear and keep secret until I know what is God's will for me. There stood by me a glorious being in white robes who said that he was the archangel Michael, and added, "I have been sent to recall you from death. For the Lord has granted you life in answer to the prayers and tears of your disciples and brothers and through the intercession of His blessed mother,

Mariae. Quapropter dico tibi, quia modo quidem ab infirmitate hac sanaberis. Sed paratus esto; quia post quadriennium reuertens uisitabo te. Patriam uero perueniens, maximam possessionum tuarum, quae tibi ablatae sunt, portionem recipies, atque in pace tranquilla uitam terminabis."[1]

Conualuit igitur episcopus, cunctis gaudentibus ac Deo gratias agentibus, coeptoque itinere Brittaniam uenit. Lectis autem epistulis, quas ab apostolico papa aduexerat, Berctuald archiepiscopus et Aedilred quondam rex, tunc autem abbas, libentissime fauerunt; qui uidelicet Aedilred accitum ad se Coinredum, quem pro se regem fecerat, amicum episcopo fieri petiit et inpetrauit. Sed Aldfrid Nordanhymbrorum rex eum suscipere contemsit, nec longo tempore superfuit; unde factum est, ut regnante Osredi[a] filio eius, mox synodo facta iuxta fluuium Nidd, post aliquantum utriusque partis conflictum, tandem cunctis fauentibus in praesulatum sit suae receptus ecclesiae, sicque
p. 330 quattuor annis, / idest usque ad diem obitus sui, uitam duxit in pace. Defunctus est autem in monasterio suo, quod habebat in prouincia Undalum sub regimine Cudbaldi abbatis,[b] et ministerio fratrum perlatus in primum suum monasterium, quod uocatur Inhrypum, positus est in ecclesia beati apostoli Petri iuxta altare ad austrum, ut et supra docuimus, et hoc de illo supra epitaphium scriptum:

Uilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore praesul,
Hanc Domino qui aulam ductus pietatis amore
Fecit, et eximio sacrauit nomine Petri,
Cui claues caeli Christus dedit arbiter orbis,
Atque auro ac Tyrio deuotus uestiit ostro.[c]
Quin etiam sublime crucis radiante metallo
Hic posuit tropeum, necnon et quattuor auro
Scribi euangelii praecepit in ordine libros,
Ac thecam e rutilo his condignam condidit auro;
Paschalis qui etiam sollemnia tempora cursus
Catholici ad iustum correxit dogma canonis,
Quem statuere patres, dubioque errore remoto
Certa suae genti ostendit moderamina ritus;
Inque locis istis monachorum examina crebra
Colligit, ac monitis, cauit quae regula patrum,
Sedulus instituit; multisque domique forisque
Iactatus nimium per tempora longa periclis,

[a] Osrede *c* [b] abbatis Cudbaldi *c* [c] *So the Cottonian MS. and the Leningrad corrector; the majority have* auro

the ever-virgin Mary. I tell you that you will now be healed of your sickness; but be prepared, for in four years I will visit you again. You will return to your native land and will receive the greater part of the possessions which have been taken from you and will end your days in peace and quiet." '[1]

So the bishop was restored to health, whereupon they all rejoiced and gave thanks to God; he set forward on his journey and arrived in Britain. After they had read the letters sent by the pope, Archbishop Berhtwold and Æthelred, who had once been king and was then abbot, readily took his part. Æthelred summoned Cenred to him, whom he had made king in his place, and urged him to make friends with the bishop, to which the king agreed. Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, scorned to receive him, but he did not long survive; so it came about that, when his son Osred was reigning, a synod was held at the river Nidd and, after some argument on both sides, they all agreed to receive him back into the bishopric of his own church. So he lived in peace for four years, that is, until the day of his death. He died in his own monastery in the district of Oundle, while Abbot Cuthbald was ruling over it; he was carried by the brothers to his first monastery at Ripon and buried in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter close to the altar on the south side, as was mentioned before; his epitaph was inscribed over him as follows:

Here lie great WILFRID's bones. In loving zeal
He built this church, and gave it Peter's name,
Who bears the keys by gift of Christ the King;
Clothed it in gold and purple, and set high
In gleaming ore the trophy of the Cross;
Golden the Gospels four he made for it,
Lodged in a shrine of gold, as is their due.
To the high Paschal feast its order just
He gave, by doctrine true and catholic,
As our forefathers held; drove error far,
And showed his folk sound law and liturgy.
Within these walls a swarm of monks he hived,
And in their statutes carefully laid down
All that the Fathers by their rule command.
At home, abroad, long time in tempests tossed,

[1] Bede omits Michael's command to Wilfrid that he is to build a new church and dedicate it to St. Mary (Eddius, c. 56). See Taylor I, 298.

Quindecies ternos postquam egit episcopus annos,
Transiit, et gaudens caelestia regna petiuit.
Dona, Iesu, ut grex pastoris calle sequatur.

XX

ANNO post obitum praefati patris proximo, id est quinto Osredi
p. 331 regis, reuerentissimus pater Hadrianus / abbas, cooperator in uerbo Dei Theodori beatae memoriae episcopi, defunctus est, et in monasterio suo in ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis sepultus; qui est annus quadragesimus primus ex quo a Uitaliano papa directus est cum Theodoro, ex quo autem Brittaniam uenit, XXXIX. Cuius doctrinae simul et Theodori inter alia testimonium perhibet, quod Albinus[1] discipulus eius, qui monasterio ipsius in regimine successit, in tantum studiis scripturarum institutus est, ut Grecam quidem linguam non parua ex parte, Latinam uero non minus quam Anglorum, quae sibi naturalis est, nouerit.

Suscepit uero pro Uilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, uir et ipse strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus; qui et ipsius ecclesiae suae, quae in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliauit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit, ut adquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi in uenerationem illorum poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae. Sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis uoluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, necnon et uasa sancta et luminaria aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime parauit. Cantatorem quoque egregium, uocabulo Maban, qui a successoribus discipulorum beati papae Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersiit, ac per annos XII tenuit, quatinus et quae illi non nouerant carmina ecclesiastica doceret, et ea quae quondam cognita longo usu uel neglegentia inueterare coeperant, huius doctrina priscum renouarentur in statum. Nam
p. 332 et ipse episcopus / Acca cantator erat peritissimus, quomodo etiam in litteris sanctis doctissimus et in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticae quoque institutionis regulis

[1] See p. 3, n. 4.

Thrice fifteen years he bare a bishop's charge,
Passed to his rest, and gained the joys of Heaven.
Grant, Lord, his flock may tread their shepherd's path!

CHAPTER XX

IN the year after the death of father Wilfrid, that is in the fifth year of Osred's reign, the most reverend father Hadrian, abbot and fellow labourer in the word of God with Theodore of blessed memory, died and was buried in his monastery in the church of the blessed Mother of God, forty-one years after he was sent by Pope Vitalian with Theodore and thirty-nine years after his arrival in Britain. It is one testimony among many to his learning and to that of Theodore, that his disciple Albinus,[1] who succeeded him as head of the monastery, was so well trained in scriptural studies that he had no small knowledge of the Greek language and that he knew Latin as well as English, his native tongue.

Acca, Wilfrid's priest, became bishop of Hexham in Wilfrid's place. He was a man of great energy and noble in the sight of God and man. He enriched the fabric of his church, dedicated to the blessed apostle Andrew, with all kinds of decoration and works of art. He took great trouble, as he still does, to gather relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts and to put up altars for their veneration, establishing various chapels for this purpose within the walls of the church. He has also built up a very large and most noble library, assiduously collecting histories of the passions of the martyrs as well as other ecclesiastical books. He has also zealously provided sacred vessels, lamps, and other objects of the same kind for the adornment of the house of God. Further, he invited a famous singer named Maban, who had been instructed in methods of singing by the successors of the disciples of St. Gregory in Kent, to teach him and his people; he kept him for twelve years teaching them such church music as they did not know, while the music which they once knew and which had begun to deteriorate by long use or by neglect was restored to its original form. Bishop Acca was himself a musician of great experience as well as a very learned theologian, untainted in his confession of the catholic faith and thoroughly familiar with the rules of ecclesiastical custom; and he will not cease to be so until

sollertissimus extiterat; et usque dum praemia piae deuotionis accipiat, existere non desistit, utpote qui a pueritia in clero sanctissimi ac Deo dilecti Bosa Eboracensis episcopi nutritus atque eruditus est; deinde ad Uilfridum episcopum spe melioris propositi adueniens, omnem in eius obsequio usque ad obitum illius expleuit aetatem; cum quo etiam Romam ueniens multa illic, quae in patria nequiuerat, ecclesiae sanctae institutis[a] utilia didicit.

XXI

Eo tempore Naiton rex Pictorum,[1] qui septentrionales Brittaniae plagas inhabitant, admonitus ecclesiasticarum frequenti meditatione scripturarum abrenuntiauit errori, quo eatenus in obseruatione paschae cum sua gente tenebatur, et se suosque omnes ad catholicum dominicae resurrectionis tempus celebrandum perduxit. Quod ut facilius et maiore auctoritate perficeret, quaesiuit auxilium de gente Anglorum, quos iamdudum ad exemplum sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae suam religionem instituisse cognouit. Siquidem misit legatarios ad uirum uenerabilem Ceolfridum, abbatem monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quod est ad ostium Uiuri amnis, et iuxta amnem Tina in loco qui uocatur Ingyruum,[2] cui ipse post Benedictum, de quo supra diximus, gloriosissime praefuit, postulans ut exhortatorias sibi litteras mitteret, quibus potentius confutare posset eos, qui pascha non suo tempore obseruare praesumerent; /
p. 333 simul et de tonsurae modo uel ratione, qua clericos insigniri deceret; excepto quod etiam ipse in his non parua ex parte esset imbutus. Sed et architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent, promittens hanc in honorem beati apostolorum principis dedicandam; se quoque ipsum cum suis omnibus morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae semper imitaturum, in quantum dumtaxat tam longe a Romanorum loquella et natione segregati hunc ediscere potuissent. Cuius religiosis uotis ac precibus fauens

[a] institutionis *c2*

[1] Nechtan or Naitan IV, king of the Picts, came to the throne in 706. Ever since the death of Ecgfrith in 685 there had been sporadic warfare between the Northumbrians and the Picts, but it is clear from this visit that a better relationship had been established, and when Bede was finishing his *History*, a treaty of peace had been made (v. 23), perhaps as a result of this visit.

he gains the reward of his piety and devotion. He was brought up from childhood with the clergy of the holy Bosa, beloved of God, bishop of York, and was instructed by them. Then he came to Bishop Wilfrid in the hope of finding a better way of life and remained in his service all his days until Wilfrid's death; he also went to Rome with him and learned many valuable things about the institutions of the holy Church which he could not have learned in his native land.

CHAPTER XXI

AT that time Nechtan,[1] king of the Picts, who live in the northern parts of Britain, having been convinced by his assiduous study of ecclesiastical writings, renounced the error which he and his race had until then held about the observance of Easter, and led all his people to celebrate with him the catholic time of keeping the Lord's resurrection. In order to make the change more easily and with greater authority, he sought help from the English who, he knew, had long since based their religious practices on the example of the holy Roman and apostolic Church. So he sent messengers to the venerable Ceolfrith, abbot of the monastery of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, one part of which stands at the mouth of the river Wear and the other part near the river Tyne in a place called Jarrow.[2] Ceolfrith ruled illustriously over this monastery after Benedict already mentioned. The king asked the abbot to send him information by letter to enable him to confute more convincingly those who presumed to celebrate Easter at the wrong time; also about the shape and method of tonsure by which it was fitting that clerics should be distinguished: notwithstanding this request he himself had no small measure of knowledge on these matters. He also asked for builders to be sent to build a church of stone in their country after the Roman fashion, promising that it should be dedicated in honour of the blessed chief of the apostles. He also said that he and all his people would always follow the customs of the holy Roman and apostolic Church, so far as they could learn them, remote though they were from the Roman people and from their language. Abbot Ceolfrith complied with

[2] Bede is of course referring to the two divisions of the single monastery, the one part at Wearmouth, the other at Jarrow.

reuerentissimus abba Ceolfrid misit architectos quos petebatur; misit illi et litteras scriptas in hunc modum:

Domino excellentissimo et gloriosissimo regi Naitano Ceolfrid[1] abbas in Domino salutem.

Catholicam sancti paschae obseruantiam, quam a nobis, rex Deo deuote, religioso studio quaesisti, promtissime ac libentissime tuo desiderio, iuxta quod ab apostolica sede didicimus, patefacere satagimus. Scimus namque caelitus sanctae ecclesiae donatum, quoties ipsi rerum domini discendae, docendae, custodiendae ueritati[a] operam inpendunt. Nam et uere omnino dixit quidam saecularium scriptorum, quia felicissimo mundus statu ageretur, si uel reges philosopharentur uel regnarent philosophi.[2] Quod si de philosophia huius mundi uere intellegere, de statu huius mundi merito diligere potuit homo huius mundi, quanto magis ciuibus patriae caelestis in hoc mundo peregrinantibus optandum est et totis animi uiribus supplicandum ut, quo plus in mundo quique ualent, eo amplius eius, qui super omnia est, Iudicis mandatis auscultare contendant, atque ad haec obseruanda secum eos quoque, qui sibi commissi sunt, exemplis[b] simul et auctoritate instituant!

p. 334 Tres sunt ergo regulae sacris inditae litteris, quibus / paschae celebrandi tempus nobis praefinitum, nulla prorsus humana licet auctoritate mutari; e quibus duae in lege Mosi diuinitus statutae, tertia in euangelio per effectum dominicae passionis et resurrectionis adiuncta est. Praecepit enim lex, ut pascha primo mense anni et tertia eiusdem mensis septimana, id est a quinta decima die usque ad uicesimam primam fieri deberet; additum est per institutionem apostolicam ex euangelio, ut in ipsa tertia septimana diem dominicam expectare, atque in ea temporis paschalis initium tenere debeamus. Quam uidelicet regulam triformem quisquis rite custodierit, numquam in adnotatione festi paschalis errabit. Verum si de his singulis enucleatius ac latius audire desideras, scriptum est in Exodo, ubi liberandus de Aegypto populus Israhel primum pascha facere iubetur, quia dixerit Dominus ad Mosen et Aaron: 'Mensis iste uobis principium mensum primus erit in mensibus anni. Loquimini ad uniuersum coetum filiorum Israhel et dicite eis: Decima die mensis huius tollat unusquisque agnum per familias et domus suas.' Et paulo post: 'Et seruabitis eum usque ad quartam decimam mensis huius; immolabitque eum uniuersa multitudo filiorum Israel ad uesperam.'[3] Quibus uerbis manifestissime constat, quod ita in

[a] ueritate *c* [b] et exemplis *ca*

[1] Though this letter is attributed to Ceolfrith there seems little doubt that it is Bede's free version of the original to which Bede probably also contributed. Plummer has shown that there are many verbal echoes from his other works (Plummer, II. 332).

his pious wishes and requests, sending the builders he asked for and also a letter couched in the following terms:

To the most excellent and glorious Lord, King Nechtan, Abbot Ceolfrith[1] sends greetings in the Lord.

We are most ready and willing to attempt to explain to you the catholic observance of the holy Easter festival as we learned it from the apostolic see, in accordance with your earnest wishes and request, most devout king! For we know that whenever rulers themselves take trouble to learn and teach and watch over the truth, it is a heaven-sent gift to God's holy Church. Indeed a certain secular writer has said very truly that the world would be in a happy state if kings were philosophers and philosophers were kings.[2] But if a man of this world could speak the truth about the philosophy of this world and judge correctly about the governance of this world, how much more should the citizens of our heavenly home, who are now pilgrims in this world, hope and pray that, the more powerful men grow in this world, the more they may strive to obey the commands of our Judge who is over all things; and by their example and authority induce their subjects to observe these commands as well.

Now there are three rules given in holy Scripture by which the time for keeping Easter has been laid down for us, and these no human authority can alter; of these, two are divinely laid down in the law of Moses, while the third is added in the Gospel as the result of the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord. The law laid down that the Passover should be kept in the first month of the year and in the third week of the month, that is from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the month. The apostolic ordinance adds from the Gospel that we are to wait for the Lord's day occurring in that third week and keep the beginning of the Easter season on that day. Whoever then keeps this threefold rule rightly will never make a mistake in fixing the Paschal feast. But if you wish to hear in greater detail and more fully, it is written in Exodus, when the children of Israel were commanded to keep their first Passover, on their liberation from Egypt, 'the Lord said to Moses and Aaron, "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you. Speak to all the congregation of Israel, saying, 'In the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to their families and households.'"' And a little further on: 'And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening.'[3] From these words

[2] This quotation is originally from Plato's *Republic* (473 D) but it is frequently quoted by patristic writers such as Lactantius, Boethius, Prudentius, and others.

[3] Exod. 12: 1–3, 6.

obseruatione paschali mentio fit diei quartae decimae, ut[a] non tamen in ipsa die quarta decima pascha fieri praecipiatur, sed adueniente tandem uespera diei quartae decimae, id est quinta decima luna, quae initium tertiae septimanae faciat, in caeli faciem prodeunte, agnus immolari iubeatur; et quod ipsa sit nox quintae decimae lunae, in qua percussis Aegyptiis Israel est a longa seruitute redemtus. 'Septem' inquit 'diebus azyma comedetis.'[1] Quibus item uerbis tota tertia septimana eiusdem primi mensis decernitur sollemnis esse debere. Sed ne putaremus easdem septem dies a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam esse conputandas, continuo subiecit: 'In die primo non erit fermentum in
p. 335 domibus uestris. Qui/cumque comederit fermentum, peribit anima illa de Israhel, a die primo usque ad diem septimum' et cetera, usquedum ait: 'In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum uestrum de terra Aegypti.'[2]

Primum ergo diem azymorum appellat eum, in quo exercitum eorum esset educturus de Aegypto. Constat autem, quia non quarta decima die, in cuius uespera agnus est immolatus, et quae proprie pascha siue phase dicitur, sed quinta decima sunt educti ex Aegypto, sicut in libro Numerorum apertissime scribitur: 'Profecti igitur de Ramesse quinta decima die mensis primi, altera die phase, filii Israhel in manu excelsa.'[3] Septem ergo dies azymorum, in quarum prima eductus est populus Domini ex Aegypto, ab initio, ut diximus, tertiae septimanae, hoc est a[b] quinta decima die mensis primi usque ad uicesimam primam eiusdem mensis diem completam computari oportet. Porro dies quarta decima extra hunc numerum separatim sub paschae titulo praenotatur, sicut Exodi sequentia patenter edocent, ubi cum dictum esset: 'In eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum uestrum de terra Aegypti,' protinus adiunctum est: 'Et custodietis diem istum in generationes uestras ritu perpetuo. Primo mense, quarta decima die mensis comedetis azyma usque ad diem uicesimam primam eiusdem mensis ad uesperam. Septem diebus fermentatum non inuenietur in domibus uestris.'[4] Quis enim non uideat, a quarta decima usque ad uicesimam primam non septem solummodo, sed octo potius esse dies, si et ipsa quarta decima adnumeretur? Sin autem, ut diligentius explorata scripturae ueritas docet, a uespera diei quartae decimae usque ad uesperam uicesimae primae conputauerimus, uidebimus profecto, quod ita dies quarta decima uesperam suam in festi paschalis initium prorogat, ut non amplius tota sacra sollemnitas quam septem tantummodo noctes cum totidem diebus conprehendat; unde uera esse probatur nostra difinitio,

[a] et *c* [b] a *om. c2*

[1] Exod. 12: 15. [2] Exod. 12: 15–17. [3] Num. 33: 3.
[4] Exod. 12: 17–19.

it is very clear that in the Paschal observance, though mention is made of the fourteenth day, yet it is not commanded that the Passover should be kept on that day; but it is commanded that the lamb should be sacrificed on the evening of the fourteenth day, that is on the fifteenth day of the moon, which is the beginning of the third week, when the moon appears in the sky; and because it was on the night of the fifteenth moon that the Egyptians were smitten and Israel redeemed from its long captivity. It says, 'Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread.'[1] By these words it is directed that the whole of the third week of the first month shall be solemnly observed. But lest we should think that these seven days were to be reckoned from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, it adds forthwith, 'Even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your house; for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel', and so on up to 'for in this selfsame day I will bring your army out of the land of Egypt'.[2]

So He calls the first day of unleavened bread the day on which He was to bring their army out of Egypt. Now it is evident that they were not brought out of Egypt on the fourteenth day, in the evening of which the lamb was killed and which is rightly called the Passover or Phase, but they were brought out of Egypt on the fifteenth day, as it is clearly stated in the book of Numbers, 'And they departed from Rameses on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the Passover, the children of Israel went out with a high hand.'[3] Thus the seven days of unleavened bread, on the first of which the people of the Lord were brought out of Egypt, are to be reckoned, as we have said, from the beginning of the third week, that is, from the fifteenth day of the first month to the end of the twenty-first day of the same month. But the fourteenth day is distinguished from this number by the very title of Passover, as is plainly shown by what follows in Exodus; for when it says, 'In this selfsame day I will bring your army out of the land of Egypt', it immediately continues, 'And ye shall observe this day in your generations for a perpetual ordinance. In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, ye shall eat unleavened bread until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses.'[4] Now who can fail to see that there are not seven days but eight, from the fourteenth to the twenty-first, if the fourteenth is also reckoned in. But if, as a more diligent study of the scriptural truth shows, we reckon from the evening of the fourteenth day to the evening of the twenty-first, we see at once that while the fourteenth day contributes its evening to the beginning of the Paschal feast, yet the whole solemn festival comprises no more than seven nights and the same number of days. So our definition is shown to be true

p 336 qua / tempus paschale primo mense anni et tertia eius ebdomada celebrandum esse diximus. Veraciter enim tertia agitur ebdomada, quod a uespera quartae decimae diei incipit et in uespera uicesimae primae conpletur.

Postquam uero pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus,[1] diemque nobis dominicam, quae apud antiquos una uel prima sabbati siue sabbatorum uocatur, gaudio suae resurrectionis[a] fecit esse sollemnem, ita hanc apostolica traditio festis paschalibus inseruit, ut nil[b] omnimodis de tempore paschae legalis praeoccupandum, nil[b] minuendum esse decerneret. Quin potius statuit, ut expectaretur iuxta praeceptum legis idem primus anni mensis, expectaretur quarta decima dies illius, expectaretur uespera eiusdem; et cum haec dies in sabbatum forte incideret, tolleret unusquisque agnum per familias et domus suas, et immolaret eum ad uesperam; id est, praepararent omnes ecclesiae per orbem, quae unam catholicam faciunt, panem et uinum in mysterium carnis et sanguinis agni inmaculati, qui abstulit peccata mundi,[2] et praecedente congrua lectionum, orationum,[c] caerimoniarum paschalium sollemnitate offerrent haec Domino in spem futurae suae redemtionis. Ipsa est enim eadem nox, in qua de Aegypto per sanguinem agni Israhelitica plebs erepta est; ipsa, in qua per resurrectionem Christi liberatus est a morte aeterna populus omnis Dei. Mane autem inlucescente[d] die dominica primam paschalis festi diem celebrarent. Ipsa est enim dies, in qua resurrectionis suae gloriam Dominus multifario piae reuelationis gaudio discipulis patefecit; ipsa prima dies azymorum, de qua multum distincte in Leuitico scriptum est: 'Mense primo, quarta decima die mensis ad uesperam phase Domini est, et quinta decima die mensis huius sollemnitas azymorum Domini est. Septem diebus azyma comedetis. Dies primus erit celeberrimus sanctusque.'[3]

p. 337 Si ergo fieri posset, ut semper in diem quintum decimum primi mensis, id est in lunam quintam decimam, dominica dies incurreret, uno semper eodemque tempore cum antiquo Dei populo, quanquam sacramentorum genere discreto, sicut una eademque fide, pascha celebrare possemus. Quia uero dies septimanae non aequali cum luna tramite procurrit, decreuit apostolica traditio, quae per beatum Petrum Romae praedicata, per Marcum euangelistam et interpretem ipsius Alexandriae confirmata est, ut adueniente primo mense, adueniente in eo uespera diei quartae decimae, expectetur etiam dies dominica a quinta decima usque ad uicesimam primam diem eiusdem mensis. In quacumque enim harum inuenta fuerit, merito in ea pascha celebrabitur, quia nimirum haec ad numerum pertinet illarum septem dierum, quibus azyma

[a] resurrectionis suae *c* [b] nihil *c* [c] et orationum *c* [d] inluciscente *c*

[1] 1 Cor. 5: 7. [2] Joh. 1: 29. [3] Lev. 23: 5–7.

that the Easter season is to be celebrated in the first month of the year and the third week. It is truly the third week, because it begins on the evening of the fourteenth day and ends on the evening of the twenty-first.

But since it is Christ who is our Passover sacrificed for us,[1] and since He has made the Lord's day (which among the ancients was called the first day of the week) a solemn day because of His Resurrection, it has been included by apostolic tradition in the Paschal festival, which has also decreed that the time of the Passover according to the law must by no means be anticipated or diminished. It ordains instead that according to the precept of the law we must wait for the first month of the year, the fourteenth day of that month and the evening of that day. And when that day should happen to fall on a Saturday, every man must take a lamb according to their families and their houses and sacrifice it at evening, that is, that all churches throughout the world, composing the one catholic Church, should provide bread and wine for the mystery of the body and blood of the spotless 'Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world';[2] and after the appropriate solemn Easter rite of lessons and prayers and Paschal ceremonies, they should offer it to the Lord in the hope of redemption to come. For it is the night in which the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt by the blood of the lamb; and also the night in which, by the Resurrection of Christ, all the people of God were freed from eternal death. Then in the morning, at dawn, on the Lord's day, they should celebrate the first day of the Paschal festival. For it is the very day on which the Lord revealed the glory of His Resurrection, while His disciples rejoiced exceedingly at the divine revelation. It is also the first day of unleavened bread about which it is very distinctly written in Leviticus, 'In the fourteenth day of the first month, at even, is the Lord's Passover. And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the Lord. Seven days ye must eat unleavened bread. The first day shall be most solemn and holy.'[3]

If the Lord's day had always fallen on the fifteenth day of the first month, that is, on the fifteenth moon, we could always have celebrated the Passover at the very same time as the ancient people of God: and although the nature of the sacrament is different, yet it would have been with one and the same faith. But because the day of the week does not exactly keep pace with the moon, apostolic tradition (which was established at Rome by St. Peter and confirmed at Alexandria by Mark the evangelist, who was his interpreter) has decreed that, when the first month has come and in it the evening of the fourteenth day, we must wait for the Sunday which falls between the fifteenth and the twenty-first day of the month. And Easter is rightly celebrated on whichever of these days it falls, since it is one of the seven days on which the feast of

celebrari iubetur. Itaque fit, ut numquam pascha nostrum a septimana mensis primi tertia in utramuis partem declinet, sed uel totam eam, id est omnes septem legalium azymorum dies, uel certe aliquos de illis teneat. Nam etsi saltim unum ex eis, hoc est ipsum septimum adprehenderit, quem tam excellenter scriptura commendat, 'Dies autem' inquiens 'septimus erit celebrior et sanctior, nullumque seruile opus fiet in eo',[1] nullus arguere nos poterit, quod non recte dominicum paschae diem, quem de euangelio suscepimus, in ipsa quam lex statuit tertia primi mensis ebdomada celebremus.

Cuius obseruantiae catholica ratione patefacta, patet e contrario error inrationabilis eorum, qui praefixos in lege terminos, nulla cogente necessitate, uel anticipare uel transcendere praesumunt. Namque sine ratione necessitatis alicuius anticipant illi tempus in lege praescriptum, qui dominicum paschae diem a quarta decima mensis primi usque ad uicesimam putant lunam esse seruandum. Cum enim a uespera diei tertiae decimae uigilias sanctae noctis celebrare incipiunt, claret quod
p. 338 illam in exordio sui paschae diem / statuunt, cuius nullam omnino mentionem in decreto legis inueniunt. Et cum uicesima prima die mensis pascha dominicum celebrare refugiunt, patet profecto quod illam per omnia diem a sua sollemnitate secernunt, quam lex maiore prae ceteris festiuitate memorabilem saepenumero commendat; sicque diem paschae ordine peruerso et aliquando in secunda ebdomada totam conpleant, et numquam in ebdomadae tertiae die septima ponant. Rursumque, qui a sexta decima die mensis saepedicti usque ad uicesimam secundam pascha celebrandum magis autumant, non minore utique errore, tametsi altero latere, a recto ueritatis tramite diuertunt, et ueluti naufragia Scyllae fugientes in Charybdi uoraginem submergendi decidunt. Nam cum a luna sexta decima primi mensis oriente, id est a uespera diei quintae decimae pascha incipiendum doceant, nimirum constat quia quartam decimam diem mensis eiusdem, quam lex primitus et praecipue commendat, a sua prorsus sollemnitate secludunt, ita ut quintae decimae, in qua populus Dei ab Aegyptia seruitute redemtus est et in qua Dominus suo mundum sanguine a peccatorum tenebris liberauit, in qua etiam sepultus spem nobis post mortem beatae quietis tribuit, uix uesperam tangant. Idemque poenam erroris sui in semet ipsos recipientes,[2] cum in uicesima secunda die mensis paschae diem statuunt dominicum, legitimos utique terminos paschae aperta transgressione uiolant, utpote qui ab illius diei uespera pascha incipiunt, in qua hoc

[1] Lev. 23: 8. [2] Rom. 1: 27.

unleavened bread had to be celebrated. So it happens that our Easter never falls outside the third week of the month either before or after, but is observed either throughout the whole of the seven appointed days of unleavened bread or through at least part of them. But even though Easter should only include one of them, that is the seventh, yet that is the day that Scripture commends so highly: 'For the seventh day', it says, 'shall be most solemn and holy;[1] ye shall do no servile work therein.' And none can argue that we do not rightly keep Easter Sunday on the day laid down in the Gospel in the third week of the first month as the law prescribed.

Now that the catholic reason for this observance is clear, it also becomes clear on the other hand how unreasonable is the error of those who presume, without cogent necessity, either to anticipate or overstep the limits set by the law. For those who think that Easter Sunday is to be observed on the fourteenth day of the first month until the twentieth day of the moon unnecessarily anticipate the time prescribed in the law; for when they begin to celebrate the vigils of the holy night from the evening of the thirteenth day, it is clear that they make that day the beginning of their Easter, and they can find no mention of this in the commandment of the law. When they refuse to celebrate the Lord's Easter on the twenty-first day of the month, it is at once clear that they exclude from their solemnity a day which the law often commends as being worthy of commemoration beyond all others. Thus, by a perverse arrangement, they will sometimes keep the whole festival in the second week but they will never put it on the seventh day of the third week. Again, those who think that Easter is to be kept from the sixteenth day of the same month to the twenty-second no less incorrectly turn from the straight path of truth in the opposite direction and, as it were, avoid shipwreck on Scylla, only to fall into the whirlpool of Charybdis and be drowned. For when they teach that Easter is to begin from the rising of the sixteenth moon of the first month, that is, from the evening of the fifteenth day, it is clear that they altogether exclude from their solemnity the fourteenth day of the moon which the law commends first and foremost. Consequently they scarcely touch the evening of the fifteenth day on which the people of God were redeemed from Egyptian bondage, and in which the Lord freed the world with His own blood from the darkness of sin, and in which He was buried and bestowed on us the hope of a blessed rest after death. These people receive in themselves the recompense of their error,[2] when they put Easter Day on the twenty-second day of the moon and openly transgress by violating the legitimate limits of Easter, seeing that they begin Easter on the evening of the day in which the law commanded that it should be finished and completed; and they assign the first day of Easter to a day of which no mention is ever made in the law, namely the first day of the fourth week.

lex consummari et perfici debere decreuit; illam in pascha diem adsignent primam, cuius in lege mentio nulla usquam reperitur, id est quartae primam septimanae.

Qui utrique non solum in difinitione et computo lunaris aetatis, sed et in mensis primi nonnumquam inuentione falluntur. Quae disputatio maior est, quam epistula hac uel ualeat conprehendi uel debeat. Tantum
p. 339 hoc dicam, quod per aequinoctium uernale semper inerra/biliter possit inueniri, qui mensis iuxta computum lunae primus anni, qui esse debeat ultimus. Aequinoctium autem iuxta sententiam omnium Orientalium et maxime Aegyptiorum, qui prae ceteris doctoribus calculandi palmam tenent, duodecimo kalendarum Aprilium die prouenire consueuit, ut etiam ipsi horologica inspectione probamus. Quaecumque ergo luna ante aequinoctium plena est, quarta decima uidelicet uel quinta decima existens, haec ad praecedentis anni nouissimum pertinet mensem, ideoque paschae celebrando habilis non est. Quae uero post aequinoctium uel in ipso aequinoctio suum plenilunium habet, in hac absque ulla dubietate, quia primi mensis est, et antiquos pascha celebrare solitos et nos, ubi dominica dies aduenerit, celebrare debere noscendum est. Quod ita fieri oportere illa nimirum ratio cogit, quia in Genesi scriptum est quod 'fecit Deus duo magna luminaria: luminare maius ut praeesset diei, et luminare minus ut praeesset nocti;' uel, sicut alia dicit editio, 'luminare maius in inchoationem diei, et luminare minus in inchoationem noctis'.[1] Sicut ergo prius sol a medio procedens Orientis aequinoctium uernale suo praefixit exortu, deinde luna sole ad uesperam occidente et ipsa plena a medio secuta est Orientis, ita omnibus annis idem primus lunae mensis eodem necesse est ordine seruari, ut non ante aequinoctium, sed uel ipso aequinoctii die, sicut in principio factum est, uel eo transcenso plenilunium habere debeat. At si uno saltim die plenilunium tempus aequinoctii praecesserit, non hanc primo mensi anni incipientis sed ultimo potius praeteriti lunam esse adscribendam, et ideo festis paschalibus inhabilem, memorata ratio probat.

Quod si mysticam quoque uos in his rationem audire delectat, primo mense anni, qui etiam mensis nouorum dictus est, pascha facere iubemur, quia renouato ad amorem caelestium spiritu mentis nostrae sacramenta dominicae resurrectionis et ereptionis nostrae celebrare /
p. 340 debemus. Tertia eiusdem mensis septimana facere praecipimur, quia ante legem et sub lege promissus, tertio tempore saeculi cum gratia uenit ipse, qui[a] pascha nostrum immolaretur, Christus;[2] quia tertia post immolationem suae passionis die resurgens a mortuis, hanc dominicam

[a] ipse qui] insequi *c*

[1] Gen. 1: 16. The second quotation is from one of the older Latin versions. See Plummer, II. 392–4.

And not only are both parties sometimes mistaken in fixing and computing the age of the moon, but they sometimes make mistakes in finding the first month.

This controversy, however, is a greater one than this letter can or ought to deal with. I will only say this that, by reference to the vernal equinox, it can always be decided infallibly which month is first, and which last, according to the lunar computation. Now the equinox, according to the opinion of all eastern nations, and especially of the Egyptians who took the palm from all other learned men in calculations, usually falls on the twenty-first of March, as we can also prove by inspecting a sundial. Now the moon which is at the full before the equinox, that is on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the moon, belongs to the last month of the preceding year and so is not available for the celebration of Easter. But the moon which is full after the equinox or at the equinox itself belongs to the first month and on that day, as we know without any doubt, they were accustomed to keep the Passover in ancient times and we must celebrate it on the following Sunday. There is a very cogent reason for this for it is written in Genesis, 'And God made two great lights: the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night', or as another version has it, 'The greater light to begin the day and the lesser light to begin the night'.[1] As the sun, therefore, rising due east, first indicated the vernal equinox by his point of appearance and then, at sunset that evening, the full moon followed in her turn due east, so year by year the same first lunar month must be observed in the same order, its full moon falling, not before the equinox but either on the day of the equinox as it did in the beginning or after it has passed. But if full moon precedes the time of the equinox even by a single day, the reasons we have given make it clear that this full moon is to be assigned not to the first month of the new year but to the last month of the old year; and, as has been shown, is not available for the Paschal festival.

If you also care to know the mystical reason for this, we are commanded to keep Easter in the first month of the year, which is also called the month of new things; because we ought to celebrate the mysteries of the Lord's Resurrection and of our deliverance when our spirits and minds are renewed to the love of heavenly things. We are commanded to keep it in the third week of that month because Christ Himself who had been promised before the law and under the law came with grace in the third dispensation of the world, to be sacrificed for us as our Passover;[2] and because after the sacrifice of His Passion, He rose from

[1] 1 Cor. 5: 7. Bede is referring to the three dispensations—the dispensation before the giving of the law, the dispensation under the law, and the dispensation of grace. Augustine and Gregory both refer to the same threefold division. See *PL*, XXXVIII. 468 and 1183, and *PL*, LXXVI. 1228.

uocari et in ea nos annuatim paschalia eiusdem resurrectionis uoluit festa celebrare; quia nos quoque ita solum ueraciter eius sollemnia celebramus, si per fidem spem et caritatem pascha, id est transitum de hoc mundo ad Patrem, cum illo facere curamus. Post aequinoctium ueris plenilunium mensis praecipimur obseruare paschalis, ut uidelicet primo sol longiorem nocte faciat diem, deinde luna plenum suae lucis orbem mundo praesentet; quia primo quidem sol iustitiae, in cuius pennis est sanitas,[1] id est Dominus Iesus, per resurrectionis suae triumphum cunctas mortis tenebras superauit, ac sic ascendens in caelos, misso desuper Spiritu, ecclesiam suam, quae saepe lunae uocabulo designatur, internae gratiae luce repleuit. Quem uidelicet ordinem nostrae salutis propheta contemplatus aiebat: 'Eleuatus est sol, et luna stetit in ordine suo.'[2]

Qui ergo plenitudinem lunae paschalis ante aequinoctium prouenire posse contenderit, talis in mysteriorum celebratione maximorum a sanctarum quidem scripturarum doctrina discordat: concordat autem eis, qui sine praeueniente gratia Christi se saluari posse confidunt, qui et si uera lux tenebras mundi moriendo ac resurgendo numquam uicisset, perfectam se habere posse iustitiam dogmatizare praesumunt.[3] Itaque post aequinoctialem solis exortum, post plenilunium primi mensis hunc ex ordine subsequens, id est post conpletam diem eiusdem mensis quartam decimam, quae cuncta ex lege obseruanda accepimus, expectamus adhuc monente euangelio in ipsa ebdomada tertia tempus diei dominicae; et sic demum uotiua paschae nostri festa celebramus, ut
p. 341 indicemus nos non cum antiquis / excussum Aegyptiae seruitutis iugum uenerari sed redemtionem totius mundi, quae in antiqui Dei populi liberatione praefigurata, in Christi autem resurrectione conpleta est, deuota fide ac dilectione colere, utque resurrectionis etiam nostrae, quam eadem die dominica futuram credimus, spe nos certissima gaudere signemus.

Hic autem, quem uobis sequendum monstramus, computus paschae decennouenali circulo continetur; qui dudum quidem, hoc est ipsis apostolorum temporibus, iam seruari in ecclesia coepit, maxime Romae et Aegypti, ut supra iam diximus. Sed per industriam Eusebii,[4] qui a beato martyre Pamphylo[5] cognomen habet, distinctius in ordinem compositus est, ut quod eatenus per Alexandriae pontificem singulis annis per omnes ecclesias mandari consuerat, iam deinde congesta in

[1] Mal. 4: 2. [2] Habac. 3: 11. See Plummer, II. 334.
[3] Namely the Pelagians. See p. 38, n. 1.
[4] Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, took a leading part in the Council of Nicaea

the dead on the third day, He wished this to be called the Lord's day and desired the Paschal feast of His Resurrection to be celebrated each year on the same day; and also because we only celebrate the solemn festival truly if we are careful to keep the Passover with Him, that is, His passing from the world to His Father, with faith, hope, and love. We are commanded to keep the full moon of the Paschal month after the vernal equinox, the object being that the sun should first make the day longer than the night and then the moon can show to the world her full orb of light, because 'the Sun of righteousness with healing in His wings',[1] that is, the Lord Jesus, overcame all the darkness of death by the triumph of His Resurrection. So, ascending into heaven, he made His Church, which is often typified as the moon, full of the light of inward grace, by sending His Spirit down upon her. This plan of our salvation is what the prophet had in mind when he said, 'The sun was exalted and the moon stood in her order.'[2]

Whoever argues, therefore, that the full Paschal moon can fall before the equinox disagrees with the teaching of the holy Scriptures in the celebration of the greatest mysteries, and agrees with those who trust that they can be saved without the grace of Christ preventing them and who presume to teach that they could have attained to perfect righteousness even though the true Light had never conquered the darkness of the world by dying and rising again.[3] And so after sunrise at the equinox and after the full moon of the first month has followed in due order, that is, after the close of the fourteenth day of the month (all of which we have received as duly to be observed in accordance with the law), we still wait for the Lord's day in the third week as the Gospel directs. So at last we duly celebrate our Easter feast to show that we are not, with the ancients, celebrating the throwing off of the yoke of Egyptian bondage but, with devout faith and love, venerating the redemption of the whole world, which, being prefigured by the liberation of the ancient people of God, is completed in the resurrection of Christ; we also signify that we rejoice in the sure and certain hope of our own resurrection, which we believe will also take place on a Sunday.

Now this computation of Easter which we teach you to follow is contained in a nineteen-year cycle, which was first observed by the Church long ago, that is, in the time of the apostles, especially in Rome and Egypt, as has previously been said. But through the industry of Eusebius,[4] who took his surname from the blessed martyr Pamphylius,[5] it was reduced to a plainer system; so that while up to that time information was sent out annually each year to all the churches from the patriarch

in 325, but it is not known that he had any part in the revision of the nineteen-year cycle.

[5] A priest of Caesarea who was martyred in 309. Eusebius, who was his friend and disciple, wrote a Life of him which is now lost.

ordinem serie lunae quartae decimae facillime posset ab omnibus sciri. Cuius computum paschalis Theophilus Alexandriae praesul[1] in centum annorum tempus Theodosio imperatori conposuit. Item successor eius Cyrillus[2] seriem XC et V annorum in quinque decennouenalibus circulis conprehendit; post quem Dionysius Exiguus[3] totidem alios ex ordine pari schemate subnexuit, qui ad nostra usque tempora pertingebant. Quibus termino adpropinquantibus, tanta hodie calculatorum exuberat copia, ut etiam in nostris per Brittaniam ecclesiis plures sint, qui mandatis memoriae ueteribus illis Aegyptiorum argumentis facillime possint in quotlibet spatia temporum paschales protendere circulos, etiam si ad quingentos usque et XXX duos uoluerint annos;[4] quibus expletis, omnia quae ad solis et lunae, mensis et septimanae consequentiam spectant, eodem quo prius ordine recurrunt. Ideo autem circulos eosdem temporum instantium uobis mittere supersedimus, quia de ratione tantum temporis paschalis instrui quaerentes, ipsos uobis circulos paschae catholicos abundare probastis.

p. 342 Verum his de pascha succincte, ut petisti, strictimque / commemoratis, tonsuram quoque, de qua pariter uobis litteras fieri uoluisti, hortor ut ecclesiasticam et Christianae fidei congruam habere curetis. Et quidem scimus, quia neque apostoli omnes uno eodemque sunt modo adtonsi, neque nunc ecclesia catholica, sicut una fide spe et caritate in Deum consentit, ita etiam una atque indissimili totum per orbem tonsurae sibi forma congruit. Denique ut superiora, id est patriarcharum, tempora respiciamus, Iob exemplar patientiae, dum ingruente tribulationum articulo caput totondit,[5] probauit utique quia tempore felicitatis capillos nutrire consuerat. At Ioseph, et ipse castitatis humilitatis pietatis ceterarumque uirtutum exsecutor ac doctor eximius, cum seruitio absoluendus attonsus esse legitur,[6] patet profecto quia tempore seruitutis intonsis in carcere crinibus manere solebat. Ecce uterque uir Dei diuersum ab altero uultus habitum foris praemonstrabat, quorum tamen intus conscientia in parili uirtutum sibi gratia concordabat.

Verum etsi profiteri nobis liberum est, quia tonsurae discrimen non noceat, quibus pura in Deum fides et caritas in proximum sincera est (maxime cum numquam patribus catholicis sicut de paschae uel fidei diuersitate conflictus, ita etiam de tonsurae differentia legatur aliqua

[1] Theophilus was patriarch of Alexandria, from 385 to 412. He drew up a cycle for 418 years (22 periods of 19 years each) for Theodosius.

[2] Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444. See p. 390, n. 1. He shortened his predecessor's cycle.

[3] His works were well known to Bede and also in Lindisfarne. In the year 525 he produced a table for calculating Easter which was an improvement on the cycle made by Victorius of Aquitaine. His cycle covered 532 years (28 periods of nineteen years each). Dionysius calculated his cycle not from the prevailing era of Diocletian, persecutor of the Christians, but from the Incarnation of

of Alexandria, thenceforward it could easily be understood by everyone, a list being made of the dates of the fourteenth moon. Theophilus,[1] patriarch of Alexandria, made an Easter computation for a hundred years for the benefit of the Emperor Theodosius. His successor Cyril[2] drew up a table for ninety-five years, being five cycles of nineteen years each. After this Dionysius Exiguus[3] added as many more nineteen-year tables employing the same scheme and these extend down to our own day. This table is approaching its end but there are so many mathematicians today that even in our churches here in Britain there are several who have committed to memory these ancient rules of the Egyptians and can easily continue the Easter cycles for an indefinite number of years, even up to 532 years[4] if they wish; after this period all that concerns the succession of the sun, the moon, the month, and the week returns in the same order as before. So we forbear to send you these cycles of times to come because you only asked to be instructed about the reason for the Paschal dating, making it clear that you were provided with catholic Easter tables.

Having said this much about Easter briefly and to the point, as you requested, I would also urge you to be sure that the tonsure, about which also you wished me to write, is in accordance both with the use of the Church and of the Christian faith. We know indeed that the apostles did not all use the same form of tonsure, and the catholic Church nowadays, though it agrees in one faith, one hope, and one charity towards God, does not agree in one and the same form of tonsure throughout the world. For example, to look back to the earlier times, that is, the times of the patriarchs: Job, the pattern of patience, when tribulation came upon him, shaved his head,[5] so proving that in times of prosperity he let his hair grow; but Joseph, who was famous for teaching and practising chastity, humility, piety, and the other virtues, is related to have shaved himself when he was to be freed from slavery,[6] so that it is clear that, during the time he was in prison, he never cut his hair. So each of these men of God differed in outward appearance, though they were alike in having in their inward hearts the same grace and the same virtues.

But though we freely admit that a difference in tonsure is not hurtful to those whose faith in God is untainted and their love for their neighbour sincere (and especially since we never read that there was any conflict among the catholic fathers about differences of tonsure such as there has been about diversity in faith or in the keeping of Easter), nevertheless among all the forms of tonsure which we find either in the

the Lord (see pp. xviii ff. and p. 20, n. 1). The title *Exiguus* was simply an expression of humility and bore no reference to any physical characteristics.

[4] That is, the same length as the tables of Dionysius Exiguus.

[5] Job. 1: 20. [6] Gen. 41: 14.

fuisse controuersia), inter omnes tamen, quas uel in ecclesia uel in uniuerso hominum genere repperimus tonsuras, nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque iure dixerim ea, quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui se confitenti Dominus ait: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferni non praeualebunt aduersus eam; et tibi dabo claues regni caelorum';[1] nullam magis abominandam detestandamque merito cunctis fidelibus crediderim ea, quam habebat ille, cui gratiam Spiritus Sancti conparare uolenti dicit idem Petrus; 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem, quoniam donum
p. 343 Dei existimasti per pecuniam possideri; non est / tibi pars neque sors in sermone hoc.'[2] Neque uero ob id tantum in coronam adtondimur, quia Petrus ita adtonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita adtonsus est, idcirco et nos, qui per eandem passionem saluari[a] desideramus, ipsius passionis signum cum illo in uertice, summa uidelicet corporis nostri parte, gestamus. Sicut enim omnis ecclesia, quia per mortem sui uiuificatoris ecclesia facta est, signum sanctae crucis eius in fronte portare consueuit, ut crebro uexilli huius munimine a malignorum spirituum defendatur incursibus, crebra huius admonitione doceatur se quoque carnem suam cum uitiis et concupiscentiis crucifigere debere;[3] ita etiam oportet eos, qui uel monachi uotum uel gradum clericatus habentes artioribus se necesse habent pro Domino continentiae frenis astringere, formam quoque coronae, quam ipse[b] in passione[c] spineam portauit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram praeferre, ut se etiam inrisiones et obprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant, ut coronam uitae aeternae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se,[4] se semper expectare proque huius perceptione et aduersa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent. Ceterum tonsuram eam, quam magum ferunt habuisse Simonem,[5] quis rogo fidelium non statim cum ipsa magia primo detestetur et merito exsufflet aspectu? Quae in frontis quidem superficie coronae uidetur speciem praeferre, sed ubi ad ceruicem considerando perueneris, decurtatam eam, quam te uidere putabas, inuenies coronam, ut merito talem simoniacis et non Christianis habitum conuenire cognoscas; qui in praesenti quidem uita a deceptis hominibus putabantur digni perpetuae gloria coronae, sed in ea quae
p. 344 hanc / sequitur uitam non solum omni spe coronae priuati sed aeterna insuper sunt poena damnati.

[a] saluatoris *c2* [b] *c apparently read* quam ipse coronae [c] passione sua *c*

[1] Matth. 16: 18, 19. [2] Act. 8: 20, 21.
[3] Gal. 5: 24. [4] Jac. 1: 12.
[5] The Celtic tonsure was usually attributed to Simon Magus. It is known that

Church or among the human race, I would say that none is more worthy to be imitated and adopted by us than the one which that man wore to whose confession the Lord replied, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'[1] Nor do I consider any tonsure to be rightly judged more abominable and detestable than that worn by the man who wished to buy the grace of the Holy Spirit, to whom Peter said, 'Thy money perish with thee because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in the matter.'[2] Nor are we tonsured in the form of a crown simply because Peter was so tonsured, but because Peter wore the tonsure in memory of the Lord's Passion, so we, who desire to be saved by His Passion, wear with Peter the sign of the Passion on our crown, that is to say, on the highest part of the body. See how the whole Church, just because she was made a Church by the death of Him who gave her life, has learnt to bear on her forehead the sign of His holy cross, that, through the constant protection of this symbol, she may be defended from the assaults of evil spirits, and by its constant witness may be reminded that she must crucify her flesh with all its vices and all its lusts:[3] even so it is right for those who, having taken monastic vows or holy orders, must needs bind themselves with stricter bonds of continence for the Lord's sake, to wear upon their heads, by way of tonsure, the likeness of a crown of thorns—that crown of thorns which He in his Passion, bore upon His head, that He might bear (or rather bear off and carry right away) the thorns and briars of our sins. Thus they can show upon their crowns that they are ready to endure all kinds of ridicule and disgrace, gladly and readily, for His sake; thus they can signify that they too are always waiting for the crown of eternal life 'which God hath promised to them that love Him'[4] and, to gain it, they despise both worldly adversity and worldly prosperity. But as for the tonsure which Simon Magus is said to have worn,[5] what believer, I ask you, will not, at the very sight of it, detest and reject it together with his magic? And rightly so. In the front of the forehead it does seem to bear the resemblance to a crown, but when you come to look at the neck, you find that the crown which you expected to see is cut short; so that you recognize this as a fitting fashion for simoniacs but not Christians. For in this present life those whom they deceived thought that they were worthy of the glory of the everlasting crown; but in the life to come they are not only deprived of any hope of a crown but moreover are condemned to eternal punishment.

the druids wore a tonsure and the descriptions which have survived point to the fact that it was not unlike the Celtic tonsure. Hence it was easy for its opponents to associate it with Simon the arch-magician and druid. See also p. 138, n. 3.

Neque uero me haec ita prosecutum aestimes quasi eos, qui hanc tonsuram habent, condemnandos iudicem, si fide et operibus unitati catholicae fauerint; immo confidenter profiteor plurimos ex eis sanctos ac Deo dignos extitisse. Ex quibus est Adamnan abbas et sacerdos Columbiensium egregius, qui cum legatus suae gentis ad Aldfridum regem missus nostrum quoque monasterium uidere uoluisset, miramque in moribus ac uerbis prudentiam humilitatem religionem ostenderet, dixi illi inter alia conloquens: 'Obsecro, sancte frater, qui ad coronam te uitae, quae terminum nesciat, tendere credis, quid contrario tuae fidei habitu terminatam in capite coronae imaginem portas? Et si beati Petri consortium quaeris, cur eius quem ille anathematizauit[a] tonsurae imaginem imitaris, et non potius eius, cum quo in aeternum beatus uiuere cupis, etiam nunc habitum te quantum potes diligere monstras?' Respondit ille: 'Scias pro certo, frater mi dilecte, quia etsi Simonis tonsuram ex consuetudine patria habeam, simoniacam tamen perfidiam tota mente detestor ac respuo; beatissimi autem apostolorum principis, quantum mea paruitas sufficit, uestigia sequi desidero.' At ego 'Credo' inquam 'uere quod ita sit; sed tamen indicio fit, quod ea quae apostoli Petri sunt in abdito cordis amplectimini, si quae eius esse nostis, etiam[b] in facie tenetis. Namque prudentiam tuam facillime diiudicare reor, quod aptius multo sit eius, quem corde toto abominaris, cuiusque horrendam faciem uidere refugis, habitum uultus a tuo uultu Deo iam dicato separare; et econtra eius, quem apud Deum habere
p. 345 patronum quaeris, / sicut facta uel monita cupis sequi, sic etiam morem habitus te imitari condeceat.' Haec tunc Adamnano dixi; qui quidem quantum conspectis ecclesiarum nostrarum statutis profecisset, probauit, cum reuersus ad Scottiam multas postea gentis eiusdem turbas[c] ad catholicam temporis paschalis obseruantiam sua praedicatione correxit; tametsi eos qui in Hii insula morabantur monachos, quibusque speciali rectoris iure praeerat, necdum ad uiam statuti melioris reducere ualebat. Tonsuram quoque, si tantum sibi auctoritatis subesset, emendare meminisset.

Sed et tuam nunc prudentiam, rex, admoneo, ut ea quae unitati catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae concinant, una cum gente, cui te Rex regum et Dominus dominorum[1] praefecit, in omnibus seruare contendas. Sic enim fit, ut post acceptam temporalis regni potentiam ipse beatissimus apostolorum princeps caelestis quoque regni tibi tuisque cum ceteris electis libens pandat introitum. Gratia te Regis aeterni longiori tempore regnantem ad nostram omnium pacem custodiat incolumem, dilectissime in Christo fili.

[a] cur . . . anathematizauit *om. c* [b] etiam *om. c* [c] turbas *om. c*

[1] Apoc. 17: 14.

But do not suppose me to have pursued the argument thus far as one who holds the wearers of this tonsure culpable, those who have upheld catholic unity by faith and works; on the contrary I confidently assert that many of them were holy men and worthy in the sight of God. Among these is Adamnan, a renowned abbot and priest of the company of St. Columba, who was sent on a mission from his people to King Aldfrith and wished to see our monastery. He showed wonderful prudence, humility, and devotion, in word and deed. Once when we were talking I said to him, amongst other things, 'Holy brother, you believe that you are going to win the crown of life which knows no end, so why do you wear on your head a form of crown which is incomplete and therefore ill-suited to your belief; and if you are seeking the company of St. Peter, why do you copy the form of tonsure which he cursed? And why do you not even now show that you love with all your heart the ways of him with whom you desire to live in bliss for ever?' He replied, 'You know well, my dear brother, that although I wear the tonsure of Simon after the custom of my country, yet I hate and reject with all my heart the wickedness of simony. I long to follow with what little strength I have in the footsteps of the blessed chief of the apostles.' I said, 'I truly believe that it is so; but it would be a sign that you agree in your inmost heart with all that Peter stands for if you also followed his known ways in your outward appearance. I am sure that, in your wisdom, you will readily see that it would be much better for you who are already dedicated to God to let your appearance resemble as little as possible that of the man whom you hate with all your heart and whose horrible face you would shun to look upon. On the other hand, desiring as you do to follow the actions and teachings of him whom you wish to have as an advocate with God, it would be better for you to imitate his outward appearance also.' I said this at the time to Adamnan, who proved how much he had profited by seeing the observances of our churches, because afterwards, when he had returned to Ireland, he led large numbers of that race to the catholic observance of Easter by his preaching; nevertheless he could not bring the monks of Iona, over whom he presided as lawful head, to better ways. If his influence had been sufficient, he would have made it his business to correct their tonsure also.

But I now urge you, O king, in your prudence, to strive in every way to follow these observances which accord with the unity of the catholic and apostolic church, both you and the people over whom the King of Kings and Lord of Lords[1] has set you. Thus it will come to pass that, after you have held sway over this temporal kingdom, the blessed chief of the apostles will gladly open the gates of the heavenly kingdom to you and yours, in company with all the elect. And now, my beloved son in Christ, may the grace of the eternal King keep you in safety to reign for many years and so bring peace to us all.

Haec epistula cum praesente rege Naitono multisque uiris doctioribus esset lecta, ac diligenter ab his qui intellegere poterant in linguam eius propriam interpretata, multum de eius exhortatione gauisus esse perhibetur, ita ut exsurgens de medio optimatum suorum consessu genua flecteret in terram, Deo gratias agens quod tale munusculum de terra Anglorum mereretur accipere. 'Et quidem et antea noui' inquit, 'quia haec erat uera paschae celebratio; sed in tantum modo rationem huius temporis obseruandi cognosco, ut parum mihi omnimodis uidear de his antea intellexisse. Vnde palam profiteor uobisque qui adsidetis
p. 346 praesentibus protestor, quia hoc obseruare / tempus paschae cum uniuersa mea gente perpetuo uolo; hanc accipere debere tonsuram, quam plenam esse rationis[a] audimus,[b] omnes qui in meo regno sunt clericos decerno.' Nec mora, quae dixerat regia auctoritate perfecit. Statim namque iussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum discendum obseruandum per uniuersas Pictorum prouincias circuli paschae decennouenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis LXXX et quattuor annorum circulis; adtondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi; et quasi nouo se discipulatui beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri subditam eiusque tutandam patrocinio gens correcta gaudebat.

XXII

NEC multo post illi quoque, qui insulam Hii incolebant, monachi Scotticae nationis, cum his quae sibi erant subdita monasteriis, ad ritum paschae ac tonsurae canonicum Domino procurante perducti sunt. Siquidem anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXVI, quo Osredo occiso Coenred[1] gubernacula regni Nordanhymbrorum suscepit, cum uenisset ad eos de Hibernia Deo amabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater ac sacerdos Ecgberct, cuius superius memoriam saepius fecimus, honorifice ab eis et multo cum gaudio susceptus est. Qui quoniam et doctor suauissimus et eorum quae agenda docebat erat exsecutor deuotissimus, libenter auditus ab uniuersis, inmutauit piis ac sedulis exhortationibus inueteratam illam traditionem parentum eorum (de quibus apostolicum illum licet proferre sermonem, quod aemulationem

[a] rationis *om. c2* [b] audiuimus *c*

[1] He belonged to a younger branch of the Northumbrian royal family. He reigned from 716 to 718.

When this letter had been read in the presence of King Nechtan and many learned men and carefully translated into his own language by those who were able to understand it, it is said that he was greatly delighted by the exhortation; so he rose in the midst of the company of his assembled leaders, and knelt down, thanking God for having made him worthy to receive such a gift from England. 'Indeed,' he said, 'I knew before that this was the true observance of Easter, but I now understand the reasons for observing this date so much more clearly that I seem up to this to have known far too little about it in every respect. So I publicly declare and proclaim in the presence of you all, that I will for ever observe this time of Easter, together with all my people; and I decree that all clerics in my kingdom must accept this form of tonsure which we have heard to be so completely reasonable.' He at once enforced his word by royal authority also. The nineteen-year cycles for Easter were forthwith sent out by public order throughout all the Pictish kingdoms, to be copied, learned, and acted upon, while the erroneous eighty-four-year cycles were everywhere obliterated. All ministers of the altar and monks received the tonsure in the form of a crown; and the reformed nation rejoiced to submit to the newly-found guidance of Peter, the most blessed chief of the apostles, and to be placed under his protection.

CHAPTER XXII

NOT long afterwards, those monks of Irish extraction who lived in Iona, together with the monasteries under their rule, were brought by the Lord's guidance to canonical usages in the matter of Easter and of the form of the tonsure. In the year of our Lord 716, when Osred was killed and Cenred[1] became ruler of the Northumbrian kingdom, Egbert, beloved of God (a father and priest to be named with all honour and one whom I have often spoken of), came to Iona from Ireland and was most honourably and joyfully received. Being a most gracious teacher and a most devout doer of all that he taught, he was gladly listened to by them all; so by his constant earnest exhortations he converted them from the deep-rooted tradition of their ancestors to whom the apostle's words apply: 'They had a zeal of God but not according

p. 347 Dei habe/bant, sed non secundum scientiam[1]), catholicoque illos atque apostolico more celebrationem, ut diximus, praecipuae sollemnitatis sub figura coronae perpetis[2] agere perdocuit. Quod mira diuinae constat factum dispensatione pietatis, ut quoniam gens illa quam nouerat scientiam diuinae cognitionis libenter ac sine inuidia populis Anglorum communicare curauit, ipsa quoque postmodum per gentem Anglorum in eis quae minus habuerat ad perfectam uiuendi normam perueniret. Sicut econtra Brettones, qui nolebant Anglis eam quam habebant fidei Christianae notitiam pandere, credentibus iam populis Anglorum et in regula fidei catholicae per omnia instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati et claudicantes a semitis suis et capita sine corona praetendunt et sollemnia Christi sine ecclesiae Christi societate uenerantur.

Susceperunt autem Hiienses monachi docente Ecgbercto ritus uiuendi catholicos sub abbate Duunchado, post annos circiter LXXX ex quo ad praedicationem gentis Anglorum Aidanum miserant antistitem. Mansit autem uir Domini Ecgberct annos XIII in praefata insula, quam ipse uelut noua quadam relucente gratia ecclesiasticae societatis et pacis Christo consecrauerat; annoque dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIIII, quo pascha dominicum octauo kalendarum Maiarum die celebrabatur,[a] cum missarum sollemnia in memoriam eiusdem dominicae resurrectionis celebrasset, eodem die et ipse migrauit ad Dominum ac gaudium summae festiuitatis, quod cum fratribus quos ad unitatis gratiam conuerterat inchoauit, cum Domino et apostolis ceterisque caeli ciuibus conpleuit, immo id ipsum celebrare sine fine non desinit.

p. 348 Mira autem diuinae dispensatio prouisionis / erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in[b] pascha transiuit de hoc mundo ad Patrem, uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari[c] solebat.[3] Gaudebant ergo fratres de agnitione certa et catholica temporis paschalis; laetabantur de patrocinio pergentis ad Dominum patris, per quem fuerant correcti; gratulabatur ille quod eatenus in carne seruatus est, donec illum in pascha diem suos auditores, quem semper antea uitabant, suscipere ac secum agere uideret. Sicque certus de illorum correctione reuerentissimus pater exultauit, ut uideret diem Domini; uidit, et gauisus est.[4]

[a] celebratur *c2* [b] in *om. c2* [c] celebrare *c*

[1] Rom. 10: 2.

[2] That is to say, it was not the semicircular tonsure of the Celts, but the complete circle of the Petrine tonsure.

[3] So late a date would not have been possible under the Celtic method of calculating Easter. 21 April was the latest date permitted.

[4] Joh. 8: 56.

to knowledge.'[1] He taught them how to celebrate the chief festival after the catholic and apostolic manner, as has been said, and to wear on their heads the image of the unending crown.[2] It is clear that this happened by a wonderful dispensation of divine mercy, since that race had willingly and ungrudgingly taken pains to communicate its own knowledge and understanding of God to the English nation; and now, through the English nation, they are brought to a more perfect way of life in matters wherein they were lacking. On the other hand the Britons, who would not proclaim to the English the knowledge of the Christian faith which they had, still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways, so that no tonsure is to be seen on their heads and they celebrate Christ's solemn festivals differently from the fellowship of the Church of Christ, while the English are not only believers but are fully instructed in the rules of the catholic faith.

The monks of Iona accepted the catholic ways of life under the teaching of Egbert, while Dúnchad was abbot, about eighty years after they had sent Bishop Aidan to preach to the English. The man of God, Egbert, remained for thirteen years on the island which he had consecrated to Christ, lighting it once more, as it were, with the gracious light of ecclesiastical fellowship and peace. In the year of our Lord 729, when Easter fell on 24 April, after he had celebrated a solemn mass in memory of the Lord's resurrection, he departed to be with the Lord on the same day. So he began the joyful celebration of the greatest of all festivals with the brothers whom he had converted to the grace of unity, and completed it, or rather continues the endless celebration of it, with the Lord and His apostles and the other citizens of heaven. It was a wonderful dispensation of the divine providence that the venerable man not only passed from this world to the Father on Easter Day, but also when Easter was being celebrated on a date on which it had never before been kept in those places.[3] The brothers rejoiced in the sure knowledge of the time of Easter according to the catholic rule and were glad to have the protection of the father who had corrected them, as he went to be with the Lord. Egbert was also thankful to have lived to see those to whom he had preached accept and keep with him an Easter Day which they had previously always avoided. So the most reverend father, being assured of their conversion, rejoiced to see the day of the Lord; he saw it and was glad.[4]

XXIII

ANNO dominicae incarnationis DCCXXV, qui erat annus septimus Osrici[1] regis Nordanhymbrorum, qui Coenredo successerat, Uictred filius Ecgbercti, rex Cantuariorum, defunctus est nono die kalendarum Maiarum, et regni, quod per XXXIIII semis annos tenebat, filios tres Aedilberctum, Eadberctum et Alricum[2] reliquit heredes. Anno post quem proximo Tobias[3] Hrofensis ecclesiae praesul defunctus est, uir, ut supra meminimus, doctissimus; erat enim discipulus beatae memoriae magistrorum Theodori archiepiscopi et abbatis Hadriani, unde, ut dictum est, cum eruditione litterarum uel ecclesiasticarum uel generalium ita Grecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam, ut tam notas ac familiares sibi eas quam natiuitatis suae loquellam haberet. Sepultus uero est in por-
p. 349 ticu sancti Pauli apostoli, quam intro ecclesiam / sancti Andreae sibi ipse in locum sepulchri fecerat. Post quem episcopatus officium Alduulf, Berctualdo archiepiscopo consecrante, suscepit.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXVIIII[a] apparuerunt cometae duae[4] circa solem, multum intuentibus terrorem incutientes. Vna quippe solem praecedebat mane orientem, altera uespere sequebatur occidentem, quasi Orienti simul et Occidenti dirae cladis praesagae; uel certe una diei, altera noctis praecurrebat exortum, ut utroque tempore mala mortalibus inminere signarent. Portabant autem facem ignis contra aquilonem, quasi ad accendendum adclinem, apparebantque mense Ianuario et duabus ferme septimanis permanebant. Quo tempore grauissima Sarracenorum lues Gallias misera caede uastabat, et ipsi non multo post in eadem prouincia dignas suae perfidiae poenas luebant.[5] Quo anno sanctus uir Domini Ecgberct, ut supra conmemorauimus, ipso die paschae migrauit ad Dominum; et mox, peracto pascha, hoc est septima iduum Maiarum die,[b] Osric rex Nordanhymbrorum uita decessit, cum ipse regni (quod XI annis gubernabat)

[a] -XXVIII *c2* [b] die *om. c* (*c2 had* idus Mai)

[1] Osric is said by Symeon of Durham to be a son of Aldfrith (Symeon of Durham, ed. Arnold, I. 39).

[2] For other examples of the division of kingdoms between heirs see p. 152, n. 1.

[3] See v. 8 and p. 475, n. 5.

[4] Comets have always been regarded as a warning of portentous events. So Bede declares in his *De Natura Rerum*, chapter 24 (*Opp.* VI. 111).

CHAPTER XXIII

IN the year of our Lord 725, being the seventh year of Osric,[1] king of Northumbria, who was successor to Cenred, Wihtred, king of Kent, died on 23 April. He was the son of Egbert and left his three sons, Æthelberht, Eadberht, and Alric,[2] heirs of the kingdom which he had governed for thirty-four and a half years. In the following year Tobias,[3] bishop of the church at Rochester, died, a most learned man, as has already been said. He had been a disciple of two masters of blessed memory, Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian. Besides having a knowledge of both ecclesiastical and general literature, he is also said to have learned Latin and Greek so thoroughly that they were as well known and as familiar to him as his native tongue. He was buried in the chapel of St. Paul the Apostle which he had built within the church of St. Andrew as his own burial place. Ealdwulf succeeded him as bishop having been consecrated by Archbishop Berhtwold.

In the year of our Lord 729 two comets[4] appeared around the sun, striking great terror into all beholders. One of them preceded the sun as it rose in the morning and the other followed it as it set at night, seeming to portend dire disaster to east and west alike. One comet was the forerunner of the day and the other of the night, to indicate that mankind was threatened by calamities both by day and by night. They had fiery torch-like trains which faced northwards as if poised to start a fire. They appeared in the month of January and remained for almost a fortnight. At this time a terrible plague of Saracens ravaged Gaul with cruel bloodshed and not long afterwards they received the due reward of their treachery in the same kingdom.[5] In the same year the holy man of God, Egbert, went to be with the Lord on Easter Day as has already been described; and soon after Easter, on 9 May, Osric, king of the Northumbrians, departed this life when he had

[5] Bede uses the name by which the Christians termed their Moslem enemies all through the Middle Ages, especially those in Europe. They had conquered Spain between 710 and 713 and were harassing Gaul from their headquarters in Narbonne. Charles Martel by his victory at Tours saved Gaul and perhaps Britain too from their inroads. But this victory took place in 732, a year after Bede had completed his *History*. If this is a reference to that defeat of the Saracens, it must be a later insertion, perhaps added while the first copies were being made in the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptoria.

successorem fore Ceoluulfum[1] decreuisset, fratrem illius qui ante se regnauerat Coenredi regis, cuius regni et principia et processus tot ac tantis redundauere rerum aduersantium motibus ut, quid de his scribi debeat quemue habitura sint finem singula,[a] necdum sciri ualeat.

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXXXI Berctuald archiepiscopus longa consumtus aetate defunctus est die iduum[b] Ianuariarum; qui
p. 350 sedit annos XXXVII / menses VI dies XIIII. Pro quo anno eodem factus est archiepiscopus uocabulo Tatuini de prouincia Merciorum, cum fuisset presbyter in monasterio quod uocatur Briudun;[2] consecratus est autem in Doruuerni ciuitate a uiris uenerabilibus Danihele Uentano et Ingualdo Lundoniensi[c] et Alduino Lyccitfeldensi et Alduulfo Hrofensi antistitibus, die decima Iunii mensis, dominica, uir religione et prudentia insignis, sacris quoque litteris nobiliter instructus.

Itaque in praesenti[3] ecclesiis Cantuariorum Tatuini et Alduulf episcopi praesunt. Porro prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum Inguald episcopus, prouinciae Orientalium Anglorum Aldberct et Hadulac episcopi, prouinciae Occidentalium Saxonum Danihel et Forthheri episcopi, prouinciae Merciorum Alduini episcopus et eis populis qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant Ualchstod episcopus, prouinciae Huicciorum Uilfrid episcopus, prouinciae Lindisfarorum Cyniberct episcopus praeest. Episcopatus Uectae insulae ad Danihelem pertinet episcopum Uentae ciuitatis. Prouincia Australium Saxonum iam aliquot annis absque episcopo manens ministerium sibi episcopale ab Occidentalium Saxonum antistite quaerit. Et hae omnes prouinciae ceteraeque australes ad confinium usque Humbrae fluminis cum suis quaeque regibus Merciorum regi Aedilbaldo[4] subiectae sunt. At uero prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum, cui rex Ceoluulf praeest, quattuor nunc episcopi praesulatum tenent: Uilfrid in Eburacensi ecclesia,
p. 351 Ediluald / in Lindisfaronensi, Acca in Hagustaldensi, Pecthelm in

[a] singula finem *c* [b] die v iduum *c* [c] Lundonensi *c*

---

[1] It was to this king that Bede dedicated his *History*. See p. 2, n. 2.

[2] This was Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire. Taylor, I. 97–98.

[3] For details of the bishops whom Bede mentions here as reigning in 731, see F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1961), pp. 209–90, *passim*.

[4] Æthelbald became king of Mercia in 716. While Ceolred was alive he was in exile, being a possible rival. During this time he paid various visits to St. Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland, and one of his earliest actions as king was to

reigned eleven years, after appointing Ceolwulf,[1] brother of his predecessor Cenred, as his successor. Both the beginning and the course of his reign have been filled with so many and such serious commotions and setbacks that it is as yet impossible to know what to say about them or to guess what the outcome will be.

In the year of our Lord 731, Archbishop Berhtwold died of old age on 13 January, having held the see for thirty-seven years, six months, and fourteen days. In the same year Tatwine was made archbishop in his place. He was from the kingdom of Mercia and had been a priest in the monastery of Breedon.[2] He was consecrated in Canterbury by the venerable bishops Daniel of Winchester, Ingwold of London, Ealdwine of Lichfield, and Ealdwulf of Rochester on Sunday, 10 June. He was a man renowned for his devotion and wisdom and excellently instructed in the Scriptures.

At the present time[3] Tatwine and Ealdwulf preside over the churches of Kent as bishops; Ingwold is bishop in the kingdom of Essex; Ealdberht and Hathulac are bishops of the East Angles; Daniel and Forthhere are bishops of the West Saxons; Ealdwine is bishop of the Mercian kingdom and Wealhstod is bishop of the people who dwell west of the river Severn; Wilfrid is bishop of the kingdom of the Hwicce and Cyneberht is bishop of the kingdom of Lindsey. The bishopric of the Isle of Wight belongs to Daniel, bishop of Winchester. The kingdom of the South Saxons, having been for several years without a bishop, receives episcopal ministrations from the bishop of the West Saxons. All these kingdoms and the other southern kingdoms which reach right up to the Humber, together with their various kings, are subject to Æthelbald,[4] king of Mercia. At the present time there are four bishops in the kingdom of Northumbria, over which Ceolwulf rules: Wilfrid in the church of York, Æthelwold at Lindisfarne, Acca at Hexham, Pehthelm in the place called Whithorn, where

enrich the shrine of the saint. See *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave, pp. 6–9. He became a powerful monarch and by 731, as Bede states, was overlord of all England south of the Humber, though he does not specifically mention him in ii. 5 as one of the Bretwaldan or kings who held the imperium. He seems to have degenerated in later life, for in 746 Boniface and seven fellow bishops sent him a letter complaining of his dissolute life, though it is fair to add that Boniface also praises him for his concern for justice and his almsgiving (Tangl, no. 73, *EHD*, I. 751). He died in 757 after a reign of forty-one years, being murdered one night by his bodyguard at Seckington, near Tamworth in Staffordshire.

ea quae Candida Casa uocatur, quae nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus in sedem pontificatus addita ipsum primum habet antistitem.

Pictorum quoque natio tempore hoc et foedus pacis cum gente habet[a] Anglorum, et catholicae pacis ac ueritatis cum uniuersali ecclesia particeps existere gaudet. Scotti qui Brittaniam incolunt, suis contenti finibus, nil[b] contra gentem Anglorum insidiarum moliuntur aut fraudium. Brettones, quamuis et maxima ex parte domestico sibi odio gentem Anglorum, et totius catholicae ecclesiae[c] statum pascha minus recto moribusque inprobis inpugnent, tamen et diuina sibi et humana prorsus resistente uirtute in neutro cupitum possunt obtinere propositum, quippe qui, quamuis ex parte sui sint iuris, nonnulla tamen ex parte Anglorum sunt seruitio mancipati.

Qua adridente pace ac serenitate temporum, plures in gente Nordanhymbrorum, tam nobiles quam priuati, se suosque liberos depositis armis satagunt magis, accepta tonsura, monasterialibus adscribere uotis quam bellicis exercere studiis. Quae res quem sit habitura finem, posterior aetas uidebit.[1]

Hic est inpraesentiarum uniuersae status Brittaniae, anno aduentus Anglorum in Brittaniam circiter ducentesimo octogesimo quinto, dominicae autem[d] incarnationis anno DCCXXXI. In cuius regno perpetuo exultet terra, et congratulante in fide eius Brittania, laetentur insulae multae[2] et confiteantur memoriae sanctitatis eius.[3]

p. 352

XXIIII

VERUM ea, quae temporum distinctione latius digesta sunt, ob memoriam conseruandam breuiter recapitulari placuit.

Anno igitur ante incarnationem dominicam sexagesimo Gaius Iulius Caesar primus Romanorum Brittanias bello pulsauit et uicit; nec tamen ibi regnum potuit obtinere.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini XLVI Claudius secundus Romanorum Brittanias adiens plurimam insulae partem in deditionem recepit, et Orcadas quoque insulas Romano adiecit imperio.

[a] *c has* habet *before* pacis [b] nihil *c* [c] ecclesiae *om. c* [d] autem *om. c2*

[1] Bede is obviously referring to the abuses of the monasticism of his times and especially to the nominal monasteries founded by laymen which he deals with in his *Letter to Egbert* (*EHD*, I. 735–45).

the number of believers has so increased that it has lately become an episcopal see with Pehthelm as its first bishop.

The Picts now have a treaty of peace with the English and rejoice to share in the catholic peace and truth of the Church universal. The Irish who live in Britain are content with their own territories and devise no plots or treachery against the English. Though, for the most part, the Britons oppose the English through their inbred hatred, and the whole state of the catholic Church by their incorrect Easter and their evil customs, yet being opposed by the power of God and man alike, they cannot obtain what they want in either respect. For although they are partly their own masters, yet they have also been brought partly under the rule of the English.

In these favourable times of peace and prosperity, many of the Northumbrian race, both noble and simple, have laid aside their weapons and taken the tonsure, preferring that they and their children should take monastic vows rather than train themselves in the art of war. What the result will be, a later generation will discover.[1]

This is the state of the whole of Britain at the present time, about 285 years after the coming of the English to Britain, in the year of our Lord 731. Let the earth rejoice in His perpetual kingdom and let Britain rejoice in His faith and let the multitude of isles be glad[2] and give thanks at the remembrance of His holiness.[3]

CHAPTER XXIV

IN order to assist the memory, I have thought it well briefly to recapitulate events already dealt with, each under its particular date.

In the sixtieth year before the incarnation of the Lord, Gaius Julius Caesar was the first Roman to make war on Britain. He was victorious but was unable to obtain control of it.

In the year of our Lord 46 Claudius, the second Roman to come to Britain, brought most of it under his sway and also added the Orkney Islands to the Roman Empire.

[2] Ps. 96 (97): 1. [3] Ps. 29 (30): 5.

Anno incarnationis dominicae CLXVII Eleuther Romae praesul factus XV annos ecclesiam gloriosissime rexit; cui litteras rex Brittaniae Lucius mittens, ut Christianus efficeretur, petiit et impetrauit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini CLXXXVIIII Seuerus imperator factus XVII annis regnauit; qui Brittaniam uallo a mari usque ad mare praecinxit.

Anno CCCLXXXI Maximus in Brittania creatus imperator in Galliam transiit et Gratianum interfecit.

Anno CCCCVIIII Roma a Gothis fracta, ex quo tempore Romani in Brittania regnare cessarunt.

Anno CCCCXXX Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes a Caelestino papa primus mittitur episcopus.

Anno CCCCXLVIIII Marcianus cum Ualentiniano imperium suscipiens VII annis tenuit; quorum tempore Angli a Brettonibus accersiti Brittaniam adierunt.

p. 353 Anno DXXXVIII eclypsis solis facta est XIIII kalendas Martias ab hora prima usque ad tertiam.

Anno DXL eclypsis solis facta XII kalendas Iulias,[a] et apparuerunt stellae pene hora dimidia ab hora diei tertia.[1]

Anno DXLVII Ida regnare coepit, a quo regalis Nordanhymbrorum prosapia originem tenet, et XII annis in regno permansit.[2]

Anno DLXV Columba presbyter de Scottia uenit Brittaniam ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii monasterium fecit.

Anno DXCVI Gregorius papa misit Brittaniam Augustinum cum monachis, qui uerbum Dei genti Anglorum euangelizarent.

Anno DXCVII uenere Brittaniam praefati doctores; qui fuit annus plus minus annus CL aduentus Anglorum in Brittaniam.

Anno DCI misit papa Gregorius pallium Brittaniam Augustino iam facto episcopo, et plures Verbi ministros, in quibus et Paulinum.

Anno DCIII pugnatum ad Degsastanae.

Anno DCIIII Orientales Saxones fidem Christi percipiunt sub rege Sabercto antistite Mellito.

Anno DCV Gregorius obiit.

Anno DCXVI Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum defunctus est.

Anno DCXXV Paulinus a Iusto archiepiscopo ordinatur genti Nordanhymbrorum antistes.

[a] Iulii *c*

[1] Neither of the eclipses referred to in the annals for 538 and 540 is mentioned in the *History*.

167. Eleutherius became bishop of Rome and ruled the church gloriously for fifteen years. Lucius, a king of Britain, sent him a letter, asking to be made a Christian, and gained his request.

189. Severus became emperor and reigned seventeen years. He fortified Britain with a wall from sea to sea.

381. Maximus was made emperor in Britain. He crossed to Gaul and killed Gratianus.

409. Rome was stormed by the Goths, after which the Roman rule in Britain ceased.

430. Palladius was sent by Pope Celestinus to be the first bishop of the Irish Christians.

449. Marcianus and Valentinianus ruled as co-emperors for seven years. In their time the English came to Britain on the invitation of the Britons.

538. There was an eclipse of the sun on 16 February from six to eight in the morning.

540. There was an eclipse of the sun on 20 June and the stars appeared at nine in the morning for nearly half an hour.[1]

547. Ida began to reign, from whom the Northumbrian royal family trace their origin. He reigned for twelve years.[2]

565. The priest Columba came from Ireland to Britain to teach the Picts and established a monastery on Iona.

596. Pope Gregory sent Augustine and some monks to Britain to preach the word of God to the English.

597. These teachers arrived in Britain, roughly 150 years after the coming of the English.

601. Pope Gregory sent the pallium to Britain for Augustine, who had already been consecrated bishop. He also sent several ministers of the Word, among whom was Paulinus.

603. The battle at *Degsastan*.

604. The East Saxons, under King Sæberht, accepted the Christian faith through Bishop Mellitus.

605. Gregory died.

616. Æthelberht, king of Kent, died.

625. Paulinus was consecrated bishop of the Northumbrians by Archbishop Justus.

[2] This is not mentioned in the *History*. The same is also true of the entries under 675 and 711. The entries under 697 and 698 are not found in manuscripts of the *c*-type.

Anno DCXXVI Eanfled filia Eduini regis baptizata cum XII in sabbato pentecostes.

Anno DCXXVII Eduini rex baptizatus cum sua gente in pascha.

p. 354 Anno DCXXXIII Eduine rege peremto Paulinus Cantiam rediit.

Anno DCXL Eadbald rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno DCXLII Osuald rex occisus.

Anno DCXLIIII Paulinus quondam Eboraci, sed[a] tunc Hrofensis antistes ciuitatis, migrauit ad Dominum.

Anno DCLI Osuini rex occisus et Aidan episcopus defunctus est.

Anno DCLIII Middilengli sub principe Peada fidei mysteriis sunt inbuti.

Anno DCLV Penda periit, et Merci sunt facti Christiani.

Anno DCLXIIII eclypsis facta; Earconberct rex Cantuariorum defunctus, et Colman cum Scottis ad suos reuersus est; et pestilentia uenit; et Ceadda ac Uilfrid Nordanhymbrorum ordinantur episcopi.

Anno DCLXVIII Theodorus ordinatur episcopus.

Anno DCLXX Osuiu rex Nordanhymbrorum obiit.

Anno DCLXXIII Ecgberct rex Cantuariorum obiit; et synodus facta est ad Herutforda praesente Ecgfrido rege, praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro, utillima X capitulorum.

Anno DCLXXV Uulfheri rex Merciorum, postquam XVII annos regnauerat defunctus, Aedilredo fratri reliquit imperium.

p. 355 Anno DCLXXVI Aedilred uastauit Cantiam.

Anno DCLXXVIII cometa apparuit; Uilfrid episcopus a sede sua pulsus est ab Ecgfrido rege; et pro eo Bosa, Eata et Eadhaeth consecrati antistites.

Anno DCLXXVIIII Aelfuini occisus.

Anno DCLXXX synodus facta in campo Haethfeltha de fide catholica praesidente archiepiscopo Theodoro, in quo adfuit Iohannes abba Romanus. Quo anno Hild abbatissa in Streanaeshale obiit.

Anno DCLXXXV Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum occisus est. Anno eodem Hlotheri rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno DCLXXXVIII Caeduald rex Occidentalium Saxonum Romam de Brittania pergit.

Anno DCXC Theodorus archiepiscopus obiit.

Anno[b] DCXCVII Osthryd regina a suis, id est Merciorum, primatibus interemta.

Anno[b] DCXCVIII Berctred dux regius Nordanhymbrorum a Pictis interfectus.

[a] *At this point the Leningrad MS. has lost a leaf*

[b] *The annals for 697 and 698 are omitted by c*

626. Eanflæd, daughter of King Edwin, was baptized with twelve others on the eve of Whitsunday.

627. King Edwin and his people were baptized on Easter Day.

633. King Edwin was killed and Paulinus returned to Kent.

640. Eadbald, king of Kent, died.

642. King Oswald was killed.

644. Paulinus, once bishop of York and afterwards bishop of Rochester, departed to be with the Lord.

651. King Oswine was murdered and Bishop Aidan died.

653. The Middle Angles under their ruler Peada were initiated into the mysteries of the faith.

655. Penda perished and the Mercians became Christians.

664. There was an eclipse. King Eorcenberht of Kent died and Colman and his Irish returned to their own people. There was a visitation of the pestilence. Chad and Wilfrid were consecrated bishops of the Northumbrians.

668. Theodore was consecrated bishop.

670. Oswiu, king of Northumbria, died.

673. Egbert, king of Kent, died. There was a synod at Hertford in the presence of King Ecgfrith with Theodore presiding. It was most useful and drew up ten canons.

675. Wulfhere, king of Mercia, died after a reign of seventeen years and left his kingdom to his brother Æthelred.

676. Æthelred devastated Kent.

678. A comet appeared. Bishop Wilfrid was driven from his see by King Ecgfrith. In his place Bosa, Eata, and Eadhæd were consecrated bishops.

679. Ælfwine was killed.

680. A synod was held about the catholic faith on the plain of Hatfield, Archbishop Theodore presiding. John, an abbot from Rome was present. In this year the Abbess Hild died at Whitby.

685. Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, was killed. In the same year Hlothhere, king of Kent, died.

688. Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons, journeyed from Britain to Rome.

690. Archbishop Theodore died.

697. Queen Osthryth was murdered by her own Mercian nobles.

698. Berhtred, an ealdorman of the king of Northumbria, was killed by the Picts.

p. 356 Anno DCCIIII Aedilred, postquam XXXI annos / Merciorum genti praefuit, monachus factus Coenredo regnum dedit.

Anno DCCV Aldfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum defunctus est.

Anno DCCVIIII Coenred rex Merciorum, postquam quinque annos regnauit, Romam pergit.

Anno DCCXI Berctfrid praefectus cum Pictis pugnauit.

Anno DCCXVI Osred rex Nordanhymbrorum interfectus, et rex Merciorum Ceolred defunctus; et uir Domini Ecgberct Hiienses monachos ad catholicum pascha et ecclesiasticam correxit tonsuram.

Anno DCCXXV Uictred rex Cantuariorum obiit.

Anno DCCXXVIIII cometae apparuerunt. Sanctus Ecgberct transiit. Osric mortuus est.

Anno DCCXXXI Berctuald archiepiscopus obiit. Anno eodem Tatuini consecratus archiepiscopus nonus[a] Doruuernensis ecclesiae, Aedilbaldo rege Merciorum XV agente annum imperii.

p. 357 Haec de historia ecclesiastica Brittaniarum, et maxime / gentis Anglorum, prout uel ex litteris antiquorum uel ex traditione maiorum uel ex mea ipse cognitione scire potui, Domino adiuuante digessi Baeda famulus Christi et presbyter monasterii beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quod est ad Uiuraemuda et Ingyruum. Qui natus in territorio eiusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum VII, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reuerentissimo[b] abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido, cunctumque ex eo tempus uitae in eiusdem monasterii habitatione peragens,[1] omnem meditandis scripturis operam dedi, atque inter obseruantiam disciplinae regularis, et cotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam, semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui. Nono decimo autem uitae meae anno diaconatum, tricesimo gradum presbyteratus, utrumque per ministerium reuerentissimi episcopi Iohannis, iubente Ceolfrido abbate, suscepi. Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum aetatis meae LVIIII haec in Scripturam sanctam meae meorumque necessitati ex opusculis uenerabilium patrum breuiter adnotare, siue etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadicere curaui:[2]

In principium Genesis, usque ad natiuitatem Isaac et eiectionem Ismahelis, libros IIII.[c]

[a] nonus . . . imperii *is not in c, which inserts here the annals for 733 and 734 given below on p. 572.*

[b] *With this word the Leningrad MS. is with us again* [c] III *c*

[1] If Bede had travelled widely and, as was once asserted, had been to Rome, he would surely have mentioned it here. Cf. Plummer, I. xvii and note.

[2] See pp. xxv f.

704. Æthelred, after ruling the Mercians for thirty-one years, became a monk and left his kingdom to Cenred.

705. Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, died.

709. Cenred, king of Mercia, after ruling for five years went to Rome.

711. Ealdorman Berhtfrith fought against the Picts.

716. Osred, king of Northumbria, was killed, and Ceolred, king of Mercia, died. Egbert, the man of God, converted the monks of Iona to the catholic Easter and corrected their ecclesiastical tonsure.

725. Wihtred, king of Kent, died.

729. Comets appeared. St. Egbert passed away and Osric died.

731. Archbishop Berhtwold died. In the same year Tatwine was consecrated ninth archbishop of the church at Canterbury, during the fifteenth year of the reign of Æthelbald, king of Mercia.

I, Bede, servant of Christ and priest of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul which is at Wearmouth and Jarrow, have, with the help of God and to the best of my ability, put together this account of the history of the Church of Britain and of the English people in particular, gleaned either from ancient documents or from tradition or from my own knowledge. I was born in the territory of this monastery. When I was seven years of age I was, by the care of my kinsmen, put into the charge of the reverend Abbot Benedict and then of Ceolfrith, to be educated. From then on I have spent all my life in this monastery,[1] applying myself entirely to the study of the Scriptures; and, amid the observance of the discipline of the Rule and the daily task of singing in the church, it has always been my delight to learn or to teach or to write. At the age of nineteen I was ordained deacon and at the age of thirty, priest, both times through the ministration of the reverend Bishop John on the direction of Abbot Ceolfrith. From the time I became a priest until the fifty-ninth year of my life I have made it my business, for my own benefit and that of my brothers, to make brief extracts from the works of the venerable fathers on the holy Scriptures, or to add notes of my own to clarify their sense and interpretation.[2] These are the books:

The beginning of Genesis up to the birth of Isaac and the casting out of Ishmael: four books.

De tabernaculo et uasis eius ac uestibus sacerdotum, libros III.

In primam partem Samuhelis, idest usque ad mortem Saulis, libros IIII.

p. 358 De aedificatione templi allegoricae expositionis, sicut et cetera, libros II.

Item in Regum librum XXX quaestionum.[1]

In Prouerbia Salomonis libros III.

In Cantica Canticorum libros VII.[a]

In[b] Isaiam, Danihelem, XII prophetas et partem Hieremiae distinctiones capitulorum ex tractatu beati Hieronimi excerptas.

In Ezram et Neemiam libros III.

In Canticum Habacum librum I.

In librum beati patris Tobiae explanationis allegoricae de Christo et ecclesia, librum I.

Item capitula lectionum in Pentateucum Mosi, Iosue, Iudicum; in libros Regum et Verba Dierum;[2] in librum beati patris Iob; in Parabolas, Ecclesiasten et Cantica Canticorum; in Isaiam prophetam, Ezram quoque et Neemiam.[c]

In euangelium Marci libros IIII.

In euangelium Lucae libros VI.

Omeliarum euangelii libros II.

In Apostolum quaecumque in opusculis sancti Augustini exposita inueni, cuncta per ordinem transcribere curaui.

In Actus Apostolorum libros II.

In epistulas VII catholicas libros singulos.

In Apocalypsin sancti Iohannis libros III.

Item capitula lectionum in totum Nouum Testamentum, excepto euangelio.

Item librum epistularum ad diuersos: quarum de sex aetatibus saeculi una est, de mansionibus filiorum Israel una, una de eo quod
p. 359 ait Isaias 'Et claudentur / ibi in carcerem et post multos dies uisitabuntur', de ratione bissexti una, de aequinoctio iuxta Anatolium una.

Item de historiis sanctorum: librum uitae et passionis sancti Felicis confessoris de metrico Paulini opere in prosam transtuli; librum uitae et passionis sancti Anastasii male de Greco translatum et peius a quodam inperito emendatum, prout potui, ad

[a] VI *c* [b] In Isaiam . . . excerptas *om. c* [c] *The Leningrad MS. adds* item in libro Tobiae Iudith et Aester

[1] This book was written in reply to questions put by Nothhelm (*Opp.*, VIII. 232).

The tabernacle, its vessels, and the priestly vestments: three books.

The First Book of Samuel, to the death of Saul: four books.

On the building of the temple, an allegorical interpretation like the others: two books.

On the book of Kings: thirty questions.[1]

On the Proverbs of Solomon: three books.

On the Song of Songs: seven books.

On Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve prophets, and part of Jeremiah: chapter divisions taken from the treatise of St. Jerome.

On Ezra and Nehemiah: three books.

On the Song of Habakkuk: one book.

On the book of the blessed father Tobias, an allegorical explanation concerning Christ and the Church: one book.

Also, summaries of lessons on the Pentateuch of Moses, on Joshua and Judges, on the books of the Kings and Chronicles,[2] on the book of the blessed father Job, on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, on the prophets Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

On the Gospel of Mark: four books.

On the Gospel of Luke: six books.

Homilies on the Gospel: two books.

On the Apostle (Paul), I have transcribed in order whatever I found in the works of St. Augustine.

On the Acts of the Apostles: two books.

On the seven catholic Epistles: one book each.

On the Apocalypse of St. John: three books.

Also summaries of lessons on the whole of the New Testament except the Gospels.

Also a book of letters to various people: one of these is on the six ages of the world; one on the resting-places of the children of Israel; one on the words of Isaiah, 'And they shall be shut up in the prison and after many days shall they be visited'; one on the reason for leap year; and one on the equinox, after Anatolius.

Also of the histories of the saints: a book on the life and passion of St. Felix the confessor, which I put into prose from the metrical version of Paulinus; a book on the life and passion of St. Anastasius which was badly translated from the Greek by some ignorant

[2] Bede uses the Latin translation of the Hebrew title for the books of Chronicles.

sensum correxi;[1] uitam sancti patris monachi simul et antistitis Cudbercti et prius heroico metro et postmodum plano sermone descripsi.

Historiam abbatum monasterii huius,[2] in quo supernae pietati deseruire gaudeo, Benedicti, Ceolfridi et Huaetbercti, in libellis duobus.

Historiam ecclesiasticam nostrae insulae ac gentis in libris v.

Martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus, in quo omnes, quos inuenire potui, non solum qua die uerum etiam quo genere certaminis uel sub quo iudice mundum uicerint, diligenter adnotare studui.[3]

Librum hymnorum diuerso metro siue rythmo.

Librum epigrammatum heroico metro siue elegiaco.

De natura rerum, et de temporibus, libros singulos; item de temporibus librum unum maiorem.

Librum de orthographia alphabeti ordine distinctum.

Item librum de metrica arte, et huic adiectum alium de sche-
p. 360 matibus siue tropis libellum, hoc est de figuris / modisque locutionum, quibus Scriptura sancta contexta est.[4]

Teque deprecor, bone Iesu, ut cui propitius donasti uerba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te, fontem omnis sapientiae[a], peruenire, et parere semper ante faciem tuam.

Explicit Domino iuuante liber quintus Historiae Ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum.

[a] scientiae *c*

[b] *c places here the last paragraph of the preface* Praeterea omnes . . . inueniam (*above, p. 6*)

[1] This book seems to have been lost. It is not certain which Anastasius it was, but it may well have been the friend of St. Gregory who translated the *Regula Pastoralis* into Greek, who became patriarch of Antioch in 599 and was killed in an insurrection of the Jews in 610.

[2] This is the *History of the Abbots*, partly based upon an anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*. See Plummer, II. 364–87.

person, which I have corrected as best I could, to clarify the meaning.[1] I have also described the life of the holy father Cuthbert, monk and bishop, first in heroic verse and then in prose.

A history of the abbots of the monastery[2] in which it is my joy to serve God, namely Benedict, Ceolfrith, and Hwætberht, in two books.

The history of the Church of our island and race, in five books.

A martyrology of the festivals of the holy martyrs, in which I have diligently tried to note down all that I could find about them, not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat and under what judge they overcame the world.[3]

A book of hymns in various metres and rhythms.

A book of epigrams in heroic and elegiac metre.

Two books, one on the nature of things and the other on chronology: also a longer book on chronology.

A book about orthography, arranged according to the order of the alphabet.

A book on the art of metre, and to this is added another small book on figures of speech or tropes, that is, concerning the figures and modes of speech with which the holy Scriptures are adorned.[4]

And I pray thee, merciful Jesus, that as Thou hast graciously granted me sweet draughts from the Word which tells of Thee, so wilt Thou, of Thy goodness, grant that I may come at length to Thee, the fount of all wisdom, and stand before Thy face for ever.

Here, with God's help, ends the fifth book of the History of the English Church.

[3] See Introduction, p. xxv.

[4] Other works not mentioned in this list are the *Retractations of the Acts*, the *Letter to Egbert*, and the book on the *Holy Places* from which he quotes in v. 17. Also the *De VIII Quaestionibus* dedicated to Nothhelm. See M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (New York, 1943), pp. 20, 83, 120, 155.

CONTINUATIONS

After the conclusion of the whole work, the Moore MS. adds the following Annals, of which those for 733 and 734 stand in c, as we have seen, in the text of chapter xxiv (above, p. 566):

p. 361 Anno DCCXXXI Ceoluulf[1] rex captus et adtonsus et remissus in regnum; Acca[2] episcopus de sua sede fugatus.

Anno DCCXXXII Ecgberct[3] pro Uilfrido Eboraci episcopus factus.

Anno DCCXXXIII eclypsis facta est[a] solis XVIIII[b] kal. Sept. circa horam diei tertiam, ita ut pene totus orbis solis quasi nigerrimo et horrendo scuto[c] uideretur esse coopertus.

Anno DCCXXXIIII luna sanguineo rubore perfusa quasi hora integra, II kal. Febr. circa galli cantum, dehinc nigredine subsequente ad lucem propriam reuersa.

The manuscripts listed in the Introduction, pp. lxviii–lxix, continue the Annals in chapter xxiv as follows:

p. 361 Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXXII Ecgberct pro Uilfrido Eboraci episcopus factus; Cynibertus episcopus Lindisfarorum obiit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXXIII Tatuuini archiepiscopus, accepto ab apostolica auctoritate pallio, ordinauit Aluuich[4] et Sigfridum[5] episcopos.

Anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCXXXIIII Tatuuini episcopus obiit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXXXV Nothelm[6] archiepiscopus ordinatur, et Ecgberth episcopus, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est ordinauitque Fruidubertum[7] et Fruiduualdum[8] episcopos; et Baeda presbyter obiit.

p. 362 Anno DCCXXXVII nimia siccitas terram fecit infecundam; et Ceoluulfus sua uoluntate attonsus regnum Eadberto reliquit.

Anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCXXXIX Edilhard Occidentalium Saxonum rex obiit, et Nothelm archiepiscopus.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXL Cudberth pro Nothelmo consecratus est. Aedilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem

[a] est *om. c* [b] XVIII *c2* [c] sicut *c* (*emended in the twelfth century to* situ)

CONTINUATIONS

from the Moore MS.

731. King Ceolwulf[1] was captured and tonsured and then restored to his kingdom; Bishop Acca[2] was driven from his see.

732. Egbert[3] was made bishop of York in place of Wilfrid.

733. An eclipse of the sun occurred on 14 August about nine o'clock in the morning so that its whole orb seemed to be covered with a black and terrifying shield.

734. The moon was suffused with a blood-red hue for about a whole hour around cockcrow on 31 January. Then blackness followed and finally its own light was restored.

Continuation found in MSS. listed on pp. lxviii–lxix.

732. Egbert was made bishop of York in place of Wilfrid; Bishop Cyneberht of Lindsey died.

733. Archbishop Tatwine who had received the pallium from the apostolic authority consecrated Alwih[4] and Sigeferth[5] as bishops.

734. Archbishop Tatwine died.

735. Nothhelm[6] was consecrated archbishop and Bishop Egbert, having received the pallium from the apostolic see, became archbishop, the first after Paulinus. He consecrated Frithuberht[7] and Frithuwold[8] bishops. The priest Bede died.

737. A great drought rendered the land infertile; and Ceolwulf was tonsured at his own request and resigned the kingdom to Eadberht.

739. Æthelheard, king of the West Saxons, and Archbishop Nothhelm died.

740. Cuthbert was consecrated in place of Nothhelm; Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, treacherously devastated part of

[1] See Introduction, p. xxix. [2] See p. 253, n. 3.

[3] Brother of King Eadberht. It was to him that Bede wrote the *Letter to Egbert* on the reform of the Northumbrian monasteries.

[4] Of Lindsey. [5] Of Selsey. [6] See p. 4, n. 2.

[7] Of Hexham. [8] Of Whithorn.

uastabat partem Northanymbrorum, eratque rex eorum Eadberth occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos. Aediluuald quoque episcopus obiit, et pro eo Cyniuulf ordinatur antistes[1]. Arnuuini et Eadbertus interempti.[2]

Anno DCCXLI siccitas magna terram occupauit. Karolus rex Francorum[3] obiit, et pro eo filii eius Karloman et Pippin regnum acceperunt.

Anno DCCXLV Uilfridus episcopus et Ingualdus Lundoniae episcopus migrauerunt ad Dominum.

Anno DCCXLVII Herefrid uir Dei obiit[4].

Anno DCCL Cuthredus rex Occidentalium Saxonum surrexit contra Aedilbaldum regem et Oengusum[5]. Theudorus[6] atque Eanred obiit. Eadberth campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus suo regno addidit.

Anno DCCLIII,[a] anno regis Eadberti quinto ⟨decimo, quinto⟩ idus Ianuarias[7] eclipsis solis facta est, et nec mora, postea eodem anno et mense, hoc est nona kalendarum Februariarum, luna eclipsim pertulit, horrendo et nigerrimo scuto, ita ut sol paulo ante, cooperta.

Anno DCCLIIII Bonifacius, qui et VVinfridus, Francorum episcopus cum quinquaginta tribus martyrio coronatur; et pro eo Rehdgerus consecratur archiepiscopus a Stephano papa.[8]

Anno DCCLVII Aedilbald rex Merciorum a suis tutoribus nocte morte fraudulenta miserabiliter peremptus occubuit; Beornred regnare coepit. Cyniuulfus rex Occidentalium Saxonum obiit.[9] Eodem etiam anno Offa, fugato Beornredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quaesiuit gladio.

p. 363 Anno DCCLVIII Eadbertus rex Nordanhymbrorum Dei amoris causa et caelestis patria uiolentia, accepta sancti Petri tonsura, filio suo Osuulfo regnum reliquit.

Anno DCCLnono Osuulf a suis ministris facinore occisus est, et Ediluuald[10] anno eodem a sua plebe electus intrauit in regnum; cuius secundo anno magna tribulatio mortalitatis uenit et duobus ferme

[a] *The MSS., which are very late, vary between 756 and 766, and omit something, probably* decimo quinto (*though the regnal year ought, according to Plummer, to be* sexto decimo)

---

[1] Of Lindisfarne.

[2] The identity of neither of these is certain.

[3] Charles Martel.

[4] Probably the priest to whom Boniface sent a letter about 746. (Tangl, no. 74, *EHD*, I. 756–7.)

[5] Angus was king of the Picts and apparently supporting the Mercians against their common foe, Eadberht of Northumbria.

[6] Son of Beli, king of Strathclyde.

[7] 753 is the right date for the eclipse, but if as stated above and in *ASC*

Northumbria while Eadberht was occupied with his army fighting against the Picts; Bishop Æthelwold also died and Cynewulf was consecrated bishop in his place;[1] Earnwine and Eadberht were killed.[2]

741. There was a great drought in the land. Charles, king of the Franks,[3] died and his sons Carloman and Pippin came to the throne

745. Bishop Wilfrid and Ingwold, bishop of London, went to be with the Lord.

747. Herefrith, a man of God, died.[4]

750. Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, rose against Æthelbald and Angus;[5] Tewdwr[6] and Eanred died; Eadberht added the plain of Kyle and other lands to his kingdom.

753. In the fifteenth year[7] of King Eadberht's reign an eclipse of the sun took place on 9 January, and very shortly afterwards, in the same year and month, that is 24 January, there was an eclipse of the moon. It was covered with a dreadful black shield, just as the sun had been, shortly before.

754. Boniface, also known as Winfrith, bishop of the Franks, with fifty-two others won the martyr's crown. Hrethgar was consecrated archbishop in his place by Pope Stephen.[8]

757. Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, was treacherously killed at night by his bodyguard in shocking fashion; Beornred came to the throne; Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons, died;[9] in the same year Offa put Beornred to flight and attempted to conquer the Mercian kingdom with sword and bloodshed.

758. Eadberht, king of the Northumbrians, for the love of God and impetuously longing for his heavenly fatherland, received the tonsure of St. Peter and resigned his throne to his son Oswulf.

759. Oswulf was treacherously killed by his thegns and in the same year Æthelwold[10] was elected by his people and began to reign. In his second year a great pestilence occurred and continued

(MS. D) he came to the throne in 737 then it was his sixteenth year. Plummer, II. 346.

[8] Boniface, the apostle of Germany, whom Bede never mentions. Several Lives of him have survived and have been edited by W. Levison, *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii* (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Hanover and Leipzig, 1905). See also E. S. Duckett, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947), pp. 339–455. Hrethgar is better known as Chrodegang of Metz.

[9] Cynewulf died in 786. The compiler has misread the famous *ASC* annal for 757 (755), which recounts the whole story of the life and death of Cynewulf under the date of his gaining the throne of Wessex.

[10] Of unknown origin. Known as Æthelwold Moll. He lost his kingdom in 765.

annis permansit, populantibus duris ac diuersis egritudinibus, maxime tamen dysenteriae languore.

Anno DCCLXI Oengus Pictorum rex obiit, qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruentum tyrannus carnifex perduxit; et Osuuini occisus est.

Anno DCCLXV Aluchred[1] rex susceptus est in regnum.

Anno DCCLXVI Ecgbertus archiepiscopus, prosapia regali ditatus ac diuina scientia inbutus, et Frithubertus, uere fideles episcopi, ad Dominum migrauerunt.

for nearly two years. The people were wasted by various kinds of malignant diseases but especially dysentery.

761. Angus, king of the Picts, died. From the beginning of his reign right to the end he perpetrated bloody crimes, like a tyrannical slaughterer; and Oswine was killed.

765. King Alhred[1] began to reign.

766. Archbishop Egbert, endowed with royal blood and imbued with divine wisdom, and Frithubert, both truly faithful bishops, departed to be with the Lord.

[1] King of Northumbria. He encouraged St. Willehad's mission to Bremen and was a correspondent of Lul, archbishop of Mainz. Cf. Tangl, no. 121 and *EHD* I. 767–8.

CUTHBERT'S LETTER ON THE DEATH OF BEDE

THE first-hand account of Bede's death, written for an acquaintance in some other house by Bede's own pupil Cuthbert, who in the second half of the eighth century was abbot of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, forms an irresistible supplement to the *History*. The letter has come down to us in two somewhat different forms, which have been investigated in masterly fashion by Mr. E. van K. Dobbie. At an early date it found its way abroad, to great foundations like St. Gall and the Reichenau; and thence, probably by way of St. Emmeram's at Regensburg, into Austria, where it was incorporated in the standard Legendary. Thus it survives in twelve copies in South Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, of which St. Gall 254 of the ninth century is the earliest. In England there are over thirty manuscripts falling into two well-marked families; but none is older than the twelfth century, and by this time the text has been subject to corruption and alteration, and the North-umbrian dialect of Bede's death-song, preserved in the Continental copies, has been changed to the dialect of Wessex.

Between these 'Continental' and 'Insular' forms of text, there stands another manuscript, discovered by Mr. N. R. Ker, in which it is preceded by a short introduction addressed to Alcuin, the English scholar who left York in 793 to head the educational reforms of Charlemagne. This is in a fragment of unknown provenance and perhaps of the early tenth century, now part of MS. 70.H.7 in the Royal Library at The Hague. It agrees more closely with the 'Continental' text, but in several places offers a good reading found in the English copies, not (it would appear) from any deliberate fusion of texts, but because it descends independently from the common parent of the whole tradition and partakes of the merits of both branches. We have therefore taken it as our text, only correcting a few obvious mistakes; and wish to express our gratitude to Messrs. Dobbie and Ker, in whose work the serious inquirer will find all that is at present known about the textual history of Cuthbert's precious letter.[1]

[1] E. van K. Dobbie, *Caedmon's Hymn and Bede's Death-Song* (New York, 1937); N. R. Ker in *Medium Aevum*, VIII (1939), 40–44.

EPISTOLA DE OBITU BEDAE

DILECTISSIMO in Christo conlectori Cuthuuino Guthbertus diaconus in Deo aeterno salutem.[1]

Munusculum quod misisti multum libenter accepi, multumque gratanter litteras tuae deuotae eruditionis legi, in quibus quod maxime desiderabam, missas uidelicet et orationes sacrosanctas pro Deo dilecto patre ac nostro magistro Beda a uobis diligenter celebrari repperi. Vnde delectat magis pro eius caritate quam fretus ingenio paucis sermonibus dicere quo ordine migrauerit e seculo, cum etiam hoc te desiderare et poposcere intellexi.

Grauatus est quidem infirmitate, et maxime creberrimi anhelitus, sed tamen paene sine aliquo dolore, ante diem autem resurrectionis dominicae id est fere duabus ebdomadibus; et sic postea laetus ac gaudens gratiasque agens omnipotenti Deo omni die et nocte, immo horis omnibus usque ad diem ascensionis dominicae, id est septimo kalendas Iunii[2] uitam ducebat, et nobis suis discipulis cotidie lectiones dabat, et quicquid reliquum fuit diei in Psalmorum cantu prout potuit occupabat. Totam uero noctem laetus in orationibus et gratiarum actione Deo ducere studebat, nisi tantum modicus somnus impediret; itemque autem euigilans statim consueta scripturarum modulamina ruminabat, extensisque manibus Deo gratias agere non est oblitus. Vere fateor quia neminem umquam alium oculis meis uidi nec auribus audiui tam diligenter gratias Deo uiuo referre. O uere quam beatus uir! Canebat autem sententiam sancti Pauli apostoli dicentis 'Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis',[3] et multa alia de sancta scriptura, in quibus nos a somno animae exurgere praecogitando ultimam horam admonebat. In nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus in nostris carminibus, dicens de terribili exitu animarum e corpore:[4]

[1] Cuthbert afterwards became Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Letters of his are extant addressed to Lul. Cf. *EHD*, 1. 765 and Tangl, nos. 116, 126, 127. Nothing further is known of Cuthwine.

[2] Ascension Day was on Thursday, 26 May in 735.

[3] Heb. 10: 31.

[4] Only a comparatively small group of the MSS. of the Letter attribute the

To his beloved in Christ and fellow teacher Cuthwin, greeting in the name of everlasting God from Cuthbert the deacon.[1]

The present which you sent me I received with much gratitude, and it was with great pleasure that I read your letter, full of religion and sound learning, from which I learnt that which I chiefly desired to learn, that you are regularly offering masses and devout prayers for the benefit of God's chosen servant Bede, our father and our master. I take delight therefore, more from love of him than through confidence in my own skill, in sending you a brief account of his passing out of this world, since I understand that this is just what you have expressed the wish to receive.

He was taken ill, in particular with frequent attacks of breathlessness but almost without pain, before Easter, for about a fortnight; and after it he continued in the same way cheerful and rejoicing, giving thanks to almighty God day and night, and indeed almost hour by hour, until Ascension Day, which was the twenty-sixth of May.[2] Daily he gave us lessons, who were his pupils, and spent the rest of his day in chanting the Psalter, as best he could. The whole of every night he passed cheerfully in prayer and giving God thanks, except only when brief slumber intervened; and in the same way, when he woke up, he would at once take up again the familiar melodies of Scripture, not ceasing to spread out his hands in thanksgiving to God. In all truth I can say it: I never saw or heard of any man so diligent in returning thanks to the living God. Surely a blessing was upon him! And he used to repeat that sentence from St. Paul 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God',[3] and many other verses of Scripture, urging us thereby to awake from the slumber of the soul by thinking in good time of our last hour. And in our own language,—for he was familiar with English poetry,—speaking of the soul's dread departure from the body, he[4] would repeat:

composition of the poem to Bede himself, and those the later ones. So the evidence for Bede's authorship is by no means strong. Poems dealing with the departure of the soul from the body and the Day of Judgement have survived in the Vercelli and Exeter Books and elsewhere. Bede himself wrote a Latin poem on the subject, *De Die Iudicii*. (*Opp.* I. 101–2.)

Fore ðæm nedfere nænig wiorðe
ðonc snottora . ðon him ðearf siæ
to ymbhycgenne ær his hinionge
hwæt his gastæ godes oððe yfles
æfter deað dæge doemed wiorðe.[1]

Cantabat etiam antiphonas ob nostram consolationem et sui, quarum una est 'O rex gloriose, domine uirtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes caelos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum ueritatis. Alleluia.'[2] Cum uenisset autem ad illud uerbum 'ne derelinquas nos orphanos', prorupit in lacrimas et multum flebat. Et post horam coepit repetere quae inchoauerat, et sic cotidie faciebat. Et nos quidem haec audientes luximus cum illo et fleuimus; altera uice legimus, altera plorauimus, immo cum fletu legimus.

In tali laetitia quinquagesimales dies usque ad diem praefatam deduximus, et ille multum gauisus est et Deo gratias referebat quia sic meruisset infirmari; et saepe dicebat 'Flagellat Deus omnem filium quem recipit,'[3] et sententiam Ambrosii: 'Non sic uixi ut me pudeat inter uos uiuere; sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Deum habemus.'[4] In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria digna, exceptis lectionibus quas cotidie accepimus ab eo et cantu Psalmorum, facere studuit, id est a capite euangelii sancti Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur 'Sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?'[5] in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris Rotarum Ysidori episcopi[6] exceptiones quasdam, dicens 'Nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post meum obitum sine fructu laborent.'

Cum uenisset autem tertia feria ante ascensionem Domini, coepit uehementius aegrotari in anhelitu, et modicus tumor in suis pedibus apparuerat; totum tamen illum diem docebat et hilariter dictabat, et nonnumquam inter alia dixit: 'Discite cum festinatione, quia "nescio quamdiu subsistam, et si post modicum tollat me Factor meus".'[7] Nobis tamen uidebatur, ne forte exitum

[1] The poem occurs in the Northumbrian dialect in most of the continental MSS. and in the Wessex dialect in MSS. of the insular type.

[2] This is the antiphon of the Magnificat for Ascension Day. It was later adapted in the English Book of Common Prayer as the Collect for the Sunday after Ascension Day.

[3] Heb. 12: 6.

[4] Quoted in Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose* (*PL*, XIV. 43).

Facing that enforced journey, no man can be
More prudent than he has good call to be,
If he consider, before his going hence,
What for his spirit of good hap or of evil
After his day of death shall be determined.[1]

He used to sing antiphons too, for his own comfort and ours, of which one is 'O King of glory, Lord of might, who didst this day ascend in triumph above all the heavens, leave us not comfortless, but send to us the promise of the Father, even the Spirit of truth. Alleluia.'[2] But when he came to the words 'Leave us not comfortless', he broke down and wept; it was an hour before he tried to repeat what he had left unfinished, and so it was every day. And when we heard it, we shared his sorrow; we read and wept by turns, or rather, we wept continually as we read.

In this exaltation we passed the days between Easter and Pentecost as far as the date I have named; and he was filled with joy, and gave God thanks that he had been found worthy to suffer this sickness. He used to say repeatedly: 'God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth',[3] and that sentence of St. Ambrose: 'I have not so lived, that life among you now would make me ashamed; but I am not afraid to die either, for the God we serve is good.'[4] During those days there were two pieces of work worthy of record, besides the lessons which he gave us every day and his chanting of the Psalter, which he desired to finish: the gospel of St. John, which he was turning into our mother tongue to the great profit of the Church, from the beginning as far as the words 'But what are they among so many?'[5] and a selection from Bishop Isidore's book On the Wonders of Nature;[6] for he said 'I cannot have my children learning what is not true, and losing their labour on this after I am gone.'

When it came to the Tuesday before Ascension Day, his breathing became very much worse, and a slight swelling had appeared in his feet; but all the same he taught us the whole of that day, and dictated cheerfully, and among other things said several times: 'Learn your lesson quickly now; for I know not how long I may be with you, nor whether after a short time my Maker may not take me from you.'[7] But it seemed to us that he

[5] That is, from Joh. 1: 1 to 6: 9.

[6] *Liber Rotarum* is a name frequently given in medieval manuscripts to Isidore's book better known as *De natura rerum*.

[7] Job 32: 22. The A.V. translates differently.

suum bene sciret. Et sic noctem in gratiarum actione peruigil duxit, et mane inlucescente, id est quarta feria, praecepit diligenter scribi quae coeperamus. Et hoc fecimus usque ad tertiam horam. A tertia autem hora ambulauimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat.[1] Et unus erat ex nobis cum illo, qui dixit illi: 'Adhuc capitulum unum de libro quem dictasti deest, et uidetur mihi tibi difficile esse plus te interrogare.' At ille inquit: 'Facile est. Accipe tuum calamum et tempera, festinanterque scribe.' Et ille hoc fecit. A nona hora dixit mihi: 'Quaedam preciosa in mea capsella habeo, id est piperum, oraria et incensa. Sed curre uelociter, et adduc presbiteros nostri monasterii ad me, ut ego munuscula, qualia mihi Deus donauit, illis distribuam.' Et hoc cum tremore feci. Et praesentibus illis locutus est ad eos et unumquemque, monens et obsecrans pro eo missas et orationes diligenter facere. Et illi libenter spoponderunt. Lugebant autem et flebant omnes, maxime autem in uerbo quod dixerat, quia existimaret quod faciem eius amplius non multo in hoc seculo essent uisuri.[2] Gaudebant autem de eo quod dixit: 'Tempus est, si sic Factori meo uidetur, ut ad eum modo resolutus e carne ueniam, qui me quando non eram ex nihilo formauit. Multum tempus uixi, beneque mihi pius Iudex uitam meam praeuidit. Tempus uero absolutionis meae prope est;[3] etenim anima mea desiderat Regem meum Christum in decore suo uidere.'[4]

Sic et alia nonnulla utilitatis causa ad aedificationem nostram locutus, diem ultimum in laetitia ad uesperam duxit. Et praefatus puer, nomine Uilberht, adhuc dixit: 'Magister dilecte, restat adhuc una sententia non descripta.' At ille inquit 'Scribe.' Et post modicum dixit puer: 'Modo descripta est.' At ille 'Bene' inquit; 'consummatum est;[5] ueritatem dixisti. Accipe meum caput in manus tuas, quia multum me delectat sedere ex aduerso loco sancto meo, in qua orare solebam, ut et ego sedens Patrem meum inuocare possim.' Et sic in pauimento suae casulae, decantans 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto' et cetera, ultimum e corpore spiritum exhalauit; atque sine dubio credendum est quod, pro eo quia hic semper in Dei laudibus laborauerat, ad gaudia desideriorum caelestium anima eius ab angelis portaretur. Omnes autem qui audiere uel uidere obitum beati Bedae patris nostri, numquam

[1] See p. 76, n. 1.
[2] Cf. Act. 20: 38.
[3] 2 Tim. 4: 6.
[4] Isa. 33: 17.
[5] Joh. 19: 30.

knew very well when his end should be. So he spent all that night in thanksgiving, without sleep; and when day broke, which was the Wednesday, he gave instructions for the writing, which we had begun, to be finished without delay. We were at it until nine o'clock; at nine o'clock we went in procession with the relics, as the custom of that day required.[1] One of us stayed with him, and said to him: 'There is still one chapter short of that book you were dictating, but I think it will be hard on you to ask any more questions.' But he replied: 'It is not hard. Take your pen and mend it, and then write fast.' And so he did. At three o'clock he said to me: 'I have a few treasures in my box, some pepper, and napkins, and some incense. Run quickly and fetch the priests of our monastery, and I will share among them such little presents as God has given me.' I did so, in great agitation; and when they came, he spoke to them and to each one singly, urging and begging them to offer masses and prayers regularly on his behalf, and they promised with a will. But they were very sad, and they all wept, especially because he had said that he thought they would not see his face much longer in this world.[2] Yet they rejoiced at one thing that he said: 'It is time, if it so please my Maker, that I should be released from the body, and return to Him who formed me out of nothing, when as yet I was not. I have lived a long time, and the righteous Judge has well provided for me all my life long. The time of my departure is at hand,[3] and my soul longs to see Christ my King in all His beauty.'[4]

This he said, and other things, to our great profit, and so spent his last day in gladness until the evening. Then the boy of whom I spoke, whose name was Wilberht, said once again: 'There is still one sentence, dear master, that we have not written down.' And he said: 'Write it.' After a little the boy said: 'There! Now it is written.' And he replied: 'Good! It is finished;[5] you have spoken the truth. Hold my head in your hands, for it is a great delight to me to sit over against my holy place in which I used to pray, that as I sit there I may call upon my Father.' And so upon the floor of his cell, singing 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit' and the rest, he breathed his last. And well may we believe without hesitation that, inasmuch as he had laboured here always in the praise of God, so his soul was carried by angels to the joys of Heaven which he longed for. So all who heard or saw the death of our saintly father Bede declared that they had

se uidisse alium in tam magna deuotione atque tranquillitate uitam suam finisse dicebant, quia, sicut audisti, quousque anima eius in corpore fuit, 'Gloria Patri' et alia quaedam ad gloriam Dei cecinit, et expansis manibus Deo gratias agere non cessabat.

Scire autem debes quia adhuc multa narrari et scribi possunt de eo, sed nunc breuitatem sermonis ineruditio meae linguae facit. Attamen cogito Deo adiuuante ex tempore plenius de eo scribere, quae oculis uidi et auribus audiui.[1]

Explicit epistola Gutberti de obitu uenerabilis Bedae presbiteri.

[1] If Cuthbert carried out his intention, the book or letter has not survived. But judging by Bede's popularity after his death, the loss of such an important document is unlikely.

never seen a man end his days in such great holiness and peace; for, as I have said, as long as his soul remained in the body, he chanted the 'Gloria Patri' and other songs to the glory of God, and spreading out his hands ceased not to give God thanks.

And of this I assure you, that many more stories could be told or written about him; but tongue untaught cuts my words short. In time, however, I purpose with God's help to write a fuller account of all that I myself have seen and heard regarding him.[1]

Here ends Cuthbert's letter on the death of the venerable priest, Bede.

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS

Aldhelm, Bp. of Sherborne:
Epistle to Geraint. *MGH, Auct. Ant.* xv. 480–6 514
De laudibus virginitatis *ibid.*, pp. 226–323 514
De virginitate (metrice) *ibid.*, pp. 350–471 514

Basil of Caesarea:
Hexaemeron (translated by Eustathius Afer)
Hom. iv 6 *PL*, LIII. 908 15 n., 16

Bede:
Vita Cuthberti prosaica:
cc. 1, 6 430
c. 9 432
c. 16 434, 438
c. 17 220, 436
c. 18 436
c. 19 434, 436
cc. 22, 24, 26 438
cc. 28, 36, 37 440
c. 40 442
c. 42 442, 444
c. 43 444, 446
De locis sanctis:
c. 2 508–10
c. 6 510–12
c. 7 508
c. 8 512

BIBLE:
Genesis:
1: 16 542
3: 1–6 100
3: 16 90
41: 14 546
49: 27 116
Exodus:
12: 1–3, 6 534
12: 15–19 536
19: 15 98
Leviticus:
11: 3 418
12: 4, 5 90
15: 16 94
17: 1–9 108
18: 7 84
20: 18 92
23: 5–7, 8 538–40
Numbers:
33: 3 536
Deuteronomy:
14: 6 418
23: 10, 11 98
23: 25 88
1 Samuel:
21: 5 98
2 Kings:
25: 8–10 52
Ezra:
4: 1 190
Job:
1: 20 546
29: 11, 17 130
31: 16–18 130
32: 22 582
42: 16 207, 234
Psalms:
6: 8 96
17 (18): 14, 15 342
18 (19): 5 160
29 (30): 5 560
31 (32): 1 502
50 (51): 7 96, 202
65 (66): 5 426
67 (68): 7 136
83 (84): 3 374
83 (84): 8 270
94 (95): 2 422
95 (96): 5 168
95 (96): 13 282
96 (97): 1 560
106 (107): 34 420
111 (112): 9 128
113 (115): 5–8 170
Ecclesiastes:
3: 5 338
Ecclesiasticus:
44: 14 474
Isaiah:
11: 10 318
33: 17 584
35: 7 286
42: 6, 7 320
43: 2 272

Isaiah: (*cont.*)
44: 9–19 282
49: 1, 6–9 318, 320
Jonah:
1: 12 478
3: 5–10 422
Habakkuk:
3: 11 544
Malachi:
1: 11 168
4: 2 544
Matthew:
3: 7 422
3: 8 432
6: 33 320
7: 22, 23 306
8: 14, 15 462
9: 20 92
9: 37 104
10: 16 154
10: 22 160
11: 28 196
11: 29 48, 138
13: 24–30 320
15: 11 94
15: 19 94
16: 18, 19 307, 548
19: 5 84, 172
22: 37, 39 438
24: 7 112
25: 13 270
25: 21 196
28: 20 158, 392
Mark:
10: 29–30 516
13: 8 112
Luke:
3: 7 422
3: 8 432
10: 2 104
10: 17, 20 110
11: 26 190
11: 41 80
12: 31 320
21: 11 112
21: 27 344
24: 39 126
John:
1: 1–6, 9 582
1: 29 538
3: 5 170
5: 24 412
8: 56 554
10: 12 154
13: 1 338
14: 6 84
19: 30 584
Acts:
2: 44–45 408
3: 2–8 458
4: 32–34 80, 408
4: 35 80
7: 56 504
8: 20–21 548
11: 28 24
13: 48 186
16: 3 300
17: 21 36
18: 18 300
20: 38 584
21: 20 300
21: 26 300
26: 18 122
Romans:
1: 27 540
7: 23 102
10: 2 218, 554
10: 18 160
1 Corinthians:
3: 2 228
5: 1 150
5: 7 200, 538, 542
6: 10 428
7: 2, 9 96
7: 6 96
7: 14 174
9: 2 122
2 Corinthians:
1: 12 56
4: 4 164
5: 1 338
11: 2 164
12: 9 360, 410
Galatians:
1: 1 414
2: 2 296
5: 24 548
Ephesians:
2: 2 158
2: 21 338
3: 14 136, 454
Philippians:
1: 6 114
2: 8, 9 154
3: 15 224
1 Thessalonians:
5: 3 426

1 Timothy:
2: 5 202, 266
3: 15 80
2 Timothy:
4: 1 344
4: 2 172
4: 6 584
Titus:
1: 15 94
Hebrews:
10: 31 580
12: 6 128, 582
James:
1: 12 32, 548
1 Peter:
2: 5 338
2 Peter:
1: 14 440
2: 22 150
3: 12 344
Revelation:
17: 14 550
Boniface V, Pope:
Letter to Justus 158–160
Letter to K. Edwin 166–170
Letter to Q. Æthelburh 172–174

Ceolfrith, abbot of Jarrow:
Letter to K. Nechtan 534–50
Constantius Lugdunensis:
Vita Germani episcopi Autissiodorensis:
cc. 12, 13 54
cc. 13, 14 56
cc. 14, 15 58
c. 16 58, 60
c. 17 60, 62
c. 18 62, 64
c. 25 64
cc. 27, 28, 35, 42, 44–46 66

Eddius:
Vita Wilfridi:
c. 3 518
c. 4–6 520
c. 6 296
c. 7 520
c. 8 296, 520
c. 9 296, 522
c. 10 298
c. 11 314
c. 12 314, 522
c. 14 316, 522
c. 24 370, 522
cc. 25–32 522
c. 33 372
c. 34 374
cc. 41–55 524
cc. 56, 57 526, 528
cc. 58–65 528
Eucherius Lugdunensis:
De situ Hierosolymitanae urbis:
CSEL, xxxix, p. 126, 6–14 508
Eutropius:
Breviarium:
MGH, Auct. Ant. II. vii. 13, p. 122 22
MGH, Auct. Ant. II. vii. 14, p. 124 24
MGH, Auct. Ant. II. vii. 19, p. 130 24

Gildas:
De excidio et conquestu Britanniae:
c. 3 14, 16
cc. 10, 11, 12 34
cc. 14, 15 40
c. 16 40, 42
c. 17 42
c. 18 42, 44
c. 19 44
c. 20 46, 48
cc. 21, 22 48
c. 23 48, 50, 52
c. 24 52
c. 25 52, 54
c. 26 54, 66, 68
Gregory the Great, Pope:
Dialogues:
Moricca I, prol., p. 14 124
I, prol., p. 16 2
I, 6, p. 42 156, 158, 420
II, prol., p. 71 516
II, 2, p. 79 28
II, 35, p. 129 412
II, 37, p. 132 410
III, 1, p. 139 504
III, 11, p. 157 456
IV, 16, p. 253 492, 494
IV, 37, p. 286 488
IV, 37, p. 287 492
IV, 40, p. 294 500
IV, 40, p. 295 502
IV, 57, p. 317 446, 504
Letters (Register) to Augustine and his companions: 70
To Etherius VI, 50 70, 72

Gregory the Great, Pope (*cont.*):
To Vergilius XI, 45 102
To Augustine XI, 39 104, 106
To Mellitus XI, 56 106, 108
To Augustine XI, 36 (part) 108, 110
To Æthelberht XI, 37 110–14
Libellus Responsionum[1] 78–102
Homilies on the Gospels 38, *PL*, LXXVI. 129 122
Epistle to Leander, *Moralia*, *PL*, LXXV. 511 124
PL, LXXV. 515–16 128
Bk. xiv. 56, *PL*, LXXV. 1077 126
Bk. xxvii. 11, *PL*, LXXVI. 411 130

Hatfield, Council of, Minutes 384–86
Hegesippus, Historiae Libri V (*CSEL*, lxvi) 507 n.
Hertford, Council of, Minutes 348–52
Honorius, Pope:
Letter to Edwin 194–6
Letter to Abp. Honorius 196–8
Honorius and John VI, Popes:
Letter to Irish clergy 200–2

Jerome, De perpetua virginitate B. Mariae *PL*. xxiii, 187 6
Justus, Laurence and Mellitus, Bps., Letter to the Irish Clergy 146

Liber Pontificalis:
p. 17 (Mommsen) 24
p. 161 68, 122, 130
p. 162 124, 132
p. 165 148
p. 192 370
p. 225 517, n. 3

Marcellinus Comes, Chronicle:
MGH. Auct. Ant. xi, 81 46
,, 86 66

Orosius:
Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii:
i. 2 14
vi. 7, 9 20
vi. 10 22
vii. 6 22, 24
vii. 15 24
vii. 17 24, 26
vii. 25 26, 28, 36
vii. 34, 35 36
vii. 36, 40 38, 40
vii. 42 40

Passio Albani, Versio III:
cc. 3, 4, 5 28
cc. 7–14 30
cc. 14–18 32
cc. 19, 20 34
c. 21 58, 60
c. 22 60
Paulinus:
Vita Ambrosii 582
Plato:
Republic, 473 D 535 n.
C. Plinius Secundus:
Naturalis Historia ii. 77 16
iv. 30 14
Prosper Tiro:
Epigrammata:
Chronicle:
MGH. Auct. Ant. IX. 472 38, 54
IX. 473 46, 54

Sedulius:
Carmen Paschale *CSEL*, X. 1–154 514, n. 3
Opus Paschale, X. 171–303 514, n. 3
Solinus, Polyhistor:
c. xxii 14, 16

Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris:
i. 24 26
Venantius Fortunatus, Carmina:
VIII. iii 28
Virgil:
Eclogues
i. 6 34
iii. 102 362
Aeneid
i. 142 454
ii. 1 248

[1] See p. 79, n. 4. Close parallels are to be found in Gregory's works to the passage on p. 100, lines 16 ff., which deals with the three stages by which sin is committed, suggestion, delight, and consent. See *Moralia* i. 27, *PL*, LXXV. 661, 662, and *Regula Pastoralis*, iii. 29, *PL*, LXXVII. 109.

ii. 169 xxvii, n., 428
ii. 501–2 186
vi. 268 490
Vita Fursei:
cc. 1, 2–4, 7, 8 270
c. 9 270, 272
cc. 10–21 272
c. 22 272, 274
cc. 23–26 274
c. 27 270
c. 28 274
cc. 29, 30 276
Vita Lupi Trecensis:
c. 11 64
Vitalian, Pope:
Letter to K. Oswiu 318–22

GENERAL INDEX

Aaron, 534.
Aaron of Caerleon, 34.
Abbots, Lives of the, anonymous, *see under* Ceolfrith.
Abercorn (Aebbercurnig), xxvii, xxviii, 42, 428.
Aberdeen, 222 n.
Abingdon, 368 n.
Abraham, 512.
Acca, bp. of Hexham, 252, 253 n., 342 n., 376, 482 n., 526, 530, 558, 572.
Acha, s. of k. Edwin, 230, 231 n.
Ad- (Æt), 337 n.
Adam, 100, 202, 512.
Adamnan of Coldingham, 422–6.
Adamnan of Iona, 504–8, 550.
Life of St. Columba, 225 n.
Ad Baruae, *see* Barrow.
Ad Candidam Casam, *see* Whithorn.
Ad Caprae Caput, *see* Gateshead.
Adda, priest, 278.
Addi, gesith, 464.
Ad Gefrin, *see* Yeavering.
Ad Lapidem, *see* Stoneham.
Ad Murum (Wallbottle?), 278, 282.
Ad Nemus, *see* Barrow.
Adrianus, *see* Hadrian.
Ad Tuifyrdi (Alnmouth?), 236 n., 337 n., 436.
Adlualdus, *see* Eadbald.
Aeanfled, *see* Eanflæd.
Aebbercurnig, *see* Abercorn.
Aedan, Irish k., 18 n., 116.
Aeddi, *see* Eddius.
Aedil-, *see* Æthel-.
Aegyptia seruitus, 540, 544.
Aegyptii, 304, 536, 542, 546.
Aegyptus, 108, 300, 418, 534–8, 544.
Aeodbaldus, *see* Eadbald.
Aetherius, *see* Etherius.
Aetius, Roman general, 46, 47 n., 66.
Africa, xxix, 16, 24, 300, 328.
Agabus, 24.
Agatha, St., 398.
Agatho, Pope, 388–90, 522–6.
Agatho, presbyter, 298.
Agilbert, bp. of Wessex and Paris, 234–6, 298–300, 308, 314, 330, 368, 522.
Agnes, St., 398.
Agricola, Pelagian bp., 54.
Aidan, St. (Aedhan), bp. of Lindisfarne:
sent from Iona to Lindisfarne, 218–20, 554.
character and views on Easter, 226–8, 264–6, 296.
miracles, 260–2.
and St. Hild, 406–8.
friendship with k. Oswine, 258–60.
disciples, 316, 317 n., 371 n., 434.
last illness, death, burial, and translation, 262–4, 294, 308, 344 n., 564.
Alani (Halani), 38.
Alaricus (Halaricus), k. of the Goths, 38.
Alban, St., xxxi, 28–34, 54 n., 58, 64.
Passio Albani, *see* Index of Quotations.
Albinus, abbot, xxxi, 2, 3 n., 4, 49 n., 334 n., 530.
Albion, 14.
Alcluith, *see* Dumbarton.
Alcuin, xvii n., xxii, xxiv, 334 n., 478 n.
Aldberct, *see* Ealdberht.
Aldfrith, k. of Northumbria, xxvii–viii, 233 n., 429 n., 430, 456, 468, 485 n., 496, 504 n., 506–8, 512, 524, 525 n., 528, 550, 556 n., 566.
Aldgisl, k. of Frisia, 522.
Aldhelm, bp. of Sherborne, xxxvii, 122 n., 146 n., 334 n., 362 n., 373 n., 502 n., 512, 514. *See* Index of Quotations.
Aldwulf, k. of E. Anglia, *see* Ealdwulf.
Aldwulf, bp. of Rochester, *see* Ealdwulf.
Alexandria, 506, 538, 544 546.
Alfred the Great, xvii, 127 n., 140 n.; Laws of, 472 n.
Alfred Westou, sacrist, xxiii.
Alhflæd (Alchfled), w. of k. Peada, 278.

Alhfrith, s. of k. Oswiu, 152 n., 254, 278, 290, 296–8, 314, 520.
Alhred (Aluchred), k. of Northumbria, 576, 577 n.
Allectus, 26.
Alleluia battle, 62.
Aln, r., 436.
Alric, joint king of Kent, 556.
altar, portable, 482 n.
altars, heathen, 30, 184, 190, 322.
Alwih, bp. of Lindsey, 572.
Ambleteuse (Amfleat), 114.
Ambrose, St., xxv, 582.
Ambrosius Aurelianus, Roman leader, 54.
Anastasis, church of, Jerusalem, 508.
Anastasius, St., 568, 570 n.
Anatolius, bp. of Laodicea, 218, 304, 568.
Ancyra, 170.
Andelys-sur-Seine (In Andilegum), 238.
Andhun, ruler of Sussex, 380.
Andrew, St.;
monastery of, Rome, 68 n.
church of: Rochester, 142, 256, 556; Hexham, xxviii, 530.
Andrew, monk, 328.
Androgeus, leader of Trinovantes, 22.
angels, 134, 238, 270–4, 340, 342, 344, 412, 440, 474, 488, 500, 584.
Angles (Angli, Anglorum gens), *passim*.
= continental Angles, 48 n., 49 n., 50, 68, 186, 334, 560, 562.
= English, 72, 74, 78, 82, 88, 106–10, 116, 122, 132–4, 138, 204, 220, 222, 232, 236, 278, 312, 318, 334, 382, 390, 472, 554, 560, 566.
= Northumbrians, 218–222, 228, 346–8, 428, 518, 524, 532, 552.
= Mercians, 524.
= English-speaking people, 14, 34, 140–42, 192, 406.
Northern and Southern Angles, 72.
Angli vel Saxones, 50, 68, 476.
Anglorum ecclesia, 80, 82, 86, 104, 144, 146, 156, 328, 332, 388, 434.
Anglorum ecclesiae, 148, 316–8, 328, 334, 384, 474, 506.
Anglorum gentes, 142, 332.
Anglorum genus, 136, 204, 328.
Anglorum imperium, 150, 162, 370.
Anglorum lingua, 16, 42, 134, 138, 214, 216, 220, 230, 242, 270, 300, 394, 414, 458, 530.
Anglorum natio, 140, 162, 190, 224, 292, 308, 426, 480, 520.
Anglorum populi, 50, 72, 148, 432, 554.
Anglorum provincia, 226, 274, 308, 348.
Anglorum reges, 214, 236, 240, 318, 524.
Anglorum regnum, 294, 428.
Anglorum rex, 110 (Æthelberht), 140 (Æthelfrith), 166 (Edwin), 176 (Rædwald), 506 (Aldfrith).
Anglorum sermo, 150.
Angles, East (Angli Orientales, Estrangli), xix, xxxiii, 4, 50, 148, 268.
Anglorum Orientalium gens, 284.
Anglorum Orientalium provincia, 4, 268, 274, 284, 338, 396, 406, 558.
Anglorum orientalium regnum, 266.
bishops, 144 n., 276, 350–2. *See also* Æcci, Baduwine, Berhtgisl (Boniface), Bisi, Felix, Thomas.
kings, 148, 190, 234, 290, 390. *See also* Anna, Æthelhere, Æthelwold, Ealdwulf, Ecgric, Eorpwold, Rædwald.
Angles Middle (Angli Mediterranei, Middilengli), 50, 278–80, 292, 410, 525 n., 564.
Anglorum Mediterraneorum provincia, 282, 292, 346.
bishops, 280, 370, 410. *See also* Diuma, Seaxwulf.
Anglo-Saxon charters, 355 n., 409 n., 475 n., 515 n.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, xviii n., 135 n., 140 n., 150 n., 151 n., 192 n., 270 n., 474 n., 512 n., 574 n., 575 n.
Anglo-Saxon churches, xxiv–xxv, xxviii, 143 n., 187 n., 282 n., 457 n., 474 n.
Anglo-Saxon poems, 116 n., 418 n., 501 n., 581 n., 582.
Angulus, 50.
Angus (Oengus), k. of the Picts, 574–6.
Anna, k. of E. Anglia, 234, 238, 241 n., 268, 270, 284, 290, 390.
Annales Cambriae, 186 n., 411 n.
Annemundus, abp. of Lyons, 297 n.
Antioch, 199 n., 570 n.
antiphons and litanies, 76 n., 582 n., 584.
Antiqui Saxones, *see* Saxons, Old.

Antoninus, *see* Bassianus.
Antoninus Verus, emperor, 24.
Aquila, 300.
Aquileia, 36.
Aquilonares Mercii, *see* Mercia, Northern.
Arabs, 330 n.
Arcadius, emperor, 38.
archives, xxxii, 4, 70 n., 566.
Arculf, Gaulish bishop, 506.
Argyll, 18 n., 426 n.
Arianism, 34, 36, 38 n., 232 n., 386 n.
Arius, *see* Arrius.
Arles, 40, 78, 330.
  abp. of, 70, 78, 86, 88, 102.
Armenia, 16.
Armoricana gens, *see* Brittany.
Armoricanus tractus, *see* Brittany.
Arnwini, *see* Earnwine.
Arrius, heretic, 34 n., 386.
Arwald, k. of Isle of Wight, 382.
Ascension Day, xxii, 76 n., 580–4.
asceticism, xxiii, 226, 286, 314, 392, 422 n., 496.
Asclipiodotus, prefect, 28.
Asia, 300, 302.
Asterius, bp. of Milan, 232.
Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, xxvi.
Athens, 330 n.
Attila, k. of the Huns, 46, 476 n.
Audubaldus, *see* Eadbald.
Augustine, St., abp. of Canterbury, xviii, xxii, xxx–xxxii, xxxv, 3 n., 4 n., 148, 156, 196, 434, 562.
  mission to England, 68–72, 562.
  arrival in Kent, 72–76.
  settles in Canterbury, 74–76, 114.
  baptizes Æthelberht, 76–78.
  consecrated by Etherius, 78.
  correspondence and dealings with Gregory the Great, 78–112, 128, 130, 485 n.
  dealings with British bishops, 134–42.
  consecrates Mellitus and Justus, 142.
  death and burial, 114, 142–4.
Augustine, St., of Hippo, xxv, 38, 543 n.
Augustines's Oak, 134.
Augustus Caesar, emperor, 22–26, 36, 38, 44, 48, 68.
Augustus, official title of Roman emperors, 36, 38, 70, 72, 102, 106–8, 114, 198, 472.
Augustus (month of August), 70, 72, 164, 242, 352, 370.
Austerfield, Council of, 525 n.
Australes Gyrwii, *see* Gyrwe, South.
Australes Mercii, *see* Mercia, Southern.
Australes Picti, *see* Southern Picts.
Austrini Scotti, *see* Scotti.
Auxerre (Autisiodorensis civitas), 54.
Avars, 476 n.
Aycliffe, xxviii.
Ayton, Great, xxviii.

Æbbe (St. Abb, Ebba), 392, 424.
Æcci, bp. of Dunwich, 354.
Ælfflæd (Aelbfled, Aelffled), d. of k. Oswiu, abbess, 290, 428, 429 n., 460 n.
Ælfric, uncle of k. Edwin, 212.
Ælfwine, b. of k. Ecgfrith, 400, 564.
Ælle, k. of Deira, 134, 135 n., 162 n., 213 n., 231 n.
Ælle, k. of Sussex, 148.
Ænhere, k. of the Hwicce, 372.
Æsica, 358.
Æthelbald, k. of Mercia, 150 n., 558, 566, 572, 574.
Æthelberht, k. of Kent, 144, 162.
  descent, 150.
  extent of rule, 142, 148.
  welcomes Augustine, 72–76.
  letter from Pope, 110–14.
  helps build churches at Canterbury, London, and Rochester, 114, 142, 256.
  helps call conference of British bishops, 134.
  death, 148, 150, 562.
  pagan reaction follows, 150.
  laws, 150.
Æthelberht II, joint k. of Kent, 556.
Æthelburh (Tata), d. of k. Æthelberht, wife of k. Edwin, 153 n., 162, 164, 166 n., 172, 174, 186, 204.
Æthelburh, d. of k. Anna, abbess, xxii, 234 n., 238, 240, 354, 360–4.
  Life of, xxxii, 356 n.
Æthelfrith, k. of Northumbria, 116, 140, 162 n., 176, 180, 212, 231 n.
Æthelheard, k. of Wessex, 572.
Æthelhere, k. of E. Anglia, 164 n., 290.
Æthelhild, abbess, 246.

Æthelhun, b. of bp. Æthelwine, 312–14.
Æthelhun, s. of k. Edwin, 186.
Æthelred, k. of Mercia, abbot of Bardney:
early life, 246, 400, 564.
ravages Kent, 336, 368, 564.
Theodore makes peace between him and Ecgfrith, 400.
other incidents of his reign, 370, 384, 400–2, 410.
enters Bardney and becomes abbot, 246 n., 368 n., 498 n., 528, 566.
friend of Wilfrid, 485 n., 524, 528.
succeeded by Cenred, 498, 516 n., 566.
Æthelric, k. of E. Anglia, 190.
Æthelthryth (Aedilthryd, Audrey, Etheldreda), d. of k. Anna, xviii, 123 n., 404.
early life, 394.
marries Ecgfrith and remains virgin, 234 n., 390–2.
Owine, her steward, 338.
becomes a nun and rules monastery at Ely, 392.
mode of life, 356 n., 392.
death and translation, 349 n., 392–6.
body uncorrupt, 240 n., 394, 398.
Bede's hymn to her, 396–400.
Æthelthryth, d. of k. Edwin, 186.
Æthelwealh (Aedilualch), k. of Sussex, 372–4, 380.
Æthelwine, bp. of Lindsey, 246, 247 n., 312, 370.
Æthelwine, reeve, 256.
Æthelwold (Ediluald), bp. of Lindisfarne, 496, 558, 574.
Æthelwold, k. of E. Anglia, 284.
Æthelwold Moll, k. of Northumbria, 574.
Ætla, bp. of Dorchester, 408, 409 n.

Badon (Badonicus), mt., 54.
Baduthegn, lay brother, 444.
Baduwine, bp. of Elmham, 354.
Baetán (Baithanus), Irish bp., 200.
Baldhild, q. of Neustria, 520.
Bamburgh (Bebbanburh), 218 n. 230, 252, 262.
Bangor-is-Coed (Bancornaburg), 138, 140.
baptism, 62 n., 88–90, 139 n., 188 n., 282, 288, 372, 382, 468, 471 n., 478 n.
Bardney (Beardeneu), 246, 247 n., 252 n., 368 n., 498 n.
Barking (In Berecingum), xxxii, 123 n., 237 n., 337 n., 356.
Barrow (Ad Baruae), 336, 354.
Barwick-in-Elmet, 189 n.
Basil, St., bp. of Caesarea, xxxi, 15 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Bass, priest, 270 n., 474 n.
Bass, thane, 204.
Bassianus (Caracalla), 26.
Bebbe (Bebba), Northumbrian q., 230, 231 n., 262.
Bede (Baeda):
life, xix–xxix, 566.
as a historian, xvii–xix, xxx–xxxiv, 14 n.
attitude to Britons and Irish, 142 n., 310 n.
attitude to manual labour, 339 n.
attitude to miracles, xxxiv–xxxviii.
names of authorities for various miracle stories, 4–6, 29 n., 192, 250–2, 260, 262–4, 277, 312, 342, 376, 390, 404, 426, 446, 454–64, 496–8, 502–4.
motives and sources of History, 2–6.
knowledge of Greek, 334 n.
method of dating, xix.
death, 572, 578–86.
list of works, 566–70.
title of Venerable, xxii.
individual works:
biblical commentaries, xxv, 7 n., 38 n., 566–8.
capitula lectionum, 568.
chronica maiora, 129 n.
de arte metrica, xxv, 39 n., 570.
de locis sanctis, 507 n., 508–12, 571 n.
de natura rerum, 556 n., 570.
de temporibus, 107 n., 264, 570.
de viii quaestionibus, 4 n., 571 n.
historia ecclesiastica, passim; Old English version, xvii, xix.
history of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, xx, xxiii, xxxvi, 388 n., 389 n., 430 n., 570.
lives of Felix and Anastasius, 568, 570 n.

life of St. Cuthbert (metrical), 513 n., 514 n., 570.
life of St. Cuthbert (prose), xxi n., xxii–xxiii, 6, 79 n., 514 n., 570.
letter to Egbert, xxi n., xxiii, xxix, 127 n., 292 n., 339 n., 461 n., 560 n., 573 n.
martyrology, xxvi, 29 n., 47 n., 570.
translation of St. John's Gospel, xxi, 582.
poems:
de die iudicii, 581 n.
hymn to Æthelthryth, 396–400.
See also Index of Quotations.
Bega, St., 412 n.
Begu, nun, 344 n., 412.
Belgium, 252 n.; Belgica, 14.
Beli, k. of Strathclyde, 574 n.
Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow monastery, xviii, xx, xxiii, xxvi, 75 n., 233 n., 331 n., 333 n., 388, 390, 430 n., 460 n., 472 n., 518, 532, 566, 570.
Benedict, St., of Nursia, Rule of, xxiii, 128 n., 334 n.
Beneventum, 38 n.
Benjamin, tribe of, 116.
Beornred, k. of Mercia, 574.
Beornwine, cleric, 382.
Beowulf, xx, 66 n.
Berht, Northumbrian ealdorman, 426, 427 n., 504 n.
Berhtfrith, Northumbrian ealdorman, 566.
Berhtgisl (Boniface), bp. of E. Anglia, 276, 314 n., 352.
Berhthun, abbot of Beverley, 456–8, 462.
Berhthun, ruler of Sussex, 380.
Berhtred, Northumbrian ealdorman, 427 n., 564.
Berhtwold, abp. of Canterbury, 144, 367 n., 474, 484, 485 n., 528, 556–8, 566.
Bericus, 22 n.
Bernicia, xvii, xxvii, 116 n., 231 n.
provincia, 188, 212, 222, 230, 256, 292, 370, 504.
gens, 216.
regnum, 212.
kings, *see* Ida, Æthelric, Æthelfrith, Eanfrith.
Bertha, w. of k. Æthelred of Kent, 74, 150.
Berwickshire, 420 n.
Bethlehem, 508.
Betti, priest, 278.
Beverley (In Derauuda, In Silva Derorum), 456, 468.
Bewcastle, xxviii, 215 n.
Bible (Vulgate) xxi, xxvi.
St. John's Gospel, xxi, 582.
Old Latin versions, 542 n.
See Index of Quotations.
Bibulus, Lucius, 20.
Birinus, bp. of Wessex, 230 n., 232, 368.
Birsay, Brough of, xxv.
Bisi, bp. of E. Anglia, 144 n., 350–2.
Blackwater (Panta, Penta), r., 284.
Blæcca, reeve, 192.
Blædla, k. of the Huns, 46.
Bliththryth (Plectrudis), w. of k. Pippin, 486.
blotmonath (month of sacrifice), 108 n.
Bobbio, 147 n.
Boethius, 535 n.
Boisil, prior of Melrose, 432, 438, 476–8.
Boniface, St. (Winfrith), xvii, xxii, xxviii, 5 n., 79 n., 145 n., 330 n., 362 n., 473 n., 502 n., 559 n., 574, 575 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Boniface IV, Pope, 146, 148.
Boniface V, Pope, xxxii, 156, 158–60, 166, 172–4, 194.
Boniface, archdeacon, 520, 526.
Boniface, *see* Berhtgisl.
Borahtra, 477 n.
Boruhtware, *see* Bructeri.
Bosa, bp. of York, 370, 408, 460, 532, 564.
Bosel, bp. of the Hwicce, 145 n., 410.
Bosham (Bosanhamm), 372, 373 n.
Bothelm, monk of Hexham, 216.
Boulogne (Bononia, Gessoriacum), 14, 116.
Bowness-on-Solway, 26 n.
Bradwell-on-Sea, xxv, 143 n., 282, 282 n.
Breedon-on-the-Hill (Briudun), 558.
Breguswith, m. of St. Hild, 410.
Bremen, 577 n.
Brendan of Clonfert, 141 n.
Bretwalda, 112 n., 148–50, 162 n., 176 n., 193 n., 318 n., 323 n., 559 n.

Brie (Brige), 238.
Britain (Britania, Brittania = modern England and Scotland), 14–28, 34–36, 40–50, 54, 66–68, 70, 72, 76, 78, 104–8, 116, 130–4, 146–50, 154, 162, 178, 186, 192, 204, 216, 220–2, 230–4, 238, 252, 282, 312–18, 328–34, 344, 346, 348, 370, 376, 382–4, 388–90, 408–10, 428, 476, 484, 488, 504–6, 516, 520, 524–32, 546, 560–4.
Brittaniae, 24–26, 38, 54–56, 64, 86–88, 142, 382, 560, 566.
Britannus, 472.
British bishops, 86–88, 105 n., 106, 134–40, 146, 314 n.
British church, *see* Celtic churches.
British hostility to English, xxx, 106 n., 140 n., 142 n., 146, 560.
Britons (Brettones, Britanni = original inhabitants of Britain, Welsh), xxx, 16–24, 38, 40–54, 62, 116, 140, 146–8, 162, 199 n., 204, 222, 274, 300, 414 n., 428, 504, 514, 554, 560–2.
Brettonicus rex, 214.
Brettonum dux (Cadwallon), 214.
Brettonum gens, 20, 130, 202, 316, 476, 524.
Brettonum lingua, 16, 230.
Brettonum natio, 222, 244.
Brettonum provincia, 134, 162.
Brettonum rex, 212, 240, 410.
Brittanicus, Claudius, 24.
Brittany (Armoricanus tractus, Armoricana gens), 16, 66.
Brixworth, 187 n.
Brocmail, leader of the Britons, 140.
Bructeri (Boruhtware), 476, 477 n., 484, 486.
Bruide (Bridius), k. of the Picts, 220 n., 222, 223 n., 428 n.
Brunhild, q. of the Franks, 78 n., 147 n.
Burgh Castle (Cnobheresburg), xxv, 270.
Burghelm, priest, 372.
Burgundii, 190.
Burgundy, 147 n., 331 n.

Cadfan, k. of Gwynedd, 162 n., 202 n.
Caerleon (Legionum urbs), 34.
Caesar, Gaius Julius, 20, 22, 40, 560.
Caiaphas, 504.
Cairbre, Riada, 19 n.
Calcaria, *see* Tadcaster.
Calendars, xxii, xxvi, 378, 388, 487 n.
Cambridge (Grantacæstir), 394.
Campania, 38, 328.
Campodonum (Cambodonum, Campodunum), 188.
Campus Cyil, *see* Kyle.
Campus Roborum, *see* Dearmach.
Canche, r., 332 n.
Candida Casa, *see* Whithorn.
Candidus, priest, 72, 229 n.
Canterbury (civitas Doruuernensis, civitas, metropolis, Doruuernis):
city, xxii, 74–78, 104 n., 122 n., 142, 156, 514 n., 558.
archbishops, 114, 144, 236, 278. *See also* Augustine, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Wigheard, Theodore, Beorhtwold, Tatwine, Nothhelm, Cuthbert.
churches, *see* Christchurch, Coronati Quattuor, Martin, Mary, Peter and Paul, St. Saviour.
Cantia, Cantuarii, *see* Kent.
Caprae Caput, *see* Gateshead.
Carausius, emperor, 26.
Carlegion, *see* Chester.
Carlisle (Lugubalia), xxviii, 428 n., 440.
Carloman (Caroloman), k. of the Franks, 574.
Carolus (Charles Martel), *see* Charles Martel.
Carriden, 43 n.
Cassiodorus, xxv.
Cassivelaunus (Cassobellaunus), British chief, 22.
castella, 317 n.
Catamanus, *see* Cædmon.
Catterick (Cataracta, Cataracto), 188, 206, 256.
Cædmon, poet, xviii, xxxviii, 343 n., 414–20.
Cædmon's song, 417 n.
Cædwalla (Cadwallon), s. of Cadfan, k. of Gwynedd, 202, 203 n., 212.
Cædwalla (Caewald), k. of Wessex, xxxiii, 368, 380–2, 468–72, 473 n., 484 n., 564.
Cælin (Ceawlin), b. of Chad and Cedd, 284–8.
Cælin (Ceawlin), k. of Wessex, 148.

Ceadda, *see* Chad.
Cearl, k. of Mercia, 186.
Ceawlin, *see* Cælin.
Cecilia, St., 398, 486.
Cedd, bp. of Essex, xviii, 4, 270 n., 278, 282–8, 298, 308, 316, 341 n., 344, 460 n.
Celestinus, Pope, 46, 562.
Celtic bishops, 282 n., 314 n.
Celtic church, xxxii–xxxiv, 137 n.
  hostility to English church, xxx, 106 n., 140 n., 142 n., 146 n.
Celtic Easter, *see* Paschal controversy.
Celtic monasteries, 141 n. *See also* Irish monasteries and schools.
Celtic saints, xxiii.
Celtic tonsure, xxiii, 139 n., 147 n., 548 n., 554 n.
Celtic tradition, xxxiii, 219 n.
Cenail, 42 n.
Cenchrea 300 n.
Cenred (Coenred, Coinred), k. of Mercia, 473 n., 498, 516, 528, 566.
Cenred (Coenred), k. of Northumbria, xxviii, 552, 556–8.
Cenwealh (Coinwalch), k. of Wessex, 73 n., 232–6, 368.
Ceola, 153 n.
Ceolfrith, abbot of Jarrow, xx, xxi, xxv, 257 n., 371 n., 388 n., 389 n., 484 n., 566, 570.
  letter to the Picts, xxxiv, 532–50.
  anonymous life of, xx, xxv, 389 n., 571 n.
  Bede's life of, *see* Bede, History of the Abbots.
Ceollach (Cellach), bp. of Middle Angles and Mercia, 280, 292.
Ceolred, k. of Mercia, 516, 566.
Ceolwulf, k. of Northumbria, xxix, 2, 558, 562, 572.
Cerdic (Ceretic), k. of Britain, 410, 411 n.
Cervi Insula, *see* Hartlepool.
Chad (Ceadda), bp. of Northumbria and Mercia, xviii, 344, 456 n.
  brother of Cedd and pupil of Aidan, 288, 316.
  consecrated bp. of Northumbria, 282 n., 316, 317 n., 334, 335 n., 371 n., 522, 564.
  abbot of Lastingham, 4, 288, 316 n., 460 n., 522.
  bp. of Mercia, 294, 336.
  story of death, 338–46, 420 n.
  character, 316, 342–4.
Chalcedon, Council of, 351 n., 385 n., 386.
Chaldaei, 52.
Charibert, k. of Paris, 74 n.
Charlbury, 281 n.
Charles Martel, k. of the Franks, xxix, 479 n., 480 n., 486 n., 557 n., 574.
Charybdis, 540.
Chebron, *see* Hebron.
Chelles (In Cale), 238, 406.
Chertsey (Cerotaesei), 354, 355 n.
Chester (Carlegion, civitas Legionum, Legacæstir), 140.
chrisom, 188 n.
Christchurch, Canterbury, 114 n.
Cicero, xxvi.
Cilicia, 330.
Claudius, emperor, 22, 24, 560.
clean beasts, xxxviii, 418 n.
Clement, bp. of Rome, 144.
Clement, *see* Willibrord.
Clofæshoh (*Clovesho*), 352.
  Council of, 122 n.
Clovis II (Hloduius), k. of Neustrian Franks, 276.
Clyde (Cluith), r., 40, 43 n.
clymiterium, 456 n.
Cnobheresburg, *see* Burgh Castle.
Codex Amiatinus, xxi, xxvi.
Codex Durmachensis (Book of Durrow), 223 n.
Codex Lindisfarnensis (Lindisfarne Gospels), xxvii n., xxviii, 496 n.
Coifi, heathen priest, 182–4.
coins, 74 n., 238, 404 n.
Coldingham (Coludi urbs), xxv, 237 n., 356 n., 392, 420.
Colman, bp. of Lindisfarne, 296–312, 328, 346, 564.
Cologne (Colonia), 484.
colonia, 213 n.
Columba (Columcelli), 220–2, 304, 306, 478, 550, 562.
Columbanus, abbot, xxiii, 146, 147 n., 236 n.
  life of, 147 n.
Columbanus (Colman), bp. of Clonard, 200.
comb, 174.
comets, xxix, 370 n., 556, 564, 566.
Comgall of Bangor, 141 n.

comitatus, 75 n., 164 n., 258 n., 291 n., 559 n.
Commodus, Aurelius, emperor, 24.
Compiègne (In Conpendio), 314.
Connell, k. of Dalriada, 220 n.
consecration by a single bishop, 86.
Constans, s. of Constantinus, 40.
Constans II (Constantinus IV), emperor of the East, 332 n., 386, 387 n.
Constantine the Great, emperor, 36, 112, 508.
Constantinople (Byzantium), 46, 124, 384–6, 390, 506.
  Councils of, 386 n.
Constantinus III, emperor, 198.
Constantinus IV, *see* Constans II.
Constantinus, ruler in Britain and Gaul, 38, 40.
Constantinus, Pope, 499 n., 516.
Constantius Chlorus, emperor, 36.
Constantius, an officer, 40.
Constantius, priest, xxxi, 54 n., 64 n. *See* Index of Quotations
contemplative and active life, 124 n.
Corbridge, xxviii.
Corinth, 309.
Corman, 229 n.
Cornish Britons, 504 n.
Coronati Quattuor, *see* martyrs, four crowned.
Crispus, abp. of Milan, 470 n.
Croft, xxviii.
Crónán, bp. of Nendrum, 200.
Crónán, abbot of Moville, 200.
crosses, Anglo-Saxon, xxviii, 214, 215 n., 216, 253 n., 338 n., 412 n., 497 n.
crypts, xxviii.
Cudda, monk, 419 n.
Cummian, 199 n.
Cunibert, St., 484 n.
Cunningham (In Cuneningum), 488 n.
Cuthbald, abbot, 528.
Cuthbert, St., bp. of Lindisfarne, xxii–xxiv, 219 n., 407 n., 429 n., 497 n.
  enters Melrose, 344 n., 430–4, 477 n., 489 n.
  life and miracles, 6, 138 n., 260 n., 262 n., 298 n., 428 n., 434–42, 477 n.
  consecrated bp. of Hexham and Lindisfarne, 428, 430, 438.
  two additional miracles, xxxiv, 444–8.
  death and translation, xxxiv, 240 n., 252, 345 n., 442–4.
  relics, 2 n., 252 n., 379 n., 448, 482 n.
  anonymous life of, 6, 431 n.
  Bede's lives of, *see under* Bede.
Cuthbert, abp. of Canterbury, 572.
Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, xxii, 579–86.
Cuthred, k. of Wessex, 574.
Cuthwine, 580.
Cwenburh, first w. of k. Edwin, 186.
Cwenburh, d. of abbess Hereburh, 460–2.
Cwichelm, k. of Wessex, 164, 232.
Cwichelm, b. of Rochester, 368.
Cyneberht, bp. of Lindsey, 6, 370, 558, 572.
Cyneberht, abbot of Redbridge, 382.
Cynebill, priest, b. of Chad, 286, 288.
Cyneburh, w. of k. Alhfrith, 278.
Cyneburh, w. of k. Oswald, 232 n.
Cynefrith, a physician, 394.
Cynegisl, k. of Wessex, 164 n., 230 n., 232.
Cynemund, priest, 260.
Cynewise, q. of Mercia, 290.
Cynewulf, bp. of Lindisfarne, 574.
Cynewulf, k. of Wessex, 574.
Cyprian, St., xxv, xxx.
Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, 386, 546.

Dacre, r., 446.
Dagan, Irish bp., 146.
Dagan of Inber Doilh, 146 n.
Dagobert I, k. of the Franks, 204.
Dalfinus, abp. of Lyons [*sic*], 296, 518–20.
Dalreudini, 18.
Dalriada, [xxvii–xxviii, 18 n., 19 n., 117 n.
Damascus, 506.
Damian, bp. of Rochester, 278, 336.
Danes (Danai), 476, 477 n.
Daniel (Danihel), prophet, 568.
Daniel (Danihel), bp. of Wessex, xxii, 4, 374 n., 384, 514, 558.
Dante, 129 n.
Danube, r., 476 n.
David, 98, 508, 512.
Dearmach (Durrow), 222; *see under* Codex.

death, foreknowledge of, 343 n., 420 n., 438, 472.
Deda, abbot of Partney, 192, 247 n.
Deerness, Brough of, xxv.
Degsastan (Dawston Rigg?), 116, 562.
Deira (Deiri, Deri), xxvii, 134, 212 n., 231 n., 256 n., 279 n., 286 n., 440 n.
  Deirorum (Derorum) provincia, 188, 230, 256, 292, 370.
  Deirorum regnum, 212, 286.
  kings of, *see* Ælle, Edwin, Osric, Oswine.
Denisesburn, 214.
Derwent, r., Cumberland, 440.
Derwent, r., Yorks., 164, 186.
Desiderius, bp. of Vienne, xxvi.
Deusdedit, Pope, 156, 158.
Deusdedit, abp. of Canterbury, 278, 316–18, 322 n., 328, 334.
Dewsbury, 189 n.
dialects:
  Frankish, 73 n., 234 n.
  Kentish, 73 n., 150 n.
  Northumbrian, 417 n., 582 n.
  West Saxon, 148, 235 n., 417 n., 582 n.
Dícuill (Dicul), abbot of Bosham, 372, 373 n.
Dícuill (Dicul), priest, 274.
Díma, Irish bp., 200.
Dinoot, abbot of Bangor, 138.
Dio Cassius, 22 n.
Diocletian, emperor, 24–28, 36.
  persecutions under, xxxi, 158 n., 546 n.
Dionysius Exiguus, xix, xxvi, 137 n., 351 n., 546.
dispensations, three, 543 n.
Diuma, bp. of Mercia, 278, 280, 292.
division of kingdoms, *see* kings, joint.
Dommoc, *see* Dunwich.
Donatus, xxvi.
Donus, Pope, 370 n.
Dorchester (Dorcic, Dorciccæstræ), 230 n., 232, 408, 409 n.
  bp. of, *see under* Ætla.
Dorubrevis civitas, *see* Rochester.
Doruuentio amnis, *see* Derwent.
Doruuernensis, Doruuernis, *see* Canterbury.
double monasteries, 237 n., 356 n., 420 n.
drinks, healing, 20, 216, 254, 264, 346.
drought, 372, 572, 574.
druids, 139 n., 549 n.
Dryhthelm, xxxiv, 274 n.
  vision of underworld, 488–98.
Dublin, Trinity College Library, 223 n.
Dumbarton (Alcluith), 20, 40, 42.
Dumfries, 223 n.
Dumnonia, 514 n.
Dúnchad, abbot of Iona, 554.
Dunnichen Moss, 428 n.
Dunwich (Dommoc), 190, 354 n.
Durham, xxiii, 212 n., 252 n., 482 n., 497 n.
Düsseldorf, 486 n.
dye, scarlet, 14.

Eadbald (Aeodbaldus, Adulualdus, Audubaldus), k. of Kent, 150, 151 n., 158–62, 168, 172, 204, 236, 564.
Eadberht, bp. of Lindisfarne, 294, 442–4.
Eadberht, bp. of Sussex, 514–16.
Eadberht, joint king of Kent, 556.
Eadberht, k. of Northumbria, 572–4.
Eadberht, Mercian ealdorman, 294.
Eadberht (unknown), 574.
Eadfrith, bp. of Lindisfarne, 496 n.
Eadfrith, s. of k. Edwin, 186, 202.
Eadgisl, monk, 426.
Eadhæd, bp. of Lindsey and Ripon, 316, 370, 371 n., 564.
Eadric, k. of Kent, 430.
  laws of, 430 n.
Eafa, Mercian ealdorman, 294.
Eafe (Eaba), d. of Eanfrith, 372.
Ealdberht, bp. of Dunwich, 558.
ealdormen, 290 n., 294, 372, 480 n.
Ealdwine, bp. of Lichfield, 558.
Ealdwine, abbot, 246, 247 n.
Ealdwulf, k. of E. Anglia, 190, 384, 406.
Ealdwulf, bp. of Rochester, 556–8.
Eanflæd, w. of k. Oswiu, abbess, 164, 204, 257 n., 260, 292, 296, 429 n., 430, 460 n., 518, 564.
Eanfrith, k. of Bernicia, 212, 214.
Eanfrith, k. of the Hwicce, 372, 373 n.
Eanhere, k. of the Hwicce, 373 n.
Eanred (unknown), 574.
Eappa, abbot of Selsey, 372, 376–8.
Earnwine (unknown), 574.

Easter, 62 n. *See also* Paschal controversy.
Easter cycles, 136 n., 218 n., 304, 378 n., 544–6.
Eata, bp. of Hexham, 298 n., 308, 370, 371 n., 430, 433–4, 438, 456, 476, 489 n., 564.
Ebba, *see* Æbbe.
Ebbsfleet, 72 n.
Eboracum, *see* York.
Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria, 235 n., 330–2, 355 n.
Ecclesiastes, 338.
Ecgfrith, k. of Northumbria, xxvii, 316, 323 n., 370, 456.
hostage with Mercians, 290.
succeeds Oswiu, 348.
marries Æthelthryth, 234 n., 390–2.
quarrels with bp. Wilfrid, 370–2, 522–4, 564.
at Council of Hatfield, 384, 564.
troubles with Mercia, 323 n., 370 n., 400.
endows Wearmouth and Jarrow, 388.
has Cuthbert consecrated, 430–8.
attacks Irish and Picts, 426–8, 532 n.
death, 164 n., 374, 428, 430, 564.
Ecgric, k. of E. Angles, 268.
Echternach, 487 n.
Eclanum, 38 n.
eclipses, 310, 328, 562, 564, 572, 574.
Eda, 153 n.
Eddius (Æddi), 77 n., 143 n., 297 n., 306 n., 307 n., 334, 354 n., 372, 374 n., 380 n., 400 n., 485 n., 517 n.
life of Wilfrid, xxxii, 334 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Edessa, 24 n.
Edgar, bp. of Lindsey, 370.
Edith (Eadgyth), nun, 358.
Edwin, k. of Northumbria, xviii, 192, 230, 236 n., 256, 260, 406, 564.
parentage and youth, 162 n.
exile and vision at Rædwald's court, 174–82.
becomes king, 148, 162 n., 180.
marriage, 162.
letter from Pope Boniface, 166–70; from Pope Honorius, 194–96.
conversion and baptism, 162–6, 182–8, 562.
traditions about these, xviii, xxxiii, 182 n., 186 n.
his power, 148, 150 n., 162, 166, 178, 411 n.
killed at Hatfield Chase, xxxiii, 202–6, 212, 242, 564.
given title of martyr, 203.
buried at Whitby, 204, 292.
head buried at York, 204.
Egbert (Ecgberct, Ecgberect), k. of Kent, 318, 328–30, 352, 430, 556, 564.
Egbert, abp. of York, xxi–xxii, 408 n., 572, 576.
Bede's letter to, *see under* Bede.
Egbert, monk, exile in Ireland, xxxiv, 224, 225 n., 312–14, 341 n., 344, 428, 474–80, 552–6, 566.
Egypt, 300, 422 n., 536, 540, 544.
Eilean na Naoimh, xxv.
Elafius, British chief, 64–66.
Eleutherius, Pope, 24, 562.
elevation of relics of saints, 345 n., 394, 442.
Elizabeth I, q. of England, xviii.
Elmet, kingdom of, 189 n., 411 n.
Elmet forest, 188.
Elmham, 354 n.
Ely (Elge), 234 n., 276 n., 338 n., 392–6.
Emme, bp. of Sens, 334.
English, *see* Angles.
Eni, f. of k. Anna, 190 n., 268.
Eolla, bp. of Sussex, 516.
Eomer (Eumer), assassin, 164.
Eorcenberht (Earconberct), k. of Kent, 234 n., 236–8, 328, 392, 518, 564.
Eorcengota, d. of k. of Kent, xxii, 234 n., 236–8.
Eorcenwold (Earconuald), bp. of London, 354, 355 n., 366.
Eorcenwold, Neustrian mayor of the palace, 276.
Eormenric (Irminric), f. of k. Æthelberht, 150.
Eorpwold, k. of E. Anglia, 188–90, 266.
Ephesus, council of, 386.
Ernene (Ernianus), Irish abbot, 200.
Escomb, xxiv, xxviii, 187 n., 462 n.
Esi, abbot, 6.
Estrangli, *see* Angles, East.
Étaples (Quentavic), 332 n.

Etheldreda, *see* Æthelthryth.
Etherius (Aetherius), abp. of Lyons, 70, 78, 102.
Eucherius, 507 n., *See* Index of Quotations.
Eudoxius, patriarch of Constantinople, 386.
Eulalia, St., 398.
Eulogius, patriarch, 78 n.
Eumer, *see* Eomer.
Euphemia, St., 398.
Europa, 14, 46.
Eusebius Pamphyli, historian, xxx, 38 n., 544.
Eustathius Afer, 15 n., 126 n.
Eutropius, historian, xxxi, 22 n., 36. *See* Index of Quotations.
Eutyches, heretic, 384–6.
Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, 126.
Evagrius, xxvi.
Eve (Eva), 100, 400.
Exeter Book, 581 n.
exsufflation, 468.
Ezekiel, 128.
Ezra, 568.

Fara, abbess, 236, 331 n.
Faremoûtier-en-Brie (In Brige), 234–8.
Farne Island, 262, 339 n., 430, 442–4, 454–6.
Faro, bp. of Meaux, 330, 331 n.
fasting, 227 n., 286, 344, 376–8, 422–4, 496.
Feast of All Saints, 148 n.
Felix, St., 568.
Felix (IV?), Pope, 122.
Felix, bp. of East Anglia, 190, 268, 276, 296.
Fens, 276 n.
Feppingas, 280 n.
Finan, bp. of Lindisfarne, 264, 278–82, 294, 296, 308, 312.
Finnian of Clonard, 141 n.
Florence, Laurentian Library, xxvi.
Focas, *see* Phocas.
Foillán (Fullanus), brother of Fursa. 274.
Fort William, 222 n.
Forth, Firth of, xxvii.
Forth, r., 19 n., 43 n.
Forthhere (Fordheri), Edwin's thane, 164.
Forthhere (Fortheri), bp. of Wessex, 514, 515 n., 558.
Fortunatus, Venantius, bp. of Poitiers, 28.
Foxe, John, xviii.
France, 252 n., 506 n.
Franks (Franci), 26, 38, 152 n., 234 n., 236, 238, 479 n.
Francorum dux (Pippin of Heristal), 480–2.
Francorum episcopus (Boniface), 574.
Francorum gens, 72.
Francorum gens regia, 72.
Francorum regnum, 332.
Francorum rex (Clovis), 276, (Charles Martel), 574.
Frigyth, nun, 412.
Frisia (Fresia), 252, 478–80, 484–6, 522.
Frisians (Fresones), 50 n., 252, 404, 476, 478 n., 486.
Frithuberht (Fridubertus), bp. of Hexham, 572, 576.
Frithuwold (Friduualdus), bp. of Whithorn, 572.
Frithuwold, sub-king of Surrey, 355 n.
Fulda, xxii.
Fursa (Furseus), 123 n., 240 n., 268–76. Life of, xxxii, 268 n. *See* Index of Quotations.

Galloway, xxviii, 222 n., 223 n.
Gateshead (Ad Caprae Caput), 260 n., 280.
Gaul (Gallia), 14, 20, 22, 36, 40, 47 n., 88, 114, 152–4, 190, 204, 234, 235 n., 266, 276, 294, 300, 334, 406, 485 n., 520–2, 526, 557 n., 562.
Gaulish archbishops, (Dalfinus) 296, (Godwin) 474.
Gaulish bishops, 54, 86, 88, 234, 506.
Gaulish channel, 54.
Gaulish church, 80, 147 n.
Gaulish king, 314.
Gaulish language, 234, 486.
Gaulish liturgy, 76 n.
Gaulish monasteries, 238.
Gaulish provinces (Galliae), 36, 38, 86, 146, 266, 294, 296, 330, 520, 526, 556.
Gefmund, bp. of Rochester, 368, 474.
Genlade, r., *see* Yant.
Genoa (Genuensis), 232.

Geraint (Gerontius), k. of Devon and Cornwall, 146 n., 514 n.
Germani (Garmani), 20, 150 n., 151 n., 476.
Germania, 14, 50, 64, 252, 476.
Germanus, bp. of Auxerre, 54–66.
Life of, by Constantius, xxxi, 54 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Gerontius, Roman general, 40.
Gerontius, *see* Geraint.
gesith (comes), 74, 75 n., 257 n., 284, 364, 372, 402, 404 n., 462–4.
Gessoriacum, *see* Boulogne.
Geta, s. of Severus, 26.
Gewisse (West Saxons), 153 n., 232, 384.
Geuissorum episcopatus, 236.
Geuissorum episcopus, 380, 522.
Geuissorum gens, 152, 232, 280.
Geuissorum regnum, 382.
Geuissorum rex (Cædwalla), 380.
Gildas, British historian, xxxi, 14 n., 34 n., 45 n., 48 n., 52 n., 54 n., 68. *See* Index of Quotations.
Gilling (In Getlingum), 256, 292.
Giudi urbs (Inveresk?), 40.
glass, xxiv, 358 n.
Glastonbury, 233 n., 373 n.
Glen, r., 188, 217 n.
Gloucester, 252 n.
Gobán (Gobban), Irish priest, 274.
Godwin, abp. of Lyons, 474, 475 n.
Golgotha, church of, Jerusalem, 508.
Goodmanham (Godmunddingaham), 186.
Gordianus, f. of Gregory the Great, 122.
Goths, 38, 40, 562.
Grampians (Mounth), 222 n.
Granta, r., 394 n.
Grantacæstir, *see* Cambridge.
Gratianus, dictator in Britain, 38.
Gratianus, emperor, 36, 562.
Greece, 300.
Greek language, xxxvii, 15 n., 221 n., 328–30, 334, 374, 474, 515 n., 530, 556, 568.
Pelasga lingua, 474.
Greeks, 330, 374, 387 n.
Gregory the Great, Pope, xvii, xxv–xxvi, xxxiii, xxxv, 4, 148, 485 n., 543 n.
life and character, 122–30, 194–6, 502.
sends Augustine and others to England, 68–72, 144, 194, 518, 562.
origin of mission, 132–4.
sends second mission, 104.
answers Augustine's queries (*Libellus Responsionum*), xxxii, 78–102, 434.
other letters, 4, 78 n. (to Brunhild), 102 (to Vergilius), 104–6 (to Augustine), 72 n. (to Candidus), 106–8 (to Mellitus), xxxv, 108–10 (to Augustine on miracles), 110–14 (to Æthelberht).
additions to the Mass, 130.
views on the general resurrection, 266 n.
death, burial, and epitaph, xxxiii, 130, 562.
altar dedicated to him at Canterbury, 122 n., 144; at York, 122 n., 204; at Whitby, 122 n., 204 n.
relics sent by Pope Vitalian, 320.
Gregorian chanting, 336, 530.
works: *Dialogues*, xxvi, 123 n., 128, 412 n., 446 n., 502; *Homilies*, 126–8; *Libellus Responsionum*, 126, 78–102; *Libellus Synodicus*, 128; *Moralia*, 123 n., 126 n.; *Regula Pastoralis*, xvii n., 126, 570 n.
See also Whitby, *Life of Gregory the Great*, and Index of Quotations.
Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, xix, xxx, xxxiv, xxxvi, 14 n.
Gregory II, Pope, xxi, 4, 84 n., 472.
Grendel, 66 n.
Guthfrith, abbot of Lindisfarne, 454, 455 n.
Guthlac, hermit, 558 n.
Life of, by Felix, 491 n., 516 n., 559 n.
Gyrwe, 276, 354.
North Gyrwe, 276 n.
South Gyrwe, 276 n., 390.

Habakkuk (Habacum), 568.
Hackness (Hacanos), 412–14.
Haddenham, 338 n.
Hadrian, abbot, 2, 3 n., 328–32, 475 n., 514 n., 530, 556.
Hadrian, emperor, 26 n.
Hagustaldensis, *see* Hexham.
hall, Anglo-Saxon, 182 n.

Hallington (Halyden), 217 n.
Hamble (Homelea), r., 384.
Hanno II, abp. of Cologne, 484 n.
harp, 416 n.
Hartlepool (Heruteu), 292, 406.
Hatfield Chase (Hæthfelth, Yorks.), 202.
Hatfield (Hæthfelth), Council of, xix, xxxii, 384–8, 564.
Hathulac, bp. of E. Anglia, 558.
Hædde (Hæddi), bp. of Wessex, 232, 233 n., 368, 409 n., 512, 514 n.
Hæmgisl, priest, 496.
heathenism, Old English, 30, 74 n., 106, 107 n., 154, 168, 176 n., 183 n., 184–6, 212, 256 n., 280, 372–4, 382, 431 n., 432, 524.
Heavenfield (Hefenfelth, Caelestis Campus), 216, 217 n.
Hebrew language, xxxvii, 515 n.
Hebrews, 130, 200.
Hebron (Chebron), 512.
Hector Boethius (Boece), 229 n.
Hegesippus, 507 n.
Heiu, abbess, 406.
Helen of Troy, 398.
Helena, m. of Constantine, 36, 508.
Hell, 30, 252, 490 n., 500, 504.
Hengist, Jutish leader, 48 n., 50, 150.
Henry I, k. of England, 192 n.
Heraclius, emperor, 198.
Heraclius (Heracleonas), 198.
Herbert (Hereberct), xxii, 440.
Herculius, *see* Maximianus.
Herebald, abbot, 464–8.
Hereburg, abbess, 460.
Herefrith, 574.
Hereric, f. of Hild, 406, 410, 411 n.
Hereswith, sister of Hild, 190 n., 406.
Hereweald, bp. of Sherborne, 515 n.
Hertford, Council of, xxxii, 348, 564.
Hewald the Black, 480–4.
Hewald the White, 480–4.
Hexham (Hagustaldensis), xxviii–xxix, 187 n., 216, 370, 408, 430, 431 n., 438, 456, 458 n., 530, 558, 573 n.
Hiberni, 48.
Hibernia, *see* Ireland.
Hiddila, priest, 382.
hides (measurement), 72 n., 162, 222, 290 n., 292, 336, 372, 374, 381 n., 382, 396, 430 n., 520.
Hieremias, *see* Jeremiah.
Hieronimus, *see* Jerome.
Hierosolyma, *see* Jerusalem.
Higebald (Hygbald), abbot, 344.
Hii, *see* Iona.
Hiienses (monks of Iona), 554, 566.
Hilarus, archpriest, 200.
Hild (Hilda), abbess of Whitby, xviii, 292, 344 n., 371 n., 404–14, 429 n., 564.
Hildelith, abbess, 362.
Hiridanum, 328.
Hispania, *see* Spain.
Hisperica Famina, xxxvii, 515 n.
Historia Brittonum, 42 n., 186 n., 411 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Hlothhere, k. of Kent, 352, 384, 404, 430, 475 n., 564.
  laws of, 430 n.
Holland, 404 n.
Holy Island, 219 n. *See* Lindisfarne.
Homelea, *see* Hamble.
honey, 20.
Honorius, emperor, 38, 40, 44.
Honorius I, Pope, 194–200, 204, 232.
Honorius, abp. of Canterbury, 190–6, 204, 256, 276, 296, 518.
Horsa, Jutish leader, 48 n., 50.
Hrenus, *see* Rhine.
Hrethgar (Rhedgar, Chrodegang), 574, 575 n.
Hreutford, *see* Redbridge.
Hrof, 142.
Hrofi civitas, Hrofæscæstræ, Hrofensis, *see* Rochester.
Humber (Humbra, Hymbra), r., 6 n., 50, 72, 142, 148, 162, 190, 291 n., 335 n., 558.
Humbronenses, 384.
Huns, 46, 476.
Hunwold, a gesith, 256.
Hwætberht, abbot of Jarrow, 570.
Hwicce (Hwiccii), 134, 135 n., 145 n., 152 n., 373 n.
  Hwicciorum provincia, 372, 408, 558.

Ibas, bp. of Edessa, 386.
Ida, k. of Bernicia, 116 n., 562.
Idle, r., 162 n., 180.
Idols, 30, 106, 112, 122, 144, 152, 166, 168–72, 184–6, 202, 222, 236, 280–2, 322, 432, 484.
Imma, thegn, 400.

Immin, Mercian ealdorman, 294.
In-, 337 n.
In Andilegum, *see* Andelys-sur-Seine.
In Berecingum, *see* Barking.
In Brige, *see* Faremoûtier-en-Brie.
In Cale, *see* Chelles.
In Conpendio, *see* Compiègne.
In Cuneningum, *see* Cunningham.
In Derauuda, *see* Beverley.
In Feppingum (Phepson?), 280, 281 n., 337 n.
In Getlingum, *see* Gilling.
In Gyruum, *see* Jarrow.
In Hrypum, *see* Ripon.
In Litore, *see* Kaiserswerth.
In Silva Derorum, *see* Beverley.
In Undalum, *see* Oundle.
Incubatio, 154 n.
Indictions, xviii–xix.
Ine, k. of Wessex, 355 n., 380, 472, 473 n.
  laws of, 472 n.
Ingwold, bp. of London, 558, 574.
Inishboffin (Inisboufinde, Vitulae albae insula), 346, 347 n.
Inishmurray, xxv.
Iona (Hii), 199 n., 218 n., 220–4, 264, 280, 292 n., 308 n., 341 n., 346, 478, 504 n., 506, 550–4, 562, 566.
Ireland, Irish (Hibernia, Hiberni; *see also* Scotti), xviii, xxvii–xxviii, xxx, xxxiii–xxxiv, xxxvii, 18, 20, 38 n., 48, 122 n., 144, 148, 198, 218–24, 252, 253 n., 268, 274, 292, 312, 344–6, 422, 424, 426, 474–80, 496, 504, 506 n., 524, 552.
Irish bishops, 137 n., 224 n., 234, 282 n., 292, 294, 298, 308.
Irish and British hermits, 224 n., 478.
Irish language, xxviii, 16, 17 n., 430 n.
Irish monasteries and schools, xxiii–xxiv, 138 n., 220 n., 224, 226, 247 n., 280, 312–14, 334 n., 348, 461 n., 514 n.
Irish pilgrims, 268 n., 274 n., 296 n.
Irish snakes, 18.
Irminric, *see* Eormenric.
Irthing, r., 44 n.
Isaac, xxiv, 566.
Isaiah, 286, 318, 568.
Ishmael, 566.
Isidore, xxv, 84 n., 583 n.
Israel, 318, 418, 534–6, 568.
Israelites, 108, 116, 538.
Italy, xxviii, 16, 36, 128, 146, 252 n., 294, 300.
Italian sea, 204.
Ithamar, bp. of Rochester, 256, 278.
Iudeu (Giudi), 40 n.

Jacob, 318.
James, St., 300.
James the Deacon, xxii, 192, 2067 207 n., 296, 298, 334.
Jarrow (In Gyruum), monastery, xix–xxii, xxiv, xxviii–xxix, 27 n., 75 n., 76 n., 187 n., 334 n., 484 n., 532, 533 n., 557 n., 566, 580 n.
Jaruman, bp. of Mercia, 294, 322, 336.
Jeremiah (Hieremias), 568.
Jerome (Hieronimus), xxv–xxvi, 7n., 38 n., 568 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Jerusalem (Hierosolyma), 52, 199 n., 506–10.
Jesse, 318.
jet, 16.
Jews (Judaei), 224, 227 n., 266, 300.
Job, 60, 126–30, 546, 568.
John, abp. of Arles, 330.
John the arch-chanter, 388–90, 564.
John the Baptist, 84.
John of Beverley, bp. of Hexham, xx, xxi, xxxiv, xxxvii, 145 n., 408, 456–68, 566.
John, chief secretary, 200.
John the Counsellor, 200.
John the Evangelist, 298–304, 458, 568.
John and Paul, SS., 320.
John IV, Pope, 198, 200.
John VI, Pope, 524.
Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Columbanus*, 147 n.
Joseph, 546.
Josephus, *History of the Jews*, 507 n.
Joshua, 568.
Judaea, 507 n.
Julianus, bp. of Campania and Eclanum, 38.
Julius, British martyr, 34.
Justinian, emperor, 220.
Justinian II, emperor, 386, 472.
Justinus II, emperor, 220.
Justus, abp. of Canterbury, 104, 142, 146, 152–8, 164, 192, 196, 204, 562.
Jutes, xxxi, 50, 372 n., 382, 384.

Kaiserswerth (In Litore), 486 n.
Kælcacæstir, *see* Tadcaster.
Kenneth Mac Alpin, k. of Dalriada, 19 n., 489 n.
Kent (Cantia), xix, xxxii–xxxiii, 48 n., 50, 68 n., 72, 77 n., 142, 150 n., 152, 190, 198 n., 204, 230 n., 238, 260, 294, 296, 316, 334, 368, 404, 408, 430 n., 434, 474, 484, 518, 530, 564, 566.
  kings, 114. *See* Osric, Oisc, Octa, Eormenric, Æthelberht, Eadbald, Eorcenberht, Egbert I, Hlothhere, Eadric, Swæfheard, Wihtred, Æthelberht II, Eadberht.
  archbishops and bishops, *see under* Canterbury *and* Rochester.
Kentish people (Cantuarii), 50, 148, 206, 268, 372; Cantuariorum ecclesia, 2, 4, 558; Cantuariorum gens, 256; Cantuariorum provincia, 2, 276, 318; Cantuariorum regnum, 162.
Kilpatrick, Old, 43 n.
kings, joint, 152 n., 164 n., 268 n., 279 n., 322, 368, 373 n., 380, 430 n., 556 n.
Kinneil (Peanfahel, Penneltun), 42.
Kyle (Cyil Campus), 574.

Labienus, tribune, 22.
Lactantius, 535 n.
Lagny (Latineacum), 276.
Laisréne (Laistranus), Irish abbot, 200.
Langres, xxi.
Lastingham (Laestingaeu, Lastingae, Lastingaei), xxxiii, 4, 288, 316, 336–8, 522.
Latin language (Latina lingua, Latinorum lingua, Latine), 16, 216, 221 n., 328, 330, 334, 374, 474, 530, 556.
Laurence, abp. of Canterbury, 78, 114, 144–8, 152–6.
Laurence, St., martyr, 320.
Leeds (Loidis regio), 188, 189 n., 292.
Legacæstir, *see* Chester.
Legionum civitas, *see* Chester.
Legionum urbs, *see* Caerleon.
Leicestershire, 279 n.
Lent, 62, 286, 296, 314, 444, 456.
Leptis Magna, 24.
Leuthere (Hlothere), bp. of Wessex, 236, 350, 368, 514 n.
Libellus Synodicus, 128, 129 n.
Libellus Responsionum, *see* Gregory the Great.
Liber canonum, 350.
Liber Pontificalis, xxxi, 24 n., 68 n., 123 n., 132 n., 148, 370 n., 499 n., 517 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Libri Rotarum, 583.
Liber Vitae, 260 n., 454 n., 455 n.
Lichfield (Licidfelth), 336, 456 n., 558.
Lilla, thegn, 164.
Lincoln (Lindocolinum), 6 n., 190, 196.
Lindisfarne (Lindisfarnenses):
  monks of, 6, 260 n., 264, 288, 346, 430, 434, 442, 454, 518.
  church and monastery, 6, 252, 282, 371 n., 546 n.
  island of, xxi, xxiii, xxv, xxix, 2 n., 218–20, 294, 419 n., 436, 456.
  see of, 218, 308, 370, 430, 431 n., 436–8, 496, 558, 574 n.
  bishops of, *see* Aidan, Finan, Colman, Tuda, Eata, Cuthbert, Eadberht, Eadfrith, Æthelwold, Cynewulf.
  Gospels, *see* Codex Lindisfarnensis.
Lindsey, kingdom of (Lindissi), xxxiii, 6, 190, 246, 312, 336, 344, 370, 573 n.
Lindsey, people of (Lindisfari), 6 n., 7 n., 292, 336, 346, 370, 558, 572.
Lippe, r., 477 n.
Littleborough (Tiowulfingacæstir), 192.
Liudhard, Frankish bp., 74.
Loidis, *see* Leeds.
Loire, r., 16 n.
London, city of, 105 n., 142, 354, 368, 404.
  people of, 154.
  see of, 4, 104, 106, 234, 235 n.
  bishops of, *see* Mellitus, Cedd, Wine, Eorcenwold, Wealdhere, Ingwold.
Lucan, 515 n.
Lucius, k., 24, 562.
Lucius Bibulus, *see* Bibulus.
Lugubalia, *see* Carlisle.
Luke the Evangelist, 568.
Lul, abp. of Mainz, xvii, 577 n., 580 n.
Lupus, bp. of Troyes, 54, 56, 64.
  life of, *see* Index of Quotations.
Luxeuil, 147 n.
Lybia, 16.
Lyminge, 143 n.

Lyons (Lugdunum, Lugdonum), 71 n., 296, 518.

Maas, r., 476 n.
Maban, chanter, 530.
Macedonia, 16.
Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, 386.
Maelduibh, 514 n.
Mainz, xvii.
Malcolm (Meilochon), f. of k. Bruide, 222, 223 n.
Malmesbury (Maildubi urbs), 122 n., 368 n., 373 n., 514.
Mamre, 512.
Mandubracius, leader of the Trinovantes, 22 n.
Mansio Rendili, *see* Rendlesham.
manual labour, 339 n., 348.
Marcellinus Comes, 47 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Marcianus, emperor, 48, 66, 562.
Maria (beata virgo, Dei genetrix), 344, 398, 526–8.
  St. Mary's church, Barking, 362.
  St. Mary's church, Bethlehem, 508.
  St. Mary's church, Canterbury, 156, 157 n., 530.
  St. Mary's church, Hexham, 529 n.
  St. Mary's church, Lastingham, 288.
  St. Mary's church, Lichfield, 344.
  Santa Maria Rotonda, Rome, 148 n.
Mark, St., Evangelist, 538.
Marne, r., 276 n.
Maro (Virgil), 398. *See* Index of Quotations.
marriages, illegal, 79 n., 80 n., 82–84, 86, 150, 151 n., 162, 284.
marriages of clergy, 80 n.
Marseilles, 330.
Martin, St., bp. of Tours:
  church of: Canterbury, 74 n., 76, 77 n., 150; Tours, 392 n.; Whithorn, 222.
  monastery of, Rome, 388–90.
Martin I, Pope, 386, 387 n., 388.
Martyrium, church of, Jerusalem, 508.
martyrologies, xxvi, 378 n., 530, 570.
Martyrology of Tallaght, 146 n.
Martyrs, four crowned, 158 n.
  church of: Canterbury, 158; Rome, 158 n.
Maserfelth, *see* Oswestry.
masses, 76, 80, 98, 104, 130, 152, 376–80, 402–4, 482, 494, 504, 554, 584.
  time of mass, 405 n.
mattins, 250, 356 n., 392, 476.
Maundy Thursday, 278 n.
Maurice Tiberius, emperor, 68–72, 102, 106, 108, 114, 130.
Maximianus Herculius, emperor, 26–28.
Maximus, ruler of Britain, 36, 562.
Mayo (Mag éo, Muigéo), 346–8.
Mælmin, 188.
Meath, Ireland, xxvii, 426 n.
Meaux (Maeldum), 236 n., 330, 331 n., 342–3 n., 526.
Medeshamstedi, *see* Peterborough.
Mediterranei Angli, Middilangli, *see* Angles, Middle.
Meilochon, *see* Malcolm.
Mellitus, abp. of Canterbury, 104, 106, 123 n., 142, 146, 148, 152–8, 280, 562.
Melrose (Mailros), xxv, 298 n., 308, 344 n., 371 n., 430–4, 476, 488.
Meonware (Meanuari), 372.
Mercia (Mercii, Mercinensis), xix, 6 n., 50, 242, 262, 278 n., 409 n., 484, 524 n., 525 n., 564.
  Merciorum gens, 180, 202, 254, 268, 292–6, 336, 566.
  Merciorum natio, 280.
  Merciorum provincia, 4, 290, 292, 336, 346, 350, 370, 372, 498, 558.
  Merciorum regium genus, 202.
  kings, *see* Penda, Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, Cenred, Ceolred, Æthelbald, Beornred, Offa.
  bishops, *see* Cearl, Diuma, Ceollach, Trumhere, Jaruman, Winfrith, Seaxwulf.
  queens, *see* Osthryth, Cynewise.
Mercia, Northern, 294.
Mercia, Southern, 294.
Meridiani Saxones, *see* Saxons, South.
Merovingians, 74 n., 332 n.
Mevaniae Insulae (Anglesey and Man), 148, 162.
Michael, archangel, 456, 526, 529 n.
  church of, Warden, 457 n.
Middilengli, *see* Angles, Middle.
Middlesex, 22 n.
Millfield, 188 n.
miracles, mediaeval, xxxiv–vi.
mirror, 174.

monastery buildings, xxv, 240, 268, 424.
monastic abuses, 350, 424–8, 560 n.
monastic Rules, 80, 112, 124, 220, 224, 284, 286, 336, 340, 354, 360–2, 374, 406, 408, 418, 566. *See* Benedict of Nursia.
monastic succession, 288, 430, 460, 461 n., 486 n.
Monkton, xx.
Monophysitism, 330 n., 385 n., 386 n., 387 n.
Monothelitism, 330 n., 387 n., 390, 522.
Morini (Moriani), 14, 20.
Moses, laws of, 300–2, 418 n., 534. Pentateuch, 568.
Moslems (Saracens), xxix, xxxii–xxxiii, 556, 557 n.
Muigéo, *see* Mayo.
municeps, *municipium*, 39 n., 213 n.
music, church, 74, 206, 207 n., 334, 336, 368, 388, 414, 530, 566, 582.
mussels, 14.

Naples (Neapolis), 328, 333 n.
Narbonne, 557 n.
Nechtan (Naitan), Pictish king, xxxiv, 532–4, 552.
Nechtansmere, xxvii, 164 n., 428 n.
Nennius, 231 n.
Nero, emperor, 24, 28.
Nestorianism, 386 n.
Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, 386.
Neustria, 235 n., 276 n., 331 n.
Newcastle upon Tyne, 44 n.
Nicaea, Council of, 34 n., 36, 200, 201 n., 302, 386, 544 n.
Nicene creed, 34 n.
Nidd, r., 528.
Ninevites, 422.
Ninias (Ninian, Nynias), 222.
life of, 222 n.
Norham, 2 n.
Northamptonshire, 279 n.
Northumbria (Nordanhymbri), xix, xxvii–xxviii, 6 n., 50, 162 n., 198 n., 204, 212 n., 308, 310, 323 n., 334, 336, 406, 488 n., 524 n., 532 n., 562–4, 574.
Humbronenses, 384.
Nordanhymbrorum gens, 148, 162, 166, 188, 194, 202, 212, 350, 370, 378, 456, 560–2.
Nordanhymbrorum provincia, 4, 6, 280, 286–8, 298, 312, 318, 406, 522, 558; provinciae, 212.
Nordanhymbrorum regio, 488; regiones, 262; regnum, 116.
Transhumbrana gens, 256.
kings, *see* Æthelfrith, Edwin, Oswald, Oswiu, Ecgfrith, Aldfrith, Eadwulf, Osred I, Cenred, Osric, Ceolwulf, Eadberht, Oswulf, Æthelwold Moll, Alhred.
bishops, *see* Hexham, Lindisfarne, Ripon, York.
Northumbrian dialect, *see* dialects.
Nothhelm, abp. of Canterbury, xvii, xxxii, 4, 70 n., 572.
Notker Balbulus, xxvii.

Occidentales (Occidui) Saxones, *see* Saxons, West.
Octa, grandfather of k. Æthelberht, 150.
Oder, r., 476 n.
Oedilburg, 412 n.
Oengus, *see* Angus.
Oeric, 150.
Oethelwald, sub-king of Deira, 254, 286, 290.
Oethelwald, anchorite, 454.
Offa, k. of Mercia, xvii n., 574.
Offa of Essex, 473 n., 516, 517 n.
Oftfor, bp. of the Hwicce, 145 n., 408.
Oiddi, *see* Eddius.
Oidilwald, *see* Oethelwald.
Oisc, 150; Oiscingas, 150.
Olives, Mt. of, 510.
Oppidum Uiltorum, *see* Utrecht.
Orientales, 542.
Orientales Angli, *see* Anglians, East.
Orientales Saxones, *see* Saxons, East.
Orkneys (Orcades), xxv, 14, 22, 560.
Orosius, xxxi, 14 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Osfrith, s. of k. Edwin, 186, 188, 202, 204.
Osred, k. of Northumbria, xxviii, 512, 516, 528–30, 552, 566.
Osric, k. of Deira, 212, 256.
Osric, k. of the Hwicce, 408.
Osric, k. of Northumbria, xxviii, 556, 566.
Osthryth, q. of Mercia, d. of k. Oswiu, 246, 400, 564.

Oswald, k. of Northumbria, xviii, 186, 202–4, 220, 228, 286, 290.
becomes ruler of Northumbria and Bretwalda, 150, 214, 230–2.
influence in Kent, 205, 230–2.
killed at Oswestry, 240–2, 250, 564.
relics, miracles, cult, and character, xxxvii, 205 n., 214–18, 242–54, 356 n., 378–80.
feast of, 217 n.
life of, 232 n.
Oswestry, 242.
Oswine, k. of Deira, 256–60, 286 n., 292, 464 n., 564.
Oswine (unknown), 576.
Oswiu, k. of Northumbria and Bretwalda, xviii, xxvii, 150, 223 n., 252, 278, 282, 318, 477 n.
early years and family, 246, 254, 296, 392 n., 430.
rules Bernicia, 254.
murders Oswine and annexes Deira, 256.
marries Eanflæd, 260.
relations with Mercia, 278–80, 292–4.
defeats Penda, 288–92.
summons Council of Whitby, 296, 298–308.
relations with Wilfrid and the church, 280, 308, 314–16, 328, 336, 371 n., 522.
death, 292, 348, 564.
Oswulf, k. of Northumbria, 574.
Othona, 270 n., 282 n.
Oundle (In Undalum), 516, 528.
Owine, monk, 124 n., 338–42.
Oxford, MS. Bodley, Junius xi, 419 n.
Oxfordshire, 281 n.

Padda, priest, 372.
Palladius, bp., 46, 562.
pallium, 86, 104 n., 160, 194–8, 204, 408 n., 562, 572.
Palm Sunday, 296.
Pamphylus, martyr, 544, 545 n.
Pancratius, St., 320.
pandects, xxi.
panels, painted, xxiv, 75 n.
Pannonia, 158 n.
Pantheon, 148.
Paris (Parisiaca civitas), 74 n., 234, 235 n., 314, 522.
parish churches, 462 n.
Parisii, 330.
parrochia, 235 n.
Partney (Peartaneu), 192, 246, 247 n.
Paschal controversy, xxiii–xxiv, 136, 146, 198, 200, 224, 296 n., 298–308, 319 n., 332, 504 n., 506, 514, 532–50, 554, 560, 566.
Patiens, bp. of Lyons, 54 n.
Patrick, St., 46 n.
Paul, St., the Apostle, 300, 330, 379 n., 569.
church of: London, 142, 355 n., 368; Rochester, 556; Rome, 130.
See Index of Quotations.
Paulinus of Nola, 568.
Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 582 n.
Paulinus, abp. of York, xxii, 6 n., 194, 296, 572.
sent by Gregory the Great, 104, 207 n., 562.
appears to Edwin, 176–82.
accompanies Æthelburh to Northumbria, 162, 166 n.
converts Northumbria, 162–6, 180–8, 194, 212, 406.
baptizes in the R. Glen, 188, 217 n.
in Lindsey, 190–2, 196.
retires to Kent, 153 n., 204, 564.
death, 254, 564.
Pægnalæch, 312.
Peada, ruler of the Middle Angles, 278, 294, 564.
Peanfahel (Penneltun), *see* Kinneil.
Peartaneu, *see* Partney.
Pehthelm, bp. of Whithorn, 502, 512, 558.
Pelagianism, 38, 46 n., 54–56, 64, 200, 201 n., 544 n.
Pelagius, 38, 58.
Pelagius, bp. of Tours, 71 n.
Pelasga lingua, *see* Greek.
Penda, k. of Mercia, 202, 203 n., 232, 242, 262–4, 268, 278–80, 286 n., 288–94, 564.
Penneltun (Penguaul), 42 n. *See also* Kinneil.
Penta (Panta), r., *see* Blackwater, r.
Pentecost, 62 n., 166, 314, 392, 564, 582.
pepper, 584.
Péronne (Perrona Scottorum), 276.
Persians, 330 n.

Peter, St., the Apostle, xviii, xxxv, 114, 130, 144, 154, 170, 174, 198, 300, 302–6, 458, 462, 482 n., 538, 548–52, 574.
church of: Bamburgh, 230; Beverley, 468; Lichfield, 344; Lindisfarne, 264, 294, 456; Ripon, xxviii, 516, 528; Rome, 130, 132, 144, 388, 470, 471 n., 472; Whitby, 292, 428; York, 186, 204. *See also* Index of Quotations.
Peter, St., and St. Paul, 300, 320, 378.
church and monastery of, Canterbury, 114, 115 n., 142–4, 150, 154–8, 332, 333 n., 472.
church of: Dorchester, 232 n.; Winchester, 232.
monastery of, Wearmouth and Jarrow, 532, 566.
Peter, abbot, 78, 114.
Peter (Cædwalla), 470.
Peter the Deacon, friend of Gregory the Great, 124, 128 n.
Peterborough (Medeshamstedi), 354.
Phepson, 280 n.
Phocas (Focas), emperor, 116, 130, 148.
Picts (Picti), xxvii, xxxiv, 16–20, 44, 48, 52, 62, 212, 220–2, 300, 336, 426 n., 427 n., 428, 478, 532 n., 562, 564–6, 574.
Pictorum gens, 16, 40, 150, 294, 524.
Pictorum lingua, sermo, 16, 42, 230, 552.
Pictorum natio, 218, 314, 560.
Pictorum provincia, -ae, 370, 428, 552.
bishop, *see* Trumwine.
kings, *see* Nechtan, Angus, Bruide.
Picts, Northern, 220–2, 223 n.
Picts, Southern, 222.
pilgrimages, xxxiii, 472 n. *See also* Rome *and* Irish pilgrims.
Pippin of Heristal, ruler of the Franks, 479 n., 480–4, 486.
Pippin the Short, k. of the Franks, 574.
Placidia, m. of Valentinian III, 66.
plague, 46, 112, 288 n., 312, 314, 328, 338, 356–8, 376, 392, 564, 574.
Plato, 535 n.
Plautus, xxvi.
Plectrudis, *see* Bliththryth.
Pliny, xxvi, xxxi, 14 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
ploughshares, 500 n.
Popes, *see* Agatho, Boniface IV, Boniface V, Celestinus, Constantine I, Donus, Eleutherius, Gregory the Great, Gregory II, Honorius I, John IV, John VI, Martin, Sergius, Severinus, Vitalian, Zacharias.
porticus, 143 n.
Priscilla, w. of Aquila, 300.
procession, double, 387 n.
Prosper of Aquitaine, xxxi, 38, 46 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Prudentius, 535 n.
Puch, gesith, 462.
Putta, bp. of Rochester, 336, 350, 368.
pyramid (stone) at Glastonbury, 233 n.

Quartodecimans, 201 n.
Quæntavic (nr. Étaples), 332.
Quoenburg, *see* Cwenburh.

Radbod (Rathbed), k. of Frisia, 478 n., 480.
Rameses, 536.
Rathmelsigi, 312.
Ravenna, 66.
Rædfrith, reeve, 332.
Rædwald, k. of E. Anglia, 148, 162 n., 176–80, 188, 190, 266.
Reculver (Racuulfe), xxv, 143 n., 270 n., 474, 475 n.
Redbridge (Hreutford), 382.
Regenhere, s. of Rædwald, 180.
Regia civitas, *see* Bamburgh.
Rehdgar, *see* Hrethgar.
Rendlesham (Rendlæsham, Mansio Rendili), 284.
Reptacæstir, *see* Richborough.
resting-places of English saints, lvii, 234 n., 280 n.
Reuda, Irish leader, 18.
reuma, 219 n.
Rhine (Hrenus, Rhenus), r., 20, 38, 64, 482–6.
Rhun, s. of Urien, 186 n.
Ricberht, pagan assassin, 190.
Richborough (Rutubi Portus, Reptacæstir), 14, 72 n.
Ricula, sister of k. Æthelberht, 142.
Riding, East, 460 n.
riding on horseback, 226 n., 284, 317 n., 336, 466.
Ripon (In Hrypum, Hrypensis, Ripensis), xxviii, 77 n., 187 n., 253 n., 298, 316, 370, 454, 458 n., 516, 520, 528.

Ripon, bp. of, *see* Eadhæd.
Rochester (Dorubrevis civitas, Hrofæscæstir, Hrofi civitas):
city, 142, 154, 336, 350, 368, 558, 564.
church, *see* Andrew, St.
Rochester, bishops of, *see* Justus, Romanus, Paulinus, Ithamar, Damian, Cwichelm, Gefmund, Tobias, Ealdwulf.
Rogation days, 76 n., 584.
Romanus, bp. of Rochester, 158, 204.
Romanus, priest, 296, 298.
Rome:
churches and buildings, 75 n., 144, 148, 158 n., 470–2. *See also* Andrew, Mary, Martin, Martyrs, Four crowned, Peter, and Pantheon.
ecclesiastical beliefs and practices, xxiii, 4, 24, 80, 94, 138, 199 n., 204, 222, 300, 318, 330, 336, 348, 388, 423 n., 520–2, 532, 544.
music, 206, 334, 530.
city, 4, 24, 38, 40, 42, 72, 132, 302, 328–30, 538, 562.
Coelian Hill, 68 n., 158 n.
pilgrimages and journeys to and from, xxi, xxiv, xxxiii, 4, 40, 42, 78, 146, 196, 204, 252, 296, 318, 328, 348, 368, 370, 388, 404 n., 408, 430 n., 470–2, 476, 484–6, 499 n., 515 n., 516–26, 532, 564–8.
synods, councils, etc., 84 n., 386–90, 522–4.
Britain invaded by, 20–26, 560, 562.
emperors, 22–26, 36–40, 48, 68–72, 102, 106, 108, 114–16, 126, 198, 220, 472, 560–2.
people and army, 20–24, 40, 42, 54, 76, 84, 112–14, 134, 150, 192, 216, 562.
Roman buildings and remains in England, xxv, 76, 77 n., 187 n., 270, 282, 394 n. *See also* vallum.
Popes, *see* Popes.
Romulea urbs (Rome), 472.
Ronan, Irish priest, 294.
Rowley Water, 214 n.
Rufinianus, abbot, 104.
Rufinus, translator of Eusebius, xxx, xxxvi.
Rügen, 476 n.
Rugini (Rugii), 476.
Ruhr, r., 477 n.
runes, 402 n., 412 n.
Ruthwell Cross, xxviii, 215 n., 223 n.
Rutubi portus, *see* Richborough.

Saba, *see* Sæberht.
Sabrina (Severn), r., 558.
sacrarium, 247 n.
sacrifices, heathen, 30, 108, 190.
St. Abb's Head, 420 n.
St. Albans (Verolamium, Uerlamacæstir, Wæclingacæstir), 22 n., 34.
St. Bees, Cumberland, 412 n.
St. Boswells, 477 n.
St. Gall, xxvii.
St. Iemestret, 207 n.
St. John's Lee, 456 n.
St. Ninian's Isle, 222 n.
salmon, 15.
Samaritans, 190.
Samuel, 568.
Saracens, *see* Moslems.
Saran Ua Critain, Irish cleric, 200.
Satanas, 122, 476, 504.
Saul, 116.
Saviour, St., church of: Fulda, xxii; Canterbury, 114.
Saxons:
continental or Old (antiqui Saxones), xxxi, 26, 48, 50, 62, 476, 477 n., 480, 486.
in England, 50, 318, 376, 472, 476.
Saxons or Angles, 68.
Saxon language, 234, 282, 384, 474.
Saxons, East (Essex, Saxones Orientales), 22 n., 50, 51 n., 142, 152, 236 n., 280, 286, 354, 562.
Saxonum Orientalium gens, 282–6.
Saxonum Orientalium provincia, 4, 142, 288, 322, 354, 558.
Saxonum Orientalium regnum, 364.
bishops, *see under* London.
kings, *see* Sæberht, Sigeberht the Little, Sigeberht Sanctus, Swithhelm, Sigehere, Sigeheard, Swæfred.
Saxons, South (Sussex, Saxones Australes, Meridiani), xviii, 50, 152 n., 230 n., 278, 384, 430, 516 n.
Saxonum Australium provincia, 4, 372, 514, 524, 558.
bishop, *see* Wilfrid.
kings, *see* Ælle, Æthelwealh, Berhthun, Andhun, *and* kings, joint.

Saxons, West (Wessex, Saxones Occidentales, Occidui, *see also* Gewisse), xxxiii, 50, 73 n., 134, 153 n., 355 n., 368, 372, 380, 514, 524 n.
Saxonum Occidentalium gens, 166, 232, 278, 372.
Saxonum Occidentalium lingua, 148.
Saxonum Occidentalium provincia, -ae, 4, 234, 316, 558.
bishops, *see* Birinus, Agilbert, Wine, Leuthere, Hæddi, Daniel.
kings, *see* Cælin, Cynegisl, Cenwealh, Cædwalla, Ine, Æthelheard, Cuthred, Cynewulf.
Sæberht, k. of Essex, 142, 152, 153 n., 562.
Sæthryth, d. of k. Anna, 234 n., 238, 241 n.
Scandia, 17 n.
Scandinavians, xxvi, xxix, 212 n., 237 n., 252 n., 298 n., 354 n., 502 n.
Scedenig, Scedeland, *see* Skåney.
Scellanus, *see* Sillan.
Scotti (Irish, *see* p. 16, n. 1), 18–20, 44–46, 144–6, 200, 212, 218–20, 264, 280, 292, 294–8, 308, 312, 316, 318, 346, 348, 478, 518–24, 562–4.
Scotti austrini, 308, 504 n.
Scotti qui Brittaniam incolunt, 116, 428, 560.
Scotti qui Hiberniam incolunt, 144, 504.
Scottorum gentes, 40, 150, 198, 218, 524.
Scottorum genus, 252, 270, 292, 422.
Scottorum lingua, 16, 220–2, 230, 296, 312, 346.
Scottorum natio, 278, 280, 294, 314, 372, 552.
Scottorum provincia, 228.
septentrionalis Scottorum provincia, 218.
Scotti septentrionales, 220, 504 n.
Scottia (Ireland), 146, 274, 292, 296, 308, 346, 428, 550, 562.
scriptoria, xxv, xxvi, xxvii n., 557 n.
scriptural studies, xxiv, 16, 56, 126 n., 226 n., 332, 338, 344, 408, 442, 506, 518, 520, 530, 557, 558, 566.
Scylla, 540.
Scythia, 16.
seals, 14.
Seaxbald, k. of Essex, 284.
Seaxburh, abbess of Ely, 234 n., 238, 392, 404.
Seaxwulf, bp. of Mercia, 354, 368–70.
Sebbi, k. of Essex, 322, 354, 364–8.
Seckington, 559 n.
secretarium, 132 n.
Sedulius, 514.
Ségéne, abbot of Iona, 199 n., 200, 226.
Seine, r., 16 n.
Selsey (Selaeseu, Insula vituli marini), 374, 375 n., 516, 573 n.
Sens, France, 330, 478 n.
Serenus, bp. of Marseilles, 71 n.
Sergius, Pope, 470–2, 484–6.
Severianus, bp., 54.
Severinus, Pope, 198, 200.
Severus, emperor, 24, 26, 29 n., 40, 42 n., 44, 562.
Severus, bp. of Trier, 64.
shellfish, 14.
Sherborne, 514 n.
Sherburn-in-Elmet, 189 n.
shrines, 345 n., 346 n., 559 n.
Sigeberht, k. of E. Anglia, 190, 266–8, 270.
Sigeberht the Little, k. of Essex, 280.
Sigeberht (Sanctus), k. of Essex, 280–4.
Sigeferth (Sigga), bp. of Selsey, 516 n., 572.
Sigeheard, k. of Essex, 368.
Sigehere, k. of Essex, 322, 354, 516.
Sillan, Irish bp., 200.
Simon Magus, 548–50.
Sinai, Mt., 98.
Sion, Mt., 270, 510.
Skåney, 17 n.
Skellig Michel, xxv.
Slavery, 72 n., 132–3, 228, 374–6, 404 n.
Solent (Soluente), 384.
Solinus, xxxi, 14 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Solomon, 568.
Solway Firth, xxviii.
Somme, r., 276 n.
soul departing, 344 n., 500 n., 581 n.
South Church, Durham, xxviii.
South Shields, 407 n.
Spain, xxix, 14, 18, 36, 38, 557 n.
Spilsby, 247 n.
Stamford, Lincs, 520.

Stapleton, Thomas, xviii.
Stephen, St., 504.
church of, Faremoûtier-en-Brie, 238–40.
Stephanus, *see* Eddius.
Stephanus III, Pope, 574.
stitch, charm against, 501 n.
Stoneham (Ad Lapidem), 337 n., 382.
stonemasons, xxiv, 158 n.
Stonor, 72 n.
Strathclyde, xxvii, 426 n., 488 n., 504 n., 574 n.
Streanæshalch, *see* Whitby.
Suevi, 38.
Suffolk, 284 n.
Sulpicius Severus, xxvi.
Sunderland xix.
sundial, 542.
Surrey (Sudergeona regio), 354, 355 n.
Sussex, *see* Saxons, South.
Sutton Hoo, 50 n., 176 n., 192 n., 284 n., 416 n.
Swale, r., 188.
Swæfheard, k. of Kent, 474.
Swæfred, k. of Essex, 368.
Sweden, 50 n., 477 n.
Swithberht, abbot, 448.
Swithberht, bp. of Frisia, xxii, 484–6.
Swithhelm, k. of Essex, 284, 322.
Switzerland, 252 n.
Sylvia, m. of Gregory the Great, 123 n.
Symeon of Durham, 253 n., 482 n., 556 n.
Symmachus, consul, 46.
synodica, 236 n.
Syracuse (Sicily), 332 n.
Syria, 24.
Syrmium, Pannonia, 36.

Tacitus, *Germania*, 164 n., 169 n., 476 n.
Tadcaster (Calcaria, Kælcacæstir), 270 n., 406.
Tarsus, 330.
Tata, *see* Æthelburh.
Tatfrith, bp.-elect of the Hwicce, 410.
Tatwine, abp. of Canterbury, 558, 566, 572.
tawdry, 338 n.
Tay, r., 19 n.
Tees, r., 212 n.
temples (heathen), 106–8, 112, 168, 172, 184–6, 190, 322.
Terence, xxvi.
Tewdwr, k. of the Britons, 574.
Textus Roffensis, 151 n.
Thame, 409 n.
Thames (Tamensis), r., 22, 142, 284, 354.
Thanet (Tanatos), 52 n., 72, 475 n.
Thecla, St., 398.
thegn (miles, minister), 75 n., 257 n., 290, 310, 575.
Theodbald, b. of Æthelfrith, k. of Northumbria, 116.
Theodore, bp. of Mopsuestia, 386.
Theodore of Tarsus, abp. of Canterbury, xxviii, xxxiii, 235 n.
early life and education, 330.
appointment as archbishop, 278 n., 330–2, 564.
school and scholars of, 2, 332–4, 475 n., 530, 556.
episcopal work, 135 n., 236, 294, 334, 336, 346, 352–4, 368–70, 371 n., 400, 408, 438.
presides over councils, 236 n., 348–52, 384–8, 436, 564.
death and burial, 144, 410, 472, 484, 564.
character and learning, 332–4, 387 n., 460, 474.
Theodoret, bp. of Cyrus, 386.
Theodoric III, k. of Neustria, 331 n.
Theodosius, emperor, 36, 38, 546.
Theodosius II, emperor, 44, 46.
Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, 546.
Thetford, 354 n.
Theudor, *see* Tewdwr.
Thomas, bp. of E. Anglia, 276.
Thrace, 17 n., 36.
Thrythred (Thrydred), abbot, 448.
Thrythwulf, abbot, 188.
Thule, 17 n.
Tiberius Constantinus (Tiberius II), emperor, 126.
Tiberius Mauricius, *see* Maurice Tiberius.
Tilbury (Tilaburg), 284.
Tilmon, monk, 123 n., 482.
Timothy, St., 80, 300.
Tiowulfingacæstir, *see* Littleborough.
Titillus, notary, 352.
Tobias, 568.
Tobias, bp. of Rochester, 334 n., 474, 475 n., 556.
Tómine (Tomianus), Irish bp., 200.

Tondberht, first husband of Æthelthryth, 390.
Tondhere, thegn, 256.
tonsure, 139 n., 147 n., 308, 330, 378, 488, 492, 499 n., 516, 546–54, 566.
Torhtgyth, nun, 360–2.
Tours, xxix, 390.
Traiectum, *see* Utrecht.
Transhumbrana gens, 256.
Trent, r., 192, 294, 370 n., 400.
Trier (Trèves), 64.
Trinovantes, British tribe, 22.
Tripoli, 24.
Troy, 398.
Troyes (Trecasena civitas), 54, 64.
Trumberht, monk, 342.
Trumhere, bp. of Middle Angles and Mercia, 257 n., 280, 292–4, 322.
Trumwine, bp. of the Picts, xxvii, 370, 428, 436.
Tuda, bp. of Lindisfarne, 308, 312.
tufa (thuf), 192 n.
Tunberht, bp. of Hexham, 370, 371 n., 438.
tungerefa, 480 n.
Tunna, abbot, 402.
Tunnacæstir, 270 n., 402.
Turoni, xix, 390.
Tweed (Tuidi), r., 430, 488.
Twin Martyrs, church of, Langres, xxi.
Tyne, r., 212 n., 456, 464 n., 532.
Tynemouth, 256 n., 464.
Tyre, 528.
Tytilus, f. of Rædwald, 190.

Ulster, 18 n.
Ultan, Irish bishop, 276.
uncorrupt bodies of saints, 240 n., 398. *See also* Æthelburh, Æthelthryth, Cuthbert, Fursa.
Urbicus, Quintus Lollius, 42, 43 n.
Uscfrea, s. of k. Edwin, 188, 204.
Utrecht (Traiectum, Wiltaburg), 486.
Utta, abbot, 260, 278.

Valens, emperor, 36.
Valentinianus II, emperor, 36.
Valentinianus III, emperor, 48, 66, 562.
vallum, 26, 40, 44, 282, 562.
Vandals, 38.
Vecta, *see* Wight, Isle of.
Vegetius, xxxi, 192 n,, 219 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
Venantius Fortunatus, bp. of Poitiers, 28.
Venta, *see* Winchester.
Verca, nun, 407 n.
Vercelli Book, 581 n.
Vergilius, abp. of Arles, 71 n., 102.
Verlamacæstir, Verolamium, *see* St. Albans.
Verus, *see* Antoninus Verus.
Vespasian, emperor, 24.
viaticum, 376, 412, 420, 504.
Victorius of Aquitaine, 136 n., 546 n.
Victuarii (people of the Isle of Wight), 50.
Vienne, 40.
Vikings, xxvi. *See also* Scandinavians.
Virgil, xxvi, 179 n., 515 n. *See* Index of Quotations.
visions of the other worlds, 129 n., 270 n. *See also* Dryhthelm *and* Fursa.
Vitalian, Pope, xxxii, 318–20, 328–30, 530.
Vitulae albae insula, *see* Inishboffin.
Vituli marini insula, *see* Selsey.
vomer, 500.
Vortigern, 48, 150.

Waldhere, bp. of London, 366, 367 n.
Wales, xviii.
Wall, Roman, *see* vallum.
Wall, turf, 42 n.
Wallsend, 26 n., 44 n.
Wantsum, r., 72, 475 n.
Warden, 457 n.
Warwickshire, 135 n.
Watling St., 34 n.
Watton, 460.
Wæclingacæstir, *see* St. Albans.
Wæclingas, 34 n.
Wealhstod, bp. of Hereford, 558.
Wear, r., 388, 406, 407 n., 532.
Wearmouth monastery, xix, xxi–xxiv, xxviii–xxix, xxxvi, 75 n., 187 n., 388, 461 n., 484 n., 533 n., 557 n., 566, 580 n.
Wecta, s. of Woden, 50.
Welsh, 16 n.
wergild, 400 n.
Wetadun, *see* Watton.
whales, 14.
Wheathampstead, 22 n.
whelks, 14.

Whitby (Streanæshalch), xviii, xxv, 122 n., 237 n., 292, 298 n., 356 n., 406, 408, 412 n., 428, 460 n., 564.
Council of, xviii, xxxiii, 235 n., 236 n., 281 n., 296–308, 390.
Life of Gregory the Great, by monk of, 122 n., 132 n., 133 n., 177 n., 186 n., 204 n.
Whithorn (Ad Candidam Casam), 222, 223 n., 502 n., 558, 573 n.
Wigheard, abp.-elect of Canterbury, 318, 322, 328.
Wight, Isle of (Vecta), 4, 24, 50, 372, 382, 524, 558.
Wihtbert, hermit, 478–80.
Wihtburh, d. of k. Anna, 234 n.
Wihtgisl, f. of Hengist, 50.
Wihtred, k. of Kent, 430, 474, 556, 566.
laws of, 431 n.
Wilbert, a boy scribe, 584.
Wilfaræsdun, 256.
Wilfrid, bp. of York, xviii, xxviii, xxxii, xxxiv, 217 n., 253 n., 331 n., 336, 368 n., 370 n.
early life, 235 n., 279 n., 296, 419 n., 516–20.
learns the psalter, 227 n.
at Council of Whitby, 201 n., 296–308.
consecrated bishop, 314, 564.
converts South Saxons, 370–6, 514, 524.
journeys to and from Rome, 252, 499 n., 518–20, 522–6.
life as bishop, 316, 334, 348–50, 370, 380, 382, 390–2, 410, 442, 458 n., 460, 484, 485 n., 522–8, 532, 564.
death and epitaph, 516, 528–30.
See also 'Eddius'.
Wilfrid II, bp. of York, 145 n., 408, 468, 558, 572, 574.
Wilfrid, bp. of the Hwicce, 558.
Willehad, missionary to Old Saxons, 577 n.
William of Malmesbury, 233 n.
Willibrord (Wilbrord, Clemens), abp. of Frisia, xxii, xxxiv, 252, 253 n., 378 n., 480, 484–6, 522.
Wiltaburg, *see* Utrecht.
Winchester (Wintancæstir, Venta), 5 n., 232–5, 380, 558.
bishops of, *see* Wine, Leuthere, Hæddi, Daniel.
windows, xxiv, 358 n.
Wine, bp. of Winchester and London, 234, 235 n., 316, 335 n., 368.
Winfrith, bp. of Mercia, 294, 346, 350, 354, 371 n.
Winfrith, bp., *see* Boniface.
Winwæd, r., 164 n., 286 n., 290, 291 n.
Witham, r., 6 n.
witnesses of miracles, 342 n.
Witta, f. of Wihtgisl, 50.
Woden, 6 n., 50, 51 n.
women pilgrims, 473 n.
wooden buildings, xxiv–xxv, 157 n., 158 n., 187 n., 264, 294.
Wooler, 188 n.
Worcestershire, 135 n., 280 n.
Wuffa, grandfather of k. Rædwald, 190.
Wuffingas, 190.
Wulfhere, k. of Mercia, 234, 235 n., 280, 294, 322, 323 n., 336, 346, 370–2, 409 n., 564.
Wulframn, abp. of Sens, 478 n.
Wulfric, abbot, 157 n.
Wuscfrea, *see* Uscfrea.

Yant, r. (Genlade), 474, 475 n.
Yantlet Creek, 475 n.
year of Our Lord (Incarnation, year of grace), xix, 21 n., 199 n., 546 n.
Yeavering (Ad Gefrin), 183 n., 188, 217 n.
Yffi, grandson of k. Edwin, 188, 204.
York (Eboracum), xxi–xxii, xxviii–ix, 188, 206, 334 n.
city, 26, 36 n., 105 n., 186, 204, 213 n., 438.
see, 104, 106, 196, 218 n., 316, 370, 460, 468, 522–4, 558, 564, 572.
church of, 188. *See* Peter, St.
altar to St. Gregory, 122 n.
vale of, 189 n.
archbishops, *see* Paulinus, Egbert.
bishops, *see* Wilfrid, Bosa, John of Beverley, Wilfrid II.
Yorkshire, 212 n., 460 n.
Ythancaestir, *see* Bradwell.

Zacharias, Pope, 145 n., 330 n.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY